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THE
MODERN PART
OF THE
UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL WRITERS;

BY THE

AUTHORS of the ANTIENT.

Which will perfect the WORK, and render it

A Complete Body of HISTORY,

FROM THE

EARLIEST ACCOUNT of Time, to the PRESENT.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεσθαι μὴ κατανόει, ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ εὐρήσεις ἀκόπως, ἅπερ ἕτεροι συνῆξαν
ἐγκόπως.
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V O L. VII.



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MODERN HISTORY:

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

BOOK XXI.

CHAP. XVI.

SECT. VI.

Containing the Geography, with a Description of the Towns, Rivers, &c. on the Ivory Coast. The Manners of the different Nations; and a particular Account of the Kingdom of Guiomere. A Description of the Country west from Cape Apollonia; of the Animals, Produce, and People; with their Manners, Religion, and Government, &c.

- ^a **G**EOGRAPHERS and seamen are divided in their opinions concerning the extent and limits of the *Ivory Coast*; some confining it between the *Rio de Suero da Costa*, where the *Gold Coast* begins, and *Grova*, two miles east of *Cape Palmas*. ^{Geography of the Ivory Coast.} Others again stretch its boundaries from *Cape Palmas* to *Cape Tres Puntas*, all that shore being known to mariners under the appellation of the *Tooth Coast*. The first subdivide it into three provinces, viz. the *Ivory*, the *Malagentes*, as the *French* call it, and the *Quaqua Coast*; but the *Dutch* give all three the general appellation of *Tand Kust*, distinguishing it only by the nature and disposition of the natives, as the coast of *Good Men*, and that of *Bad Men*^a. However, the most precise and accurate limits are contained within *Cape Apollonia* to the east, and *Cape Palmas* to the west, in which manner we find it laid down in the *Atlas* of the *Sieur Robert*, and distinct charts of that judicious compiler *Prevost*. The *Hollanders* have called the eastern part of this coast by the name of *Quaquas*, because the natives, on the approach of a ship, are continually repeating that word, which *Villault* imagines expresses a kind of welcome; observing, that the master of an entertainment usually repeats it to his guests (A). But that we may not engage in endless controversy, we will begin with describing the situation of the towns and villages.
- ^b

THE

^a BARBOT, p. 138. DES MARCH. t. i. p. 157.

(A) *Snoeck*, a *Dutchman*, says, that he is unable to explain the etymon of the word; assuring us, that the natives call their country *Ado*. *Smith* again believes he

has solved the difficulty, by affirming, that *Quaquas*, in the language of the country, signifies teeth or ivory; but in support of this assertion he quotes no authority:

The towns and
villages on the
Ivory Coast.

THE principal towns of the *Ivory Coast*, are, *Grova*, or *Grua* (B), *Great Tabo*, *Little Tabo*, *Great Drevin*, *Batrou*, *Labo*, *Apollonia*, and *Vallo*. Each of these stand at the mouths of those rivers whence they borrow their names; and as for the interior country, it is but little known, the natives refusing the *Europeans* leave to build settlements, or even to trade among them, except by means of the coast negroes, and even this with the most circum-spect caution. Here the same commodities are found as in the former division, viz. gold, ivory, and slaves, the former in the greatest plenty; but no regular tariff or table of the different proportions of each was ever settled. *Grova* stands three miles east of *Cape Palmas*; *Great Tabo* thirty miles from *Grova*, east; *Little Tabo* four miles farther east; thence to *Great Drevin* eleven miles, thence to *Batrou* nineteen miles, to *Labo* seven, and from thence to *Cape Apollonia* twenty miles; the whole amounting to ninety-four miles. Although this coast be crowded with towns and villages, we shall describe only such as are frequented by *Europeans*. *Great Tabo* is known at sea by a remarkably high green cape in its neighbourhood, covered with wood. The current usually sets east-north-east, and sometimes south-south-east, on this coast. *Little Tabo* is known by mariners from a high rock, at a mile and a half distance from it. The cape in its neighbourhood is covered with high trees, dispersed in an irregular manner, and the road is about eighteen fathom deep. Near the town flows a small river, called by the *Portuguese* *Rio de San Pedro*; having on the west certain mountains, to which they give the names of *Santa Apollonia*, *Druyn*, *Drevin Petri*, likewise called *Great Drevin*, standing upon the river *St. Andrew*. It is known at sea by some buildings on a rising ground, at a great distance; also by several groups of trees dispersed up and down the coast. Besides the town, three villages, about a quarter of a mile distant from each other, are plainly seen from the ships; all of them plentifully stocked with cattle, with which the fields seem covered. The inhabitants of this district have the reputation of being the most savage and barbarous on the whole coast; and some writers scruple not to call them *Anthropophagi*, affirming, that their teeth are sharp, and pointed like a bodkin. *Barbot* advises mariners to touch with caution on this shore; the natives, says he, bring on board some beautiful ivory, as a bait to draw the seamen on shore, and perhaps to devour them. This is the more probable, from their keeping their goods at so high a price, as will assuredly ever prevent *Europeans* from purchasing it, although they ask for every thing they see, and are greatly incensed if they meet with a refusal. Their suspicion and jealousy are predominant qualities; insomuch that, on the least noise, they will precipitate themselves headlong into the sea, and swim to their canoes^b.

Description of
the river *St.*
Andrew, and
the adjacent
country.

THE river *St. Andrew* is a fine deep stream, and increased near its mouth by the falling in of another river, both joining to form a large road. The entrance is surrounded with lofty trees, beautiful verdant meadows, and rich fields of great extent. Nature seems to have intended this place for a fortress, without any other defence than its situation. About 500 paces from the mouth of the river, a peninsula runs a great way into the sea, joined to the continent by a slender neck of land, not above five or six fathoms broad. The whole peninsula is a high level rock; having a platform four hundred feet in circumference, and commanding all the neighbouring country. On every side it is surrounded by the sea, the rock perfectly steep, and truly inaccessible on the south, east, and west sides; the neck of land also being so easily defended, that a battery of five guns would render it impregnable: to this account of *Des Marchais*, *Villault* subscribes; and subjoins, that at the foot of a little eminence, north of the neck of land, there is a fine fresh water spring, capable of supplying a large garrison, and of being secured by the cannon of the fort^c.

THE land-marks are here so distinct, that it is impossible for ships to mistake them. Here are lofty, thick, and shady trees, with three or four large villages, that strike the eye all at once, within less than half a mile of each other; besides several other marks, which we shall leave to the writers of voyages to recite. All the fields and meadows round the mouth of the river are watered by pleasant meandering streams, that fertilize the ground, and render it fit for producing every species of grain, fruits, and roots; but especially maize, millet, rice, pease, yams, and melons, which grow with surprising increase. Fine natural groves of oranges, limes, coco-nut trees, citrons, &c. grow here, their boughs

^b VILLAULT, p. 117. SMITH, p. 113.

^c BARBOT, *ibid*.

and his residence on the coast appears to have been too short to become acquainted with the language. Others imagine the term derived from the great number of ducks found on this coast, the name being expressive of the cry of those animals; but this can at best be no more than an ingenious conjecture (1).

(B) Several writers affirm, that *Grova* properly belongs to the *Grain Coast*, whose limits, they say, extend beyond *Cape Palmas*. However, as all the charts place it within the frontier of the *Ivory Coast*, we have mentioned it in the catalogue of towns.

(1) *Vid. aut. supra citat.*

a so closely intermingled, that you might imagine all those several fruits were the produce of one large tree. Here the sugar-cane, with a thousand other plants, which spring up without cultivation in the greatest perfection, are abandoned to the ravages of the elephant, and as haunts for wild beasts. In a word, whatever the *Gold Coast* produces, is also found here, in greater abundance and perfection; and, indeed, the fruits and vegetables of the warmer climates, seem all to be united on the *Ivory Coast* ^a.

As to the natives, the men wear a loose dress, resembling a surplice, which hangs down to the knees; and the women, a narrow cloth wound round their waists, and turned in at the sides. Many of them indeed go perfectly naked, and seem to pride themselves on shewing what nature dictates to the rudest barbarians to conceal. However, the richer of both

The manner of the natives in this district.

b sexes have a *paan* of fine cloth; and the men a poniard or long knife by their sides. The women are small, but neatly proportioned; their features are regular, their eyes lively, and their teeth white, small, and even. The men are likewise well built; nor are they deficient in courage or understanding; but the *European* traders having carried off some, they are become so suspicious, that nothing can prevail on them to set foot on board, before the captain of the ship has gone through the ceremony of putting a drop of sea water into his eye. This they look upon as their protection, and a solemn engagement that no injury shall be offered them; however, they cannot be prevailed upon to go under hatches, or enter the cabin. They are extremely fond of bracelets of iron and ivory, mounted with little bells, which they put round their arms, and the small of each leg. Those bells inspire

Their extreme passion for dancing.

c them with additional joy in dancing, of which they are passionately eager, as indeed are all the negroes. Every canton or district has its particular mode of dancing, different contortions and grimaces, which they prefer to their neighbours customs; and our best *European* masters would in this country pass for awkward and clumsy, and might, indeed, find some attitudes and postures among the negroes, which might improve their art. The women in general have a fine, easy, graceful air, when they dance; but this dignity is frequently intermixed and broken, by some ridiculous and burlesque grimaces ^c.

EAST of the river *St. Andrew*, are at least a dozen of craggy, broken, and ragged mountains, which stretch for three or four miles along the coast; yet are the intermediate fields rich and fruitful, watered in this short space by near twenty little rivulets; and indeed

d were the inhabitants a little more civilized, no country on earth bids fairer for a profitable trade and useful commerce. The elephants must be of an enormous size, many of their teeth weighing above 200 pounds. Slaves and gold are likewise in great plenty, but *Europeans* can never learn in what manner the maritime natives procure the latter, which they preserve an inviolable secret; or if they are pressed to explain themselves, they point their finger to the mountains on the north-east, intimating that it comes from thence. It is probable, however, that some part of it is found in their rivers, washed by them from the mountains. But all those advantages are lost, through the barbarous disposition of the natives, who are in no respect to be trusted, their courtesy being merely the effect of design, and a snare to draw the mariners on shore. *Barbot* carries his notions of their savage disposition to a ridiculous extreme; nor is their cunning inferior to their cruelty. He relates a variety of instances of their savage nature, by which ships, that have stopped to wood and water on their coasts, have had their men kidnapped and murdered. In the year

e 1677, an *English* merchantman lost three of her crew by this means; the following year a *Portuguese* trader had nine men murdered; and soon after a *Dutch* ship met with the same fate, all her crew on shore being kidnapped, murdered, and they suppose eaten by those savages, to the number of fourteen men. From this bloody disposition of the natives, the *Portuguese* have given the name *Malagente* to the *Ivory Coast*; and, far from attempting to drive a commerce, they do not venture ever to approach it even for wood and water, without arming the seamen, and giving strict charge that they keep close to their boats.

f From hence we may judge how little this coast is known to *Europeans*, and how imperfect all the relations of the geography, produce, laws, and manners, of the country and natives must prove.

The cruel disposition of the natives.

VILLAULT describes a village, which he calls *Dromwa Petri*, probably *Little Drowin*, as seven miles distant from the river *St. Andrew* ^f. It is situated, says he, between the seventh and eighteenth red mountain, and known at sea by a tree of great height and bulk. As to the inhabitants, they are no less brutal and savage than all the others of the coast. In this general way do voyagers speak of a country, of which they think themselves under the necessity of giving some account. Between this and the river *Cotro* or *Kotrou* (C), he could see no other villages; from which circumstances, and finding no canoes on the coast, he

^a SNOECK, apud Bos. epist. 22.

^c DES MARCH. t. i. p. 158.

^f VILLAULT, p. 117.

(C) The river *Cotro*, *Kotro*, or *Kotrou*, runs to the east of the river *Jagos*, and is probably the same which *Smith* and some other mariners call the *Black River*. either from its depth, or the muddiness of its waters.

infers that this district is but thinly peopled. Two miles east of *Ketro* stands the town of *Laho*, near the cape of that name. It is known at sea by this cape, which is a low point, projecting into the sea, and covered with wood; among which may be distinguished one high tree, that rears its lofty head far above the rest, serving thereby for a land mark. According to *Des Marchais*, *Cape Laho* is situated in five degrees ten minutes north latitude, equally distant from *Cape Palmas* and *Cape Tres Puntas*, and the western frontier of that district, called the country of the *Good People* ^a.

The different disposition of the natives of Laho.

HERE the ivory is large, good, and in great abundance. *Barbot* speaks of the town of *Laho*, as a large and populous place, extending the matter of a league along the coast, the shore being composed of a beautiful yellow sand, against which the sea beats with great violence. The neighbouring country affords all kinds of provisions, better and cheaper than on the coast of *St. Andrew* and *Drewin*. The natives are of a mild, tractable, and gentle disposition, but ready to catch at every opportunity of raising the price of their ivory, according to the demand, and the number of ships they observe on the coast. They are visited by interlopers of all nations: the free ships of *England*, *Holland*, *Denmark*, and the *Hanse Towns*; whence the occasions of raising their price occur too frequently, as is experienced to the cost of the fair trader, who pays an extraordinary rate for his goods; and is also undersold in *Europe*, by merchants who trade at a far less expence than a company possibly can ^b.

BOSMAN mentions a large river, that runs about a mile west of *Laho*, dividing itself into two branches, one of which falls into the river *St. Andrew*, and the other continues its course eastward for several leagues, before it empties itself into the sea; but this we are unable to reconcile with any of the charts we have seen, which running from east to west, the river must flow upon a parallel line for several leagues; a direction extremely unusual. *Snoeck* adds, that *Laho* is planted, like *Axim*, with a great number of coco-trees; and that if the coast were as bold, and the shore embellished by a fort, it would be difficult for mariners to distinguish the one from the other; so strong a resemblance have the neighbouring countries of both districts. ^c

The alertness of the negroes in swimming.

PASSING *Cape Laho*, the coast falls in directly north-east, forming a fine bay, at the head of which opens the mouth of the little river, called *Jaque Laho*, or *Das Balbas*, running directly north and south, but not navigable. Seven miles south-east, or rather east-south-east of this, stands the village *Wallo*, *Vallock*, or *Wattalock*, which has some little trade in ivory. Next follows *Jack a Jack*, a village; and close by that eastward, *Korbi Laho*, the little pool, called the *Bottomless Pit*, standing between the two last places. The *English* and *Dutch* had both given this little space of salt water its name from its extraordinary depth, several unsuccessful attempts having been made to sound it; but at length it was found to be no more than sixty fathoms, its supposed depth arising from a tide at the bottom, which carried away the lead faster than they could furnish line. This current driving to the south-west, *Uring* and *Atkins* advise mariners from quitting *Jaque Laho*, before they have a fair wind, capable of surmounting the difficulty; as, excepting the pool, there is no anchorage for several leagues along the coast. The best method, say those writers, is to cast anchor before *Gunno*, in the district of *Ado*; or at *Korbi Laho*, or in the mouth of *Rio de Suero da Costa*, this last road, especially, being equally convenient for the inhabitants of either places to come on board with the produce of the country, viz. cloths and stuffs of *Quaquas*, ivory, and provisions. We are told of none of the qualities of these negroes, besides their great skill in swimming and diving: it being the common diversion of the *European* sailors to throw bits of iron, coral, glass, and the like, over-board, after which the negroes will dive with such rapidity, as to catch them before they reach the bottom ^d.

FROM the *Rio de Suero da Costa*, to *Cape Apollonia*, the coast is low and even, extending itself for a course of twelve miles eastward, bordered with large trees, and covered with villages, the chief of which are, *Boqun*, *Issini Peguena*, *Great Issini*, *Albiani*, *Jabo*, and *Akanimina*. The first stands at a small distance from the shore, near the mouth of the river *Da Costa*, surrounded by woods, and pleasantly situated. *Issini Peguena* and *Great Issini*, are both situated on the sea coast, at the distance of three or four miles, and between them are a number of villages, three of them very considerable, but their names unknown. *Great Issini* is built at the entrance of a small river, which during the dry season is lost in the sands, but discharges itself into the sea during the rainy months. This town was pillaged and burnt in the year 1681, by the inland negroes; but it has since revived its splendor, or rather exceeds what it ever had been, by the addition of a great number of houses and inhabitants. Where the river empties itself in the sea, it forms a small island, very commodious for building a fort; but our *European* companies have hitherto made no attempts of that nature, dreading perhaps the vicinity of those ill-disposed neighbours to ^e ^f ^g

^a DES MARCH. t. i. p. 157.

^b BARBOT, p. 135.

^c SNOECK, apud De Bruy, p. 491.

a the westward (D). *Great Iffini* is celebrated for the purity of its gold, which probably comes from the kingdom of *Affiento*, at the source of the *Rio de Suero da Costa*, a country rich in gold, but little known to the *Europeans*, as we have already observed.

EAST of *Iffini* are the little districts and towns of *Albiani* and *Tabo*, the former six miles, the latter ten from it, both surrounded by high groves of palms, seen at a great distance at sea, and pretty much frequented by *European* shipping. A mile farther east, and half a mile west of *Cape Apollonia*, stands the village *Akanimina*, on a rising ground; and commanding an extensive sea and land prospect. The interior country between *Boqun* and this village is high, rugged, and mountainous, but affording some fine gold, ivory, and a few slaves. The gold dust of these two places is found commonly in six fathoms deep, for two miles along the coast; and the negroes mix it with pulverized copper so expertly, that it requires touching to discover the fraud.

b NEAR *Cape Apollonia* is the kingdom of *Guimere*, governed in the year 1703 by a queen, *Kingdom of* called *Affamouchon*, a princess much respected by her neighbours, and beloved by her subjects. She was to have been succeeded in the throne by her brother; for being of an active *Guimere governed by a queen.* and warlike humour, she disliked the authority of a husband, spent her whole time in the camp, and headed her own armies. Such was her good fortune and bravery, that she was never unsuccessful in any enterprize, nor was the smallest advantage ever gained over her troops, either by the negroes or *Europeans*. She was passionately fond of the *French*, and entered into a treaty with the chevalier *Damon*, which continued without the least infraction, during the greater part of her life. So great an admirer was she of the lively and polite humour of this nation, that she frequently declared she had rather be a subject of *France*, than the sovereign of any other *European* state; a proof that her majesty's penetration into human nature was not deep, and that, like her sex, she judged by external appearances. This kingdom of *Guimere* has but narrow limits towards the sea, but stretches itself a great way towards the inland parts; it is well peopled, rich, and renowned by its commerce. Gold and ivory are in considerable quantities found here; and her majesty's perpetual wars always produced a good market of slaves^k.

c ACCORDING to *Des Marchais*, *Cape Apollonia* stands in four degrees fifty minutes of north latitude, half way between the *Rio de Suero da Costa*, and *Cape Tres Puntas* (E). It is remarkable for its height, and the lofty trees with which it is covered^l. The natives have formed themselves into a kind of republican government, under the protection, or rather tyranny, of the *Dutch*, who prohibit their trading with any other nation; and hence it is, that this coast is so little known to the other *Europeans*, and so inaccurately described by the *Hollanders*, who find their interest in concealing the nature of the produce and wealth of the country. *Snoeck* allows, however, that the country between *Iffini* and *Cape Apollonia* is well peopled, and covered with large and small villages. It had its name, says he, from the *Portuguese*, who discovered it upon St. *Apollonia's* day: it points a little southward, but appears low and strait along the coast or shore, raising itself into three high mountains behind, which are seen from a great distance at sea, in clear weather. Upon each of the mountains are several distinct and separate groves or groups of trees, that give the prospect a very cool and agreeable look; and in the intermediate vallies are three or four pretty villages, built close to the sea side; but the continual beating of the waves upon a flat and sandy shore, renders landing difficult, and a commerce here extremely inconvenient, which nothing could balance besides the great advantages derived from it.

f In general, if we except a few capes, all the coast from *Cape Palmas* to *Cape Apollonia* appears not only so low, but so equal and strait, that it is very difficult for ships to distinguish places; and indeed, besides these capes, the only distinct land-marks are the heights and mountains round *Drewin*. The landing all along the coast is dangerous, on account of the high surf and swelling waves that roll in from the vast southern ocean, and break with such violence upon the sands. The negroes alone are perfectly acquainted with this sea, and brave enough to combat all the fury of its winds, tides, and waves, in their little canoes. From *Cape Palmas* to *Cape Apollonia* these canoes are employed in loading and unloading the shipping, that dread coming near the shore, and being shattered in pieces by the waves; nor are they always safe by keeping at a distance from the shore, as the ground is so rough that they frequently lose their anchors. Here the south winds blow the most

^k Vid. *supra*. citat.

^l T. i. p. 185.

(D) *Barbot* says, that the *French* in 1701, built a small fort here; which not answering their expectation, they abandoned it in 1714 (1); but this is a circumstance we find mentioned by no other author.

(E) *Phillips* places it about six miles east of *Great Iffini*, representing it as formed by three great mountains, with two or three villages to the west. With these he attempted entering upon a trade, but in vain (2).

(1) *Barbot*, p. 140.

(2) *Phillips*, p. 200.

frequently, stopping the land breezes, and those strong and unhealthy stenches that proceed from the villages of almost all negroes. a

Description of
the natives.

ROUND *Cape Apollonia* there are large tracts of fallow land, in which the negroes now sow *Indian* corn, a species of grain which they believe was imported hither by the *Portuguese*. The complexion of the natives is so black, that *Alkins* compares it to the finest jet: in their temper they are lively, enterprising, and indefatigable in commerce. Their huts are neater and cleaner than those of their neighbours, and their dress more elegant, it being set off with ornaments of gold, ivory, and *kowris*. The hair or wool of their heads is divided into an infinity of small tresses, which they adorn with bits of oyster shells and other shining baubles. On the left cheek they have a scar, of the figure of a poniard, and frequently the rest of the body is marked in the same manner, to denote the warlike disposition of the person; a custom of great antiquity here, and communicated to several other negro nations, serving to distinguish the inland from the maritime natives; the former of which are often reduced to slavery by the latter. Those slaves they sell at four ounces of gold dust *per* head; and, allowing 100 *per cent.* on goods, they will be thus purchased at 8 *l.* sterling each, out of which the *caboceros* demand twenty shillings duty, and the *palaver* men, or great council, ten shillings; whence our author concludes, that thieving or kidnapping slaves is more systematical here than in any other country, where no certain price or duty is affixed. b

FROM *Cape Apollonia* to the river *Mankaw*, where the province of *Axim*, the first division of the *Gold Coast* begins, are two or three fine villages. Two in particular are beautiful, situated amidst groves of palm and coco trees; but the trade, for which they stand advantageously, is neglected. From hence to *Axim* the shore takes its course south-south-east, and near the village of *Boggio* the river *Mankaw* empties itself into the sea, at the mouth of which the negroes find a considerable quantity of gold. This is all we know of the *Ivory Coast*; no author having pretended to give a description of their towns, or an exact chart of the topography and distances of places^m. To this we shall subjoin all that can be extracted out of voyagers, of the produce and manners of the people and country in general, nothing at all being known of their laws and policy. c

Produce of the
country.

EVERY country within the limits of the *Ivory Coast* is fruitful in rice, pease, beans, gooseberries, citrons, oranges, and coco-nuts; and the natives bring frequently on board large rich sugar-canes; which intimates, that this commodity might be cultivated to advantage here. In a word, the *Ivory Coast* is one of the finest divisions of *Guinea*; the prospect of the mountains, and vallies filled with villages, is delightful, most of those little towns being surrounded with lofty palms and coco trees. The soil of the high land is a reddish earth, which, with the perpetual verdure of the trees, forms an agreeable mixture of colours. Cotton and indigo are the spontaneous growth of the provinces of *Great Drevin* and *St. Andrew*, which are indeed the richest of the whole. Palm wine and oil are plentiful; together with a species of fruit, growing on a sort of palm tree, which the natives call *Tombo*, or *Bourbon*. This the negroes eat with great pleasure, drinking at the same time a wine, drawn from the same tree, mixed with water; its strength rendering it unfit for use alone and unqualified. d

Animals of the
coast.

ALL sorts of tame animals, sheep, cows, goats, and hogs, are so numerous, that they are sold for almost nothing; a few shillings being sufficient to keep a whole family in beef, mutton, and pork for several days. As to fish, the coast supplies them in as great abundance and variety; but the most remarkable are the *sea bull*; *zingana*, in *America* called *pantoushir*; and the *sea devil*, so termed by *Des Marchais*. The first, called also the *horned fish*, is about three feet long, exclusive of his tail. His body is square, of an unequal thickness at both extremities, being every-where about five feet in circumference. His skin is rough, strong, and filled with pointed nobs, but not prickly or covered with shells, every-where spotted with different colours, a mixture of grey, violet, and white. The head resembles that of a hog, but terminating in a proboscis, like an elephant; the animal having no other passage for his aliment than through his trunk. In his stomach nothing besides sea-weeds and some small fishes was found. His eyes are large, and fringed with a kind of strong, hard hair, and his forehead armed with two horns, bony, strong, rough, and pointed at the extremity, about six inches in length. On his back rose two excrescences, about three inches high, which run from the base of the horns almost to the tail. The tail seemed to be composed of two parts, the one fleshy, and covered with a continuation of the skin of the body, being in fact a part of the *vertebræ* of the back, but more flatted and pliant; the other a thick fin, of a brown colour, streaked with parallel white lines, serving for a kind of defence, as well as a rudder to the animal. e f g

^m Vid. auct. citat. ibid.

- a As to the *zingana*, it is a voracious animal, with a flat head, large, red, and fiery eyes, two rows of strong teeth, the body round, and terminating in a strong tail, covered with a tough skin, not scaly but spotted. The fins are strong, and assist the animal to dart with incredible rapidity at his prey. Nothing comes amiss to the voracious appetite of this monster; but above all it is delighted with human flesh.

- b THE third monster described by *Des Marchais* is the *sea devil*, about twenty-five feet long, and proportionably thick. The most remarkable parts of this animal are, projecting angles from his body, of a hard, horny substance, and so sharp, that a stroke of them is extremely dangerous. The tail, which is long, and taper like a whip, is armed with a sharp, keen point, with which he frequently darts backward; and his back covered with hard excrescences, two inches high, and pointed like a hook. The head is large, joined immediately to the body, without the smallest appearance of a neck, and furnished with flat, cutting teeth. Nature has bestowed on this monster four eyes, two near the gills, large and round, and two others on the forehead, of a smaller size; but all of them distinct. On each side the gullet are three horns, of an equal length and thickness. That on the right side, which stands between the other two, measures about three feet in length, and an inch and a half in circumference at its insertion, terminating gradually in a sharp point; but as it is yielding and flexible, it is capable of giving but little offence, or affording any protection to the animal. To conclude, the flesh is tough and ill-tasted, though eagerly sought after by the negroes, perhaps for no other reason than that it is scarce.

- c As to the people, they are rather above the common stature, clean limbed, and well proportioned; but their features on the first glance are hideous; yet, notwithstanding the prejudices conceived from their unhappy aspect, *Villault* and *Des Marchais* agree in calling them the most rational, civilized, and polished people in all *Guiney*, and the same character they bear among all their neighbours. The reader must observe, that we speak of the natives of the *Quaqua Coast*; that is, from the river *Drewin* to *Cape Apollonia*; for as to the others, all authors represent them as the most barbarous, cruel, and savage of all nations. “However savage the aspect and external appearance of the negroes of this coast (speaking of the *Quaqua Coast*) may appear, they are,” says *Barbot*, “gentle in their nature, honest in their dealings, sociable, and well disposed:” a picture the very reverse of what *Smith* has drawn. This writer calls them so brutal and thieving as not to be paralleled by any people on the face of the globe. If they see any thing on board a ship, which they have no opportunity of stealing, they will beg it; and, if it be denied them, they fly into a rage, swim ashore, and put a stop to all trade. *Smith* would not venture to send his boat on shore for provisions, but with an armed crew, and after he had cast anchor so near the shore that his cannon could cover the men. From descriptions so different we must either conclude, that these two writers mean different nations, or that *Smith* met with some accident that prejudiced him against the whole people. *Villault*, forgetting what he affirms a little before, or speaking of a different people, accuses them of eating the *Europeans*; adding, in proof of this assertion, that in the space of a few years they had eaten about fourteen *Dutchmen*: a fact greatly to be doubted, according to *Snoeck*; and, if true, applicable only to the natives to the westward, near *Cape Palmas*. *Villault* farther asserts, that they constantly seize upon all the white men, who wood and water on their coast, without any provocation, and merely from a brutal fondness for human flesh: however, says he, happily, no nation on the coast has such a dread of fire-arms. *Smith* calls them an accursed race of cannibals. The same prejudices, according to him, have been unjustly conceived against some other nations of *Guiney*, for eating monkeys, dogs, and alligators; but this alone deserves the appellation of savage, from that diabolical lust they have after mens flesh: whereas *Des Marchais*, after enlarging upon the humanity and refinedness of their manners, subjoins, This people drink a sort of beer, called *pito*, and wine drawn from the *Bourbon* palm, with which they mix water, to prevent the effects of its intoxicating quality. Drunkenness is a crime of so odious a nature among them, that the laws have prohibited it under the severest penalties, and on pain of death. Their maxim is, that to destroy one’s health or reason, is to put man upon a level with brute creatures, to prejudice society, by robbing it of its useful members, and to destroy the effects of all law and government; for a man void of reason cannot be influenced by laws, as he is ignorant of the propriety of his actions.

- g THEIR diet, according to *Atkins*, is coarse and indelicate; their best dishes being what is called *slabber sauce*, a term probably given by the *English*, *bomini*, and a kind of *black soup*. The first is composed of rice, fish, fowl, kid, and elephant’s flesh, all of them kept till they stink; and this haches, boiled with *ochre* (F) and palm oil, is deemed a royal dish. *Bomini* is made of fish, dried without salt in the sun, the more foetid the better. This they

(F) We are at a loss for our author’s meaning here. Surely the natives did not boil the mineral we call *ochre* with their food, which is now rejected even as a medicine, and could never communicate any degree of flavour to their food. All the argillaceous earths of this kind are equally insipid.

fry with palm oil and rice, and greedily snatch it up with their fingers. As for the *black a*
soup, it is a favourite dish all over *Guiney*, both among *Europeans* and negroes. The
Europeans make it of flesh or fowl, with pepper, vinegar, salt, and some sweet herbs pecu-
 liar to the country; but the negroes add fish, *ochre*, and palm oil.

THOSE negroes detest the custom *Europeans* have of embracing each other, after a long
 absence, or on parting: this they regard as an unnatural action, and an affront to the fair
 sex. Their teeth are of the canine kind, and perfectly sharp, from the continual habit of
 pointing them; but in general they are crooked and irregular. They look upon long nails
 as a great ornament; and dress their hair into tresses, which they keep separate by a paste of
 palm oil and a kind of red earth. So fond are they of a quantity of hair, that they borrow
 large locks from the women, which they add to their own, forming a kind of peruke; and
 their bodies they anoint every day with the same kind of paste which they apply to their hair. b
 They are continually chewing *betel*, with the juice of which, mixed with their spittle, they
 flabber over their neck and chin, imagining, that it gives a fine varnish and beautiful
 lustre to the skin. Round the small of the leg they wear large rings of iron, some of them,
 according to *Barbot*, weighing near sixty pounds; a circumstance almost incredible. They
 are charmed with the jingling sound of those rings and bells suspended to them, in the mul-
 titude of which consist all their grandeur and dignity. In a word, says the same author,
 they are a people highly disgusting at first sight, from the nature of their features, the man-
 ner of their dress, and the beastliness of some of their customs; to which may be added
 the strong, rank, and foetid effluvia from their bodies, which can never become supportable c
 by habit to an *European* nose.

THE common people wear only a piece of cloth round the waist, out of decency; but the
 more opulent sort are covered with a sort of cloak, or surplice, with long sleeves, which they
 wrap wround their shoulders and hangs down below their knee; and by their side they wear
 a hanger or short sword. As to the women, they cut off their hair, in order that the men
 may have a superfluous quantity. About *Little Drevin* the females have the curiosity to
 come down with their children to the shore, when the *Europeans* are watering, whom they
 seem to behold with great satisfaction. *Villault* says, that setting aside their complexion,
 which is jet-black, they would pass for beauties in *Europe*, so regular are their features, and
 so brilliant their eyes. He had seen above fifty, out of which number there was not one but d
 was tall, slender, genteel, and handsome in the face; in a word, a fine woman; notwith-
 standing the men are for the most part gross and fat, though well made. Some of the
 women who wear their hair, adorn it with little plates of pure gold; in making of which
 there is the greatest emulation among the workmen and goldsmiths. These pieces are some-
 times large, but in general thin, small, and of little value; however, some women wear
 such a number of trinkets, that the whole amounts to a considerable sum. A young and
 beautiful girl soon gets a husband, who by contract has no power over her jewels, though
 in other respects his authority is absolute and despotic. Even in this particular he falls upon
 means to gain a superiority, by denying her money to purchase other necessities, till she
 pledges her ornaments with him; and no sooner is he in possession, than he disposes of them e
 to the *Europeans*. The only dress of the women is a cloth, without any particular form,
 that falls over the fore part of their bodies, the hinder parts being left intirely naked: and
 indeed there is hardly a people in the whole coast of *Guiney*, so primitive and simple in this
 particular, as the natives of the *Ivory Coast*, and particularly of *Quacqua*.

THEIR form of salutation they have in common with all negroes; that of laying hold
 of the fingers, making them crack, and repeating the word *quacqua* several times, in a low
 voice. Here it is a constant rule, that the son follows the profession of his father; the son of
 a weaver is bred a weaver; that of a smith, a smith; and the same in all other occupations.
 This regulation is so firmly established, that the whole country, perhaps, does not furnish f
 a single instance to the contrary: a custom that is attended with many inconveniencies,
 though upon the whole founded on reason, and the supposition that a son has better oppor-
 tunities of becoming acquainted with his trade under a father than with any other master.
 Yet, after all, they are exceeding bunglers in the mechanic arts; and *Atkins* says, that a
 common door lock is so great a curiosity, as to draw a whole country together to see it; a
 watch still increases their admiration; and making *paper speak*, as they express it, is a per-
 fect miracle. If they are sent with a note, and told the contents before, they frequently
 make the experiment whether the *Europeans* are deceiving them, in pretending they can in-
 terpret the thoughts of an absent person by those crooked characters: this they do by asking
 the contents when they have read the paper, in a jeering manner, as if they had caught
 them in a lie; but their surprize is inconceivable, when they are told literally the whole bu- g
 siness the note contains; this being an act of which they can form no conception, and that
 gives them a very advantageous idea of the white men, believing they must necessary have
 some familiar dæmon, that acts as factor or broker on this occasion.

- a THE grounds of their religion are much the same with what we have related of the *Gold Religion-Coast*, it being founded wholly upon superstition and ignorance. If they revere their princes and priests, their respect arises less from their esteem of the order, than of the opinion they entertain of the dignity annexed. They are fully persuaded, that magic and sorcery are qualities and powers inseparable from majesty and priesthood. The king of *Saka*, a country near *Cape Labo*, passes, in particular, for the greatest magician in the universe. He observes annually a certain mysterious ceremony in honour of the sea, which is the tutelary deity of the kingdom. It begins in *December*, and continues till *April* following; during which time he sends, by intervals, some of his courtiers in a canoe to *Axim*, *Sama*, *Commendo*, and some other towns on the *Gold Coast*, to sacrifice to the ocean a quantity of old rags, b different kinds of stones, and horns filled with powder, with which they blow up the rest of the offering. A priest attends the nobleman, and is in a particular manner entrusted with the care of the ritual ceremony, which he executes by pronouncing certain words, in a low voice, to obtain of the sea a calm and serene summer season, which of consequence will be favourable to commerce and navigation. As soon as the first canoe is returned, he dispatches another, which, going through the same ceremonies, is succeeded by another, and in this manner alternately for the space of four or five months. When the first canoe leaves *Korbi Labo*, she is instantly followed by the negro factors of that port, who in canoes carry their stuffs and goods to be sold in the very place where the king has made his offering. On their return other merchants and factors follow the second canoe; and thus they go on sacrificing and trading for the season. Wonderful regularity is observed throughout this religious ceremony; and all the merchants find means to dispose of their stocks. Towards the month of *April* the sorcerer priest leaves the sea at full liberty to storm, foam, and swell, as it thinks proper; and the merchants, fearing lest the ocean, fatigued with long restraint, may embrace this liberty, make all the haste they can to their several ports. c

- WHATEVER judgment authors may think fit to pass on the natives of *Quaqua*, in point of religion and manners, certain it is, that their extreme regard to trade, and the assiduity with which they cultivate it, are no bad proofs of their understanding and sensible political notions. When they first discover a ship on the coast, they diligently attend to the actions of the crew; and as soon as they believe their security confirmed by their apparent manners, they crowd on board with all the produce of their country, gold, ivory, provisions, and slaves; although they generally oblige the captain to pass through the ceremony of putting sea water in his eye; firmly persuading themselves, that if he violates this solemn engagement, the sea will punish him with the loss of that organ. On their side, they enter upon no promises; and, for this reason, *European* seamen are generally on their guard, to prevent sudden attacks or frauds, admitting only a certain number of negroes upon deck at a time. This is *Villault's* assertion; but *Barbot* observes, that they voluntarily perform the same ceremonies they require of the *European* captain, dipping their hands in the water, and letting it drop in their eye: meaning thereby, that they wish the loss of the eye, if they be guilty of a breach of faith. *Atkins* relates this obligation with circumstances somewhat different. According to him, the captain presents himself to the chief person in the canoe, who immediately puts one leg on the side of the ship, while the other remains on the gunwall of the canoe. In this posture he takes up as much water as he can hold in the palm of his hand, and throws it in the captain's face, by which he gives the strongest proof possible of his friendship and fidelity; and so attached are they to this superstition, that without it be duly performed they will never enter a ship. It is pretended, that before the natives of the *bad country*, as it is called, west of *Great Drevin*, neglected this custom, no people on earth adhered more religiously to their engagements: now they are the most treacherous, base, and perfidious of mankind, owing intirely to the disrepute into which this ceremony is fallen. It now subsists only in *cape Laboe*, the river *St. Andrew*, and *cape Apollonia*. In other provinces the negroes content themselves with curiously examining the ship, her strength, and the number and countenances of the crew: sometimes they spit a mouthful of sea water into the captain's face, which polite compliment they expect he should return, if his sincerity be unquestionable: but, according to the *French* writers, if the natives can distinguish the language spoken on board to be *French*, then they wave all other trial, and flock on board without hesitation. d

- THE *European* factors divert themselves with seeing canoes filled with men crowd round them, every mouth uttering the same sound, *quaqua, quaqua*. As soon as any of them are hoisted on board, the anxiety of the rest is lively to an extreme; they move their heads and eyes backward and forward, with the utmost impatience, as if waiting the fate of their companions; and it is with the utmost difficulty they are all prevailed on to come on board. The best method to overcome their fears is the ceremony we have mentioned; but *Barbot* says, that he has sometimes unsuccessfully tried this. It is probable, that some outrages g

committed by the *European* shipping has ever since inspired these timid creatures with that a
dread and suspicion of injuries, particularly from the *English*, says *Des Marchais*: and indeed
this reflection is in some measure confirmed by *Smith*, who relates, that, stopping at several
towns and ports on this coast, and firing cannon as a signal of his arrival, he never could
discern a single canoe coming towards him, or the smallest appearance that the natives pro-
posed trading with him. "It is certain," says he, "that they never approach an *English* vessel,
" without dread of being carried away into slavery:" whence it is probable, that some at-
tempt of this nature has been made. He acknowledges, that they repose the greatest con-
fidence in the *French* of any *European* nation: they even allow them to erect a standard on
shore; use the *French* language in bargains; and not only trade with them at an easier rate,
but also furnish them plentifully with fresh water and all manner of provisions: an acknow- b
legement that does great honour to the civilized manners and prudence of that nation,
however small the advantage is which they draw from the preference given them.

The timidity
of the Qua-
quans.

THE negroes of the *Quaqua Coast* come generally five or six in a canoe along the ship's
side; but it is seldom that above one or two have resolution to come on board, before they
have seen in what manner their companions are treated. They most frequently enter the
ships two at a time, with a couple of elephants teeth and some other goods; these returning
to the canoe, before the rest leave it. Those who come first narrowly inspect the state of the
ship, whether the sailors be armed, and the number there is upon deck. When they have
sold their goods they return, and acquaint their friends with the usage they have received.
No intreaties can prevail on them to go below deck, notwithstanding they pretend they c
think themselves perfectly secure, and express great curiosity. So much do they dread fire-
arms, that they all flung themselves into the sea upon *Smith's* firing a gun to bring to a ship
he discovered in the offing: and he observed, that if they discover the least appearance of arms
on board, they immediately scud away to the shore, with all the haste they are able.

ONE may easily apprehend the difficulty and tediousness of trading with a nation so ti-
morous and jealous; whose language is unintelligible to *Europeans*, and all the *European*
languages still more so to them (for what the *French* say of trading in their language is attested
by no other authority). Every thing is transacted by signs and gesticulations, or by placing
a certain quantity of merchandize near the ivory or gold that is wanted in exchange. In
general the negroes are eagerly fond of presents, however trifling, as if they looked upon d
these as pledges of esteem and affection. A knife not worth six-pence, a copper ring, a
glass of usquebaugh, or a biscuit, are things which the richest negro thinks worth his ac-
ceptance, and on which he sets the highest value. However, as their avarice seems to grow
with the liberality of the *Europeans*, *Smith* recommends great caution in the manner of
making those *dashées*, or presents. "It is a pernicious custom," says that writer, "which
" had its rise from the policy of the *Dutch*, who wanted to destroy the credit of the *Portu-*
" *guese*, and establish their own, by those instances of generosity, for which they have since
" suffered, by the purchase of cargoes bought at double their value. Now every trade must
" be begun by *dashées*, to be renewed not only by every ship of a nation, but every day by
" the same ship, and by every individual on board. Thus one stroke of *Dutch* policy has
" ever since been a perpetual tax on all other *Europeans*, as well as on themselves, and the
" presents now amount to as much as formerly would purchase a cargo." The same custom
prevails on the *Gold Coast*; but with this difference, that there presents are made after a
cargo is completed, and goes by the name of *dassi-midassi*: but on all the lower coasts, to
the river *Gambia*, the negroes must have their *dashée* in advance: nor do they ever come
near a ship, but that is the general cry among them.

Their arts.

THE usual trade carried on here consists of cotton cloths, ivory, gold, and slaves. Accord-
ing to *Villault*, the negroes manufacture a sort of strong stuff, striped blue and white, three
quarters wide, and about four ells long. These sell well on the *Gold Coast*, and
Europeans purchase them purely for this market. From the river *Babas* to the *Rio de Suero* f
da Costa the country produces great abundance of good cotton, which the negroes of the in-
terior countries manufacture with great industry. The cotton pieces made here are extremely
fine and beautiful in the colours, especially the blue stripe, which, says *Barbot*, cannot be
equalled even in *France*. The maritime negroes act as brokers to the inland negroes, sell
their stuffs for them, and receive a certain sum *per cent.* by way of commission. Some of
these brokers told our author, that, besides the trade carried on with the coast, the inland
negroes drive a very considerable commerce with a white people that inhabit the very center
of *Africa*, and come hither for cotton cloths with droves of *rales* or *assés*, with which they
return loaded. They are described as accoutred with short swords or scymitars; whence,
it is probable, they are no other than the *Arabians* of *Zara*, on the banks of the *Niger*. The
Quaqua negroes manufacture a kind of plant, resembling hemp, into a strong cloth, to which g
they give beautiful colours, and some pretty flowers and designs, that speak them no bad
artists in this way. They also have a considerable trade in salt with their inland neighbours,
to

- a to whom they sell it at a very extraordinary price, on account of the distance and expence of carriage.

ALL the countries behind *Quaqua* furnish large store of elephants teeth, the most beautiful ivory in the world. It is constantly bought up as soon as brought to the coast, by the *English, Dutch, French*, and sometimes by the *Danes* and *Portuguese*: but, at the same time that the commerce of this country is free to all nations, the *English* and *Dutch* enjoy the greater part of it, and the emulation between these has occasioned the negroes to raise the price of their commodities, without reflecting how they diminish the quantity of the exports by this, and the alteration of fashions in *Europe*. In such quantities did this country afford ivory, that, in *Barbot's* days, it was no uncommon thing to see a hundred quintals sold in a day; and the negroes report, that the inlands, especially the mountains, are so stocked with elephants, that the natives are forced for security to bury themselves among rocks and caverns at night. They fall upon every possible contrivance to defend their plantations against the ravages of these sagacious monsters, and frequently lay traps for them, in which they catch a great many: but, if we may credit the relations of the negroes, and indeed the most probable accounts, the great plenty of ivory is owing to the elephant's casting his teeth every third year. This is *Des Marchais's* account; and *Barbot* and *Villault* confirm it by similar testimonies. They add, that, notwithstanding the perpetual war waged against them by the negroes, the elephants are so numerous, that the natives are forced to dig their habitations a great way under ground. However, of late years, their number has been greatly diminished, by a distemper that crept among them, and made terrible havock, as well as by the constant endeavours of the negroes to extirpate them, though the foundation of their commerce.

The incredible quantity of ivory found in Quaqua.

- b in a day; and the negroes report, that the inlands, especially the mountains, are so stocked with elephants, that the natives are forced for security to bury themselves among rocks and caverns at night. They fall upon every possible contrivance to defend their plantations against the ravages of these sagacious monsters, and frequently lay traps for them, in which they catch a great many: but, if we may credit the relations of the negroes, and indeed the most probable accounts, the great plenty of ivory is owing to the elephant's casting his teeth every third year. This is *Des Marchais's* account; and *Barbot* and *Villault* confirm it by similar testimonies. They add, that, notwithstanding the perpetual war waged against them by the negroes, the elephants are so numerous, that the natives are forced to dig their habitations a great way under ground. However, of late years, their number has been greatly diminished, by a distemper that crept among them, and made terrible havock, as well as by the constant endeavours of the negroes to extirpate them, though the foundation of their commerce.

VILLAUT, after wondering how the negroes come by such quantities of pure gold as the women wear for ornament, thinks himself at liberty to conclude, that the country certainly contains mines that furnish virgin native gold: for he supposes the inhabitants incapable of bringing it to that degree of fineness by fire. He says, that, upon repeatedly questioning them where they procured the precious metal, they always cast their eyes towards the mountains; and the natural inference in that case was, that they dug it themselves out of those mountains.

Of gold.

- d THE *European* commodities, which the negroes accept most readily in exchange for their own, are of much the same nature as in other parts of *Guinea*; with this difference, that here the bracelets and rings for the legs, whether of copper or iron, must be of an intolerable weight. *Barbot* advises, that small ships be only sent on this trade, the number of places to be called at rendering the heaving large anchors extremely tedious and troublesome; besides, the negroes come more readily on board, when they see no great preparations, or a number of cannon mounted, and decks crowded with sailors. But then the utmost caution is necessary against treachery, and not above a certain number of negroes to be admitted on board at a time. The sufferings of the *Portuguese* furnish examples of the necessity of keeping a strict watch. To conclude this short account of the *Ivory Coast*, we will observe, that although it be divided into a variety of petty states and kingdoms, yet they have scarce any separate interests; for among themselves war happens seldom, and, of consequence, the slave trade here bears but a small proportion to that traffick on the *Gold* and *Slave Coasts*.

- f AUTHORS have observed, that the *Exomphalus Hernia umbilicalis*, or preternatural tumour of the abdomen at the navel from a rupture, is a disorder extremely common on the *Ivory Coast*; but how to account for its frequency we are at a loss. All other deformities of the body are as rare as this is common; and out of an infinity of negroes which *Barbot* had conversed with, he never saw but two who had any reason to complain that nature was unkind; one of whom squinted, and the other was born without a nose. These are all the particulars we have been able to cull out of authors concerning the *Ivory Coast*. If the reader should find them less full and entertaining than he might expect, he will attribute it to the little acquaintance which *Europeans* have with these negroes, with whom they only converse on board ships; seldom or never going on shore, but to wood and water, and never venturing upon any kind of land tour^a. They have, from two or three accidents, conceived such prejudices against the natives, that, till these are removed, we can never expect any distinct relation of the produce of the country, civil or political laws, manners, religion, or customs of the people.

Diseases of the natives.

^a Vide Auct. citat. in locis citatis.

S E C T. VII.

Containing the geography of the Grain or Malaguetta Coast; a description of its towns, climate, natural produce, and trade; of the manners of the natives, their language, religion, and government; together with a description of the country round the river Sestos, of its inhabitants, &c.

*Of the name
and geography
of the Grain
Coast.*

AUTHORS are greatly divided both about the name and the limits of this coast. ^a *Lemery* and *Prevost* are of opinion, that the *French* term for *Guiney* pepper is derived from *Melega*, a town of *Africa*: but how or in what manner this commodity was imported into *France* they do not inform us; so that no inference can be fairly drawn from their assertion, admitting it to be true^a. *Villault*, *Barbot*, *Smith*, and *Des Marchais*, think, with more reason, that the *Europeans* gave this coast its appellation, from observing, that it produced this species of pepper in greater abundance than any other part of *Guiney*; and we think it no weak proof of their conjecture, that the names of all the other coasts were imposed from the chief commodities they afford. The *Slave Coast*, for instance, is so called from its furnishing a greater number of slaves than any other country; the *Gold Coast*, from ^b the abundance of that metal found here; and the *Ivory Coast*, from the prodigious cargoes of elephants teeth bought up every year by the *Europeans*. It is true, that all these divisions produce much the same commodities; but as some particular species of merchandize was the staple or prevailing traffick of the country, so from thence it took its name, and is characterized. But, waving all such useless and dry disquisitions, we proceed to lay down its extent and geography.

STRICTLY speaking, the *Grain Coast* is contained between the *Rio Sestos* and *Grova*, a village two or three miles west of *Cape Palmas*, extending for a space of fifty-five miles along the shore. *Villault* says, that it begins at the river *Sanguin*, and stretches to *Cape Palmas*, which enlarges its limits to about sixty miles. Within those frontiers are the towns and villages of *Sestos* or *Sestro*, west of the river *Sanguin*, *Bottowa* or *Battaway*, *Seno*, *Sestro Krou* ^c or *Kro*, *Wappo*, *Bado*, *Great Sestro*, *Little Sestro*, *Goyava*, *Garraway*, and *Grova*, which last properly belongs to the *Ivory Coast*, with a number of intermediate towns and villages, whose names are not mentioned by voyagers^b. As we do not find all these places described by any authors, the reader must rest satisfied with the imperfect accounts they afford. *Little Sestos* stands about four leagues east of the river of that name, a space that is occupied by a ridge of rocky mountains, or rather one long extended height. The negroes of this place fish and trade, free of all customs to their princes and governors, which is all that is known of their history. About three leagues farther east is the village *Sanguin*, at the mouth of a river of that name, that discharges itself in the sea south-south-east, and capable of being navigated for twelve miles up by small vessels, notwithstanding the chanel ^d is narrow, and bordered by lofty trees, that cast a shade all over the water. This town contains about an hundred houses; and formerly the *English* had a settlement here, which the bad disposition of the natives forced them to relinquish. The king of this district is subject to the sovereign of *Sestos*. He is usually dressed in a blue robe, after the *Moorish* fashion, and takes great pleasure in visiting the *European* shipping in the road. Formerly the *Portuguese* and *Dutch* drove a great trade here; but the prodigious offers of white merchants at length so raised the price of pepper and ivory, that the market sunk, and is now in a very declining condition. Upon emergencies this is a convenient port to wood and water at, and also to take in provisions, which are rather plenty than good of the kind. ^e About a mile eastward stands *Baffa*, or *Bofo*, a neat village, where abundance of ivory is kept in readiness for the first shipping that calls; nor is it deficient in pepper. It is easily distinguished by a long sandy point, surrounded with rocks, that project into the sea. The language they speak is a corrupted *Portuguese*, or rather a mixed language, or a kind of *Lingua Franca*. Next stands *Setuna*, two miles from *Baffa* to the eastward, a village that trades largely in pepper and ivory. A mile farther *Battaway* presents itself, and is easily known at sea, by two large rocks, that stand two miles from shore to the westward, and also by some high mountains behind the town. This is one of the best built places on the coast; populous and rich; but the natives much addicted to thieving. It trades extensively in the above commodities; but is greatly exceeded by *Sino*, a town four miles to

^a PREVOST, t. v. l. ix. c. 2.
VILLAULT, p. 72.

^b BARBOT, p. 122. OGILBY, p. 380. DES MARCHAIS, t. i. p. 43.

- a the east. This latter place is richly stocked with pepper, which the negroes greedily exchange for plates of copper, bars of iron, perpetuanas, and some other *European* commodities. They readily come on board any shipping they discover in the road; but, like their neighbours at *Battaway*, are such expert thieves as to require a strict eye over them. Six miles east from *Sino* stands *Sestre Krou*, a pleasant, large town, plainly distinguished at sea by a *Sestre Krou* high cape, formed by three black hills, the west sides of which are covered with wood. *Wappo*, situated upon a small river, stands five miles from *Sestre Krou*. Here as well as at *Wappo*, *Sestre Krou* the elephants teeth are large and white, and the pepper in the greatest plenty and perfection. Between *Wappo* and *Great Sestro* stand two large villages, called *Drova Dru* and *Nisso*; each producing such quantities of pepper, that, for a bar of iron, *Barbot*
- b purchased three hundred pounds weight. The natives of these villages, and all the country round *Wappo*, are more civilized, gentle, and tractable in their disposition, than any other on this coast; but extremely covetous of *dashees*, or presents, before they enter upon the most trifling bargains. Their language is almost unintelligible to their nearest neighbours; but seems more articulate and soft than most of the others. From *Wappo* to *Sestro Paris*, or *Great Sestro*, on the river *Escravos*, the coast runs strait south and south-east. This large, handsome, and populous town, stands close upon the river, which is about a quarter of a mile broad at the town, but narrower at the entrance, where it is divided by two islands, some say one, which renders the navigation troublesome, and only practicable to small vessels. The town received the name of *Sestro Paris* from the *Dieppers*, who had a fac-
- c tory here; because it was the largest and best inhabited town within the frontiers of the *Grain Coast* (A). The houses are built after a different model from those of the other towns; for here they raise them, either square or round, four feet from the ground, ascending by a flight of steps to the door. At this height stands the first story, which is reserved as a chief apartment to eat, drink, or sleep in. It is lined with mats, made of the bark of trees, and in the middle is a chimney, where, in cold weather, they burn charcoal, and dress the victuals of the family; besides which it serves the farther purpose of drying their rice and *Indian* corn fit to grind. The second story, that runs up in a pyramidical form, is used as a store or lumber room, and is generally thirty feet high; which gives the town a very beautiful look, hundreds of spires raising themselves into the skies within so small a distance
- d of each other. Such are the conveniencies of private families: besides which, the town has a *palaaver* room, or council-chamber, where the chief men sit to deliberate on public affairs. This is a large apartment, raised high from the ground, and in the middle a kind of stage or orchestra erected, where those sages debate the affairs of society. Here the king and meanest slave drink and smoke without distinction of persons, as soon as business is ended; for with that the sovereign lays aside all the badges of majesty, and reduces himself to a private station. Here likewise it is usual to assort and value merchandize; and this, indeed, constitutes the chief part of the national business.

The last place we meet with on the *Grain Coast* is *Grova*; though, strictly speaking, it belongs to the *Ivory Coast*, if we reckon the eastern frontier of the *Grain Coast* from *Cape Palmas*, so called from the great number of those trees with which it is covered.

To give the reader the best idea of this division which our scanty materials will admit of, we shall observe, that the continual exhalations raised by the action of the sun from the rivers and sea-coast, are supposed to occasion certain inflammatory disorders, and malignant putrid fevers, almost always fatal to *Europeans*. This noxious disposition of the air prevails in a very high degree at *Cape Palmas*, and is sensibly felt at the distance of several miles from shore; an intolerable stink blowing off the land in the evening, when the north-east winds set in.

The productions of the earth are pease, beans, gourds, lemons, oranges, bananas, and a kind of nut with an exceeding thick shell, a most delicious fruit, for which neither the natives or *Europeans* have a name. The palm wine and dates of this country are in the greatest perfection of, perhaps, any part of the globe. Cows, hogs, sheep, and goats, are also in great plenty; but what constitutes the chief wealth of the *Grain Coast*, is the abundance of *Guiney* pepper it produces; which draws a great trade, not only with all the neighbouring interior nations, but with the *Europeans* also. According to *Barbot*, it is called by the negroes of *Sestos* by the name of *waizinzag*, and by those of *Cape Palmas*, *emanegbeta*. The plant on which this elegant production grows differs in size, according to the nature of the soil and other circumstances: in general it shoots out to the height of a shrub, attaching itself, like ivy, to some neighbouring tree. What grows upon the plant thus supported

(A) From the name, as well as many other vestiges to be met with in the place, *Des Marchais* concludes, that no doubt can arise of the *French* having been the first *Europeans* who touched here. Many of the customs

of the negroes plainly confirm it; and to this day, says he, they preserve their affection for their old friends, notwithstanding the *Dieppers* first settled here in the year 1336 (1).

(1) Vol. i. p. 149.

is of a finer flavour, more pungent and hot to the taste than what grows wild in the fields, and spreads to a great extent. The leaf is twice as long as broad, pointed, soft, and of a delicate smell in the rainy season, soon after which it fades, and loses all its beauty and flavour. Bruised between the fingers, the leaf and buds have an agreeable aromatic flavour, like that of a clove. Under the leaves, and indeed along the stalk, are small filaments, by which it joins itself to the nearest tree; but its flower cannot be described, as it buds in those seasons when no commerce is carried on with the coast: however, it is certain that it does flower, the fruit succeeding in the form of angular figs, of various sizes; according to the quality of the air and soil. It is covered by a rind, which the negroes believe to be poisonous, and is no other than a thin film, that soon dries and crumbles. Such is the description of this fruit given by *Des Marchais*, which differs in nothing material from what is related by *Barbot*. At *Rio Sestos* the fruit is large, and the plant so tall, spreading, and thick, that at the first view it resembles a wood.

Of the trade.

Bosman affirms, that, besides the *Guiney* pepper, this country produces another species of fruit, extremely like cardamoms both in taste and figure, and, in effect, the same in quality: adding, that in the interior countries there is found a species of pepper differing in nothing from that of the spice islands and *Moluccas*. This is the *pimento*, of which we have already spoken: sufficient it is that we add some particulars regarding its abundance and cheapness here. The *Dutch* purchase it in great quantities; probably to prevent its interfering with their *East India* trade, in consequence of an agreement between the *East* and *West India* companies: they freight whole ships with it; and we have been credibly informed, that a fleet of five or six sail have left the coast, with little or none other merchandize on board. At present, however, this trade is greatly on the decline, their *Molucca* spices being so well established, as to their credit, that such artifices are thought unnecessary. Their example has been followed by other nations; though we are told the *English* still preserve some part of their former spice trade. Now the chief commerce of the *Grain Coast* consists in ivory and slaves. *Marmol* relates, that before the arrival of the *Portuguese* on the coast of *Africa*, the merchants of *Barbary* used to traverse the continent, and trade largely with the *Grain Coast* in *Guiney* pepper; exporting it again to *Italy*, and all the southern parts of *Europe*.

Of the manners of the natives.

THE natives of this division are guilty of no excesses in eating or drinking, or indeed of intemperance in any kind of luxury. They admit the *Europeans* into all familiarities with their women; and even invite them to love banquets with their own wives and daughters; nay, some of them prostitute their wives to their own children; and when reproached by the *Europeans* for such a trespass upon decency, and the law of nature, they smile and call it a trifle. One quality they have in common with all negroes, which is a propensity to steal whatever they come near, especially from strangers and foreigners, though they never omit the opportunity whoever the person be. Sons will steal from their fathers, and they again purloin from their children; even the things they may have for asking or commanding, they chuse to possess themselves of by dint of genius and address. If they are received on board of a ship, nothing comes amiss; they steal the heads of old rusty nails, rather than go away empty handed; yet are they clamorous for presents or *dashees*.

Of the language.

THE language of this people is so difficult and peculiar in the idiom, that it is not only utterly unintelligible to *Europeans*, but to the nearest neighbouring nations, none of whom are able to act as interpreters. All trade is carried on by signs and tokens, not the most decent; the *Europeans* are forced to make love to the negro women by tokens, which, with the assistance of a lively imagination, they soon make shift to comprehend. In general they are well shaped, and handsome in their persons and features. The common dress is a *paan*, or unshaped piece of cloth round the waist. They are extremely subject to *scrotal hernias* and ruptures, but for what reason cannot so easily be determined, without a more thorough acquaintance with their manners; and *Barbot* has seen them of so extraordinary a kind, that the *scrotum* hung down as low as the knees. When any of them chances to travel out of his own little district, and is met by a stranger, they mutually embrace, pressing each others shoulders closely, and pronouncing the word *towa*. Then they begin and rub each others arms up to the elbow, still repeating *towa*; after which they apply to each others fingers, which they crack, and finish their extraordinary salutation, with crying out *enfanemate, enfaneemate!* that is, my dear friend, how do you?

THEY have some excellent mechanics among them; particularly smiths, who perfectly understand the art of tempering steel and other metals, and making arms, and all steel instruments, to the highest proof; nor are they deficient in shipwrights, who build their canoes of different sizes, upon certain regular principles. Experience hath taught them many useful improvements in husbandry, particularly in respect to the means of cultivating

a rice, millet, and *Guiney* pepper; the chief instruments of their subsistence and trade. Their *Of their*
Taba, Taba feyle, or as others call him, *Tabo feil*, or king, exerts an arbitrary power and *government.*
 despotic authority over his subjects, and never appears abroad but with the utmost pomp
 and magnificence. His people raise his power by certain implicit sentiments of a natural
 submission, and that awe, with which they would regard a superior Being. Their ignorance
 attaches them to paganism; but natural reason dictates a future state, as appears by the
 ceremonies performed to the souls of the deceased, which they pray they may meet happy
 in another world. They welcome the new moon with songs, dancing, and diversions of
 every kind; and their superstitious regard for forcerers is extreme.

- As the country round the river *Seftos* has been more accurately examined by *Europeans* than *Of the country*
 b the *Grain Coast*, we shall extract whatever we can find in authors deserving notice. *Phillips* *lying round the*
 seems to have taken great pains in sounding the depths of all the different bays, creeks, and *river Seftos.*
 branches, towards the mouth of the river, and as far up as shipping of any burthen can
 enter; concluding, with *Des Marchais*, that the anchorage is every where good and secure,
 but that the sea is rough, and the currents strong towards the south-east and north-west of
 the chanel. It is besides blocked up by blind rocks, covered with six feet water, and two
 that raise their tops in sight, which is the principal reason why this navigation is dangerous
 to shipping, but safe enough to small craft and light vessels. The true chanel is between
 that rock, standing in the middle of the largest eastern branch; here the breadth is half a
 cable over, and the depth thirty-seven fathoms, beyond which the river is broad and beau-
 c tiful, where ships of an hundred tons may anchor securely; within a cannon shot are some
 springs of excellent fresh water, from which the women of the country supply ships with
 any quantity, while their husbands are hewing down wood for the same purpose. The
 river has its source high up the country; but whence is not ascertained; however, some
 voyagers affirm, that barks and small craft can penetrate above twenty-five miles; after
 which it is filled with rocks and flats, which render it impassable, only by canoes. All its
 banks are adorned with fine trees, richly planted with villages, and refreshed with cooling
 streams of fresh water, that tumble down from the higher grounds and fall into the river.
 All the country on both sides is fertile, wild fowl are abundant, and rice and millet the
 common sustenance of the inhabitants; these, together with ivory and *Guiney* pepper, form
 d the staple commodities of trade. But with all the wealth of this beautiful country, the cli-
 mate is extremely unhealthy to strangers, and usually subjects them to dangerous and long
 diseases, many of their acute fevers terminating in some chronical distemper. Here is
 found a beautiful kind of flint or pebble, more transparent than agate, hard as a diamond,
 and almost equal in lustre when well cut. At the distance of an hundred paces from the
 mouth of the river stands a negro town, consisting of above an hundred houses, neat, well
 built, and commodious; which may be seen at sea three miles from land. *Des Marchais*
 describes two other towns, a little above, of almost equal dimensions, and separated by a
 pond of fine clear fresh water. The first of these stands on a peninsula, that helps to form
 the bay towards the entrance of the river, and is the principal seat of commerce.
 e *BARBOT*, who visited the king of this country in the year 1687, describes the seat where
 the monarch resided, as a little town of thirty or forty houses, on the banks of a pleasant
 rivulet, built with mud, and surrounded by an earthen rampart. Every house is at least
 one story above the ground floor, some three, and all of them whitened with a lime made
 from calcined shells. Their floors are made with rough beams, or branches of palm, laid
 close to each other, which renders it difficult to walk across the chamber without stumbling;
 and the roof composed of the same materials, covered over with banana and palm leaves.
 In the council chamber, *Barbot* was surprized to see cut out in basso relievo the figure of a
 woman, holding an infant in her arms, about three feet in length. On each side of the
 block of wood were cut out little platters to hold meat and drink for the *fetiche*; for such
 f it appeared to be. In this chamber, and before this idol, it was that the negroes performed
 all oaths, binding them to the execution of any contract or promise.

g This prince's name was *Basaw*, or *Peter*, a man of an agreeable aspect, soft disposition,
 but of a weak judgment, bordering upon folly. Of this I had sufficient experience, says
 our author, during my residence, as he never parted an hour from me during my stay here.
 He adds, that the town has hardly any other inhabitants besides the women, children,
 court, and slaves of the king. He had thirty women, wives and concubines, but the
 author had only seen six, one of which was beautiful to an extreme, though advanced in
 years. Her arms, legs, and other parts of the body, were marked with the figures of birds
 and beasts, seared on the skin with a hot iron, and at a little distance appearing to be in
 bas-relief; an ornament that is reckoned strikingly beautiful in this country. The king
 and all his children wear a cap made of the twigs of osier, the only badge which distin-
 guishes them from their subjects; for, in other respects, the children labour in the same
 vocations and employments as the meanest negro. When *Barbot* at any time made a trip
 of

of pleasure on the water, he was always attended by some of those young princes, who performed the office of watermen, and rowed the canoe. Both *Barbot* and *Des Marchais* remark, that although his power was absolute, capital punishments were rare, as the king found it more his interest to sell the criminals as slaves; and indeed this was partly owing to the clemency of his nature, and the good disposition of his subjects, who were seldom guilty of crimes of so heinous a nature, but constantly employed in the domestic cares of their families, or in trade and fishing.

Of the manners of the natives.

It is the observation of the last-mentioned writer, that the negroes of *Sestos*, are the most obliging and civil that he had ever met with; a glass of brandy being a sufficient inducement or reward for the most important services; but whether we are to ascribe their civility to their love of brandy, or their natural disposition, is what can only be determined by trying what good offices they will do for a stranger, without any reward or expectation. They are rather of a tall stature, well made, robust, and of a martial air; their courage corresponding with their aspect, as appears by their frequent incursions into neighbouring inland countries, in quest of slaves. Very few merchants, or rather factors, reside here; for the perpetual state of hostility in which they live with their neighbours breaks off all commercial intercourse, and renders gold but little known in *Sestos*.

THE sole employment of many of the negroes of this country is fishing, and every morning presents large fleets of canoes ranged along the shore, upon this business. Their common method of fishing is by a hand line and hook, which they seldom draw empty out of the water.

WHILE *Snoeck* staid in the country, he heard no mention nor saw any appearances of war, except with a neighbouring nation, that had entered the country and burnt some villages. This occasion was, however, sufficient to confirm the relations of former authors concerning their warlike disposition; for they attacked and drove the enemy, though superior in number, before them, slew a great many, and made a multitude of prisoners; which they sold to *Snoeck* and other *European* merchants.

DES MARCHAIS relates, that the natives of *Sestos* never wear any covering on their head, or hardly on any part of their bodies, in the most scorching seasons of the year, and heaviest rains. In this particular they surpass all the nations of *Guiney*; neither men nor women wearing any more than a small rag before to cover their nakedness. Nor is their diet less simple than their dress, their chief nourishment being from vegetables, notwithstanding they breed great quantities of cattle and fowls, in order to supply the shipping that touch on the coast. He adds, that from the *French* they borrowed the custom of taking Christian appellatives, such as *John*, *Thomas*, *Paul*, *James*, &c. though it is restrained to their captains and leaders, being given to them as a distinguishing name. If an *European* has engaged their affections either by his virtues or vices, they request leave to bestow his name on their children, and granting their petition is esteemed the highest favour; and for a century together those names have been found hereditary in their families, descending regularly from father to son. Their method of saluting differs but little from that which we have mentioned is practised among the surrounding nations, and other people on the *Grain Coast*.

Of marriages.

They have but few ceremonies previous to marriage; indeed, the only material one is a sum paid to the parents, after which the lover may carry off his mistress when he pleases: he drinks a few bottles of spirits with the relations, and then conducts the bride to his hut, where she is received by other women, who prepare every thing for celebrating a wedding. The night she passes with her husband; after which all distinction ceases, and she goes to labour with the rest of the women, receiving the honour of her husband's embraces in her turn, or at his pleasure. Such wives as bring their husbands the first child, and confer upon them the honourable title of father, have peculiar privileges ever after; they are the favourites of their spouses, and the chief persons in the family, which is intirely directed by them; yet in the end this felicity costs them dear, for they are buried alive with them, if they happen to die first. The captain or chief of the village, dying either a natural death, or of the consequences of a debauch in drinking strong spirits, immediately his wives set up loud lamentations, that warn the whole neighbourhood of the event; upon which all the other women in the place flock to the house to mingle their howlings with those furies. The favourite distinguishes herself by the violence of her plaints, which are perhaps the only sincere expressions among the whole, as she alone has cause. The parents of the deceased come and condole with the widow, and bid her the last farewell; the *marbuts* examine the body, and declare it fully and naturally dead; then, after washing, they anoint it, assisted by other priests, with a kind of fat or grease, from the head to the feet; in which condition it is placed on a mat in the middle of the house. All the women take their seats round the corpse, and the favourite places herself with a good grace at the head, as the post of honour; the stranger females making another circle round the former. They endeavour to rival each other in the violence of the hoarseness or shrillness of their cries, and the mad

Of funeral obsequies.

fury

a fury with which they tear their hair. All of a sudden, a pause of silence interrupts this dismal noise, and the virtues and the noble actions of the deceased are recited by one of them, by way of interlude; after which they resume their cries with redoubled vehemence. After this infernal music has continued for the space of two hours, a couple of stout negroes, without speaking a word, enter the chamber, and laying the body upon a litter composed of the branches of trees, they carry it away on their shoulders, running through the town, and counterfeiting despair and drunkenness, with gestures so highly ridiculous, as cannot be equalled but by the women from whom they have taken the corpse. This absurd circuit being performed in the space of an hour, the body is taken down from the litter, and laid upon the ground where it is to be deposited, when the cries of the women again begin.

b WHILE this howling employs the company present, the *marbut* is busied in digging a grave large enough for the two bodies. He kills a goat, sprinkles the grave with the blood, and makes an elegant repast of the entrails, part of which he gives to the favourite widow, now to become a sacrifice to her husband's affections. At length, when the *marbut* thinks it time to close the ceremony, he takes her by both arms, and delivers her to two negroes, who lay hold of her in a rude disrespectful manner, and tie her hands behind. In this situation they throw her on her back, lay a plank along her breast, upon which they mount one behind another, and crush her almost to death; after this they throw her half alive into the same grave with her husband, and immediately fill it up with earth and stones, all the spectators standing rather in a stupid admiration at the spectacle, than filled with that horror which might naturally be supposed to take place in the human breast. During the whole of this barbarous transaction, a profound silence reigns through the whole assembly; and as soon as it is concluded, every one departs with the same tranquillity as if nothing extraordinary had happened.

TRAVELLERS inform us, that though there are ingenious workmen in iron and metals in every part of the *Grain Coast*, yet that at *Sestos* they are peculiarly expert, having first learnt the art from the *French*, and since greatly improved it; insomuch that in tempering steel they greatly exceed any *European* nation. *Of their artists.*

d THE *Portuguese* were the first who dispossessed the *French* of their trade here, as well as in other parts of *Guinea* (if they really ever had the trade which their historians assert). For a number of years they exercised a despotic authority over the poor natives; but the great advantages they have derived from this commerce, having excited the emulation of the *English* and *Dutch* in 1664, their power began to give way to the more warlike and commercial spirit of these rivals. They lost gradually all their settlements, and being forced to retire into the interior countries, they resolved, as the last effort, to unite themselves with the natives by marriage; whence sprung that mixed progeny of mulattoes, more numerous here than in any part of *Guinea*. From policy, and perhaps from natural national affection, the *Portuguese* entrust them with the care of the small remnant of trade they now have, give them the appellation of *phidalgos* or gentlemen, reconcile them to the church of Christ, nay even admit them into holy orders, and render them useful in propagating Christianity and the gospel. *Of the Portuguese mulattoes.*

e THESE *African Portuguese* have established an extensive power in many parts of *Africa*; their complexion and alliances gaining them every where the liberty of commerce. They have penetrated into the interior countries, north of the kingdoms of *Gago*, *Benin*, *Mandingo*, and the remotest parts of *Ethiopia*, superior and inferior. Those settled on the banks of the rivers *Sierra Leona*, *Sestos*, and *Sanguin*, carry on a trade with the rivers *Gambia*, *Kasamansa*, *Rio St. Domingo*, and *Rio Grande*. It is certain, that the many advantages those mulattoes enjoy, and especially the credit they have with the negroes, would put them in a condition of driving perhaps the richest commerce in the world, if they were regularly supplied with *European* commodities and merchandize.

f THE ships employed in the slave trade touch at *Sestos* to take in rice, which they buy at the rate of two shillings per quintal in exchange. The *European* merchants send to the council room of *Palaaver* their merchandize, such as copper vessels, lead, and powder, which they exchange for goats, fowls, and other provisions. Half an ounce of powder will more than purchase a fine fowl, nay often a goat, and other things are bought at an equally reasonable price.

g WE cannot resist transcribing, from *Barbot*, an account of two extraordinary personages he met with at *Sestos*, though it does by no means relate to the general idea of the country we intended to convey. One of these men was of a large robust stature, his complexion almost white, but chequered all over with small black spots, that made him resemble a tiger. The complexion of the other was, on the contrary, a black ground spotted with white; but what rendered him still more curious was, that his whole life had been consumed without scarcely stirring out of the same place, and employed solely in smoking tobacco. His *scrotum* was of an incredible size, and the *penis* intirely sunk in its immensity. *Barbot*

was shewn the small passage through which he made urine, and he compares it to the juice passing through the prominence on the small end of a lemon; so diminished in comparison was the *penis*. He imagines, that, besides *hernias*, these two men had been afflicted with leprosy from their birth, notwithstanding they felt no inconveniency from the discolouration of their skin, and discovered no other symptoms of this disease*. It is certain, that leprosy is so frequent in the country, as to countenance in some measure his conjecture; but then it appears with far more malignant and fatal symptoms; and *Barbot* seems in another place to be of opinion, that the natives did not believe them infected, as they conversed familiarly with them; whereas they cautiously avoid the least communication with persons suspected of the smallest taint of the infection. It is probable, indeed, that their complexions were a kind of *lusus naturæ*, a variety in which nature sometimes delights, arising from some slight cause impervious to human reason. b

THIS is all we know of their manners; and how travellers come to know so much, we are at a loss to conjecture; as they all profess themselves ignorant of the language, and little conversant with the people: but we have ventured to relate these particulars on the faith of writers, in some degree of repute for integrity and intelligence. To conclude our account of this coast, of which we know so little, we shall observe, that the months most favourable to trade, are *February*, *March*, and *April*; that small vessels are more convenient than large ships, on account of entering the rivers and sailing up the country; and lastly, that the south-south-east winds begin to blow in the month of *May*, bringing constantly along with them heavy rains and tornadoes, extremely dangerous to shipping, with thunder and lightening that is terrible. c

S E C T. VIII.

Containing a geographical description of the country of Sierra Leona; the rivers Scherbro and Sierra Leona, with the trade carried on by means of them; the government, religion, dress, language, and customs of the natives; with a short account of the kingdom of Bolm; and several other particulars.

Geographical
description of
Sierra Leona.

THE next country we come to is *Sierra Leona*, a name given to some of the mountains on this coast by the *Portuguese*, on account of the great number of lions bred there. Others derive this name from the terrible noise made by the beating of the sea against the shore, which they have compared to the roaring of a lion, with what propriety we cannot say. The *Moors* call this division *Bulombel*, signifying a great country; and indeed, in its largest extent, it seems to merit the appellation. Geographers, however, are not at all unanimous about its precise boundaries, though the most distinct limits, as laid down by *Roberts*, in his *Atlas Geographique*, are from the *Grain Coast* on the south-east, to *Cape Verga*, or as *Labat* calls it, *Cape Vega*, on the north-west; comprehending within these frontiers an infinity of different kingdoms and states, of which we know not so much as the names. *Labat* again extends the *Grain Coast* to the river *Scherbro*, which he calls the south-east frontiers of *Sierra Leona*, and *Cape Verga* the north-east. Other writers still reduce these limits, and confine the country strictly called *Sierra Leona*, between the *Capes Ledo*, or *Tagrim*, and *Verga*, these two promontories forming that spacious bay into which the river *Scherbro* discharges itself. Towards the inland, its limits are uncertain; though *Barbot* has ventured to affirm, that the lake *Combuegudi* and the great kingdom of *Mandingo* form the northern frontiers, by this means comprehending under the division of *Sierra Leona*, a tract of country altogether prodigious*. d

Of the river
Scherbro.

THE great river *Scherbro*, which by some writers is called *Madre Bomba*, by others *Rio Selboba*, and by others *Rio das Palmas*, separates the country called *Sestos* from that region strictly called *Sierra Leona*; having its source a prodigious way up in the superior *Ethiopia*, and emptying itself in the sea on the frontiers of *Bolm Monu*, or *Monow*, forming there a great number of large marshes. Large ships go up as far as *Bagos*, twenty five miles from the mouth of the river, where the *English* formerly had a factory, and vessels of sixty and eighty tons burthen as far as *Kedham*, above two hundred miles from the sea, and indeed to the borders of the kingdom of *Mandingo*; whence it is probable, that the *Scherbro* is a branch either from the river *Gambia*, out of the lake *Sapor*, or from the river *Senegal*, both of them stretching eastward at right angles to it. As you penetrate above *Kedham*, the chanel grows gradually narrower, and in many places would seem to be blocked up by the branches of large trees crossing it; otherwise, in the months of *April* and *May*, during the rainy seasons, when vessels cut down the timber called *cam*, the chanel is ten feet deep, and even in the g

* Vid. BARBOT, VILLAUT, SNOECK, OGILBY, ATKINS, DAPPER, &c. as quoted. LABAT, c. ii. Relations d'Afrique occid. BARBOT, & VILLAUT, ubi sup.

* Vid. FINCH,

a dry seasons has seldom less than five or six feet soundings. The navigation of the *Scherbro*, as it is chiefly in the rainy season, is frequently interrupted with tornadoes, on the approach of which the vessels are obliged to fasten themselves strongly with cables to the large trees on the banks.

At the mouth of the river stands an island, by the *English* called *Scherbro*, by the *Portuguese*, *Forulba* or *Furelbocus*, by the *Dutch*, *Masta Quaja*, and by the *French*, *Cerbera*; stretching south-east and north-west along the coast, and forming a large bay between it and the continent. On the west point of *Scherbro* are three small islands, called *Tota*, in a direct line with it, to which the *English* have given the name of *Plantain Islands*, from the quantity of that fruit they produce. As to the island *Scherbro*, it extends ten miles south-east, producing great abundance of rice, maize, yams, bananas, potatoes, *Indian* figs, ananas, citrons, oranges, water melons, the nut called *kola*, with a variety of other fruits and roots. Fine pearls are found in an oyster bred on the shore; but the fishing for them is dangerous, on account of the numbers of crocodiles, allegators, and sharks, that infest all the mouth of the river. Wild fowls and elephants are also found here in such plenty, as could not be expected in an island of so small dimensions. The inhabitants are idolaters, notwithstanding which they practise the *Jewish* rite of circumcision.

On a little island to the north-east of *Scherbro*, called *York Island*, the *English* erected a fort, which they mounted with twenty pieces of large cannon; and at the distance of twenty paces from the fort on the same bank, they raised two large parapets, each defended by five pieces of artillery. All these works were built of stone, and the garrison consisted of thirty-five *Europeans*, and fifty or sixty negroes. Before the building of this fort, the *English* had a lodge on the continent, close to the sea, and fronting the eastern point of *Scherbro*; but both this and *York Fort* were relinquished in the year 1727, the factors retiring to *Jamaica*, a little island so called, four miles west of *York Island*: now they are all abandoned, the company maintaining no factory at all on the island or river *Scherbro*.

ALTHO' the *Scherbro* is the first river of distinction between the *Rio Sestos* and the river *Sierra Leona*, there are a number of intermediate streams and rivers of less note, some of which are navigable for several miles up, particularly *Junco*, the most eastern river of the whole, the *Rio de St. Paul*, *Rio de Galinas*, and the *Rio Maguiba* or *Nunez*; and north-west of the *Scherbro*, besides the river *Sierra Leona*, there are also navigable by small vessels, the *Rio St. Ana*, *Rio Pugomo*, *Rio de Capor*, and the *Rio des Pedras*, all of them succeeding in a regular course north-west.

WE shall begin our description of this country with *Cape Monte*, the first place of note we meet with north-west of *Sestos*, or *Cape Mesurado*, except the inland kingdom of *Folgia*, now conquered by the king of *Monu*. This cape, which the natives call *Wash Kingo*, is seen several leagues at sea, having the appearance of an inland or great mountain, surrounded by the sea, in ten degrees five minutes north latitude; but, according to *M. D'Anville's* charts, in seven degrees forty minutes north. It is a true peninsula, stretching east-south-east, and west-north-west into the sea, affording secure anchorage in two fine bays, on the west side. There is a small river of the same name, that falls into the bay within half a mile of it, and supplies the shipping with good fresh water. On the banks of this river is a plain several leagues in extent, and covered with villages, and all kinds of quadrupeds, as oxen, cows, goats, sheep, hogs, deer, hares, antelopes, with an infinite number of others; being in this particular one of the richest and most beautiful spots in the universe. Fowls of all sorts are found here in the utmost abundance; nor is the earth less prolific in fruits, roots, maize, rice, and millet. Here are pine-apples, citrons, lemons, oranges, and all the rich fruits of *Europe*, *Asia*, and *America*. The palm-wine is excellent, the air moderate, and the spring waters cool and refreshing; in a word, the country round *Cape Monte* is, except in the rainy season, the paradise of this part of *Guinea*.

DES MARCHAIS describes the inhabitants as not undeserving of so happy a situation, for they are mild in their nature, generous and sociable, handsome in their persons, industrious and disinterested, their labour being the result of reason, not of avarice. *Snoeck* conveys the same idea of this happy people, and indeed launches out into the highest encomiums on their virtues. Their chief occupations consist in cultivating rice, grain of all kinds, and making salt; certain portions of which are paid as a tribute to their monarch the king of *Quoja*, who holds them in the most abject subjection, but without diminishing their felicity, as his authority is intirely raised by their servile awe, rather than any extraordinary power he exerts. They are little acquainted with war, preferring peaceable negotiations to arms, in all disputes with their neighbours. The men are permitted to keep as many women as they can maintain; and as the females are no less laborious than the males, they find their interest in the multiplicity of their women; nor are the husbands at all jealous of the freedoms which strangers take with their wives. The supreme power under the king, and the courts of justice, are in the hands of the *caboceroes*, who deliberate upon all public affairs, and

and decide by a majority of voices. The officers of state are at the same time captains of a villages, and it is their fidelity, prudence, and courage, which obtain them those honourable employments.

CHILDREN of both sexes go naked till they arrive at the age of thirteen or fourteen years, when people of distinction wear a little cotton *paan*, and the common people remain in their primitive nakedness. None besides the king, his court, and officers of the household, go always cloathed. The women of a middle degree wear girdles of rushes or palm leaves, at a certain time of life, when nature dictates that nakedness would be indecent; and these are prettily woven, hanging down to their knees, bordered with a fringe of rushes, or flounced with palm leaves. They likewise wear brass, copper, or iron bracelets round their wrists, and large rings of the same metals upon their legs, to which they hang silver bells, which make a sound not disagreeable when they dance; an exercise of which, like all other negroes, they are passionately fond, especially of imitating the *European* manner. In other respects they are more chaste, more modest, and industrious, than the generality of negro women; and their husbands more jealous, says *Villault*, contrary to the testimony of *Barbot*, *Snoeck*, and *Des Marchais*, as well as *Labat*, who bestows the highest praises on the indulgence of the men in this instance; perhaps because they found it convenient.

Dress. BUT the most common dress among people of condition of both sexes is the *tomi*, made of woollen cloth, manufactured by themselves. The women tie this round the waist, letting it fall to the knee; but the men fix it before, and bring it betwixt their legs, tying it to the girdle behind. Both sexes take great delight in dressing their hair, or the wool of their heads, intermingling with it little plates of gold and other ornaments, an employment in which they bestow all the time they can spare from their other amusements and necessary avocations. Besides this, the women have another passion, that is, in making what they call a *fetiche*, and dressing themselves out in the manner most engaging to the men. Their chief ornament on this occasion consists of a line of paint, either white, yellow, or red, drawn across their forehead, which, being laid on wet, falls down in streaks to the eyebrows and cheeks before it dries. They have likewise circles of paint round their arms, legs, and waist, the negroes discovering extraordinary beauty in this diversity of colours. The ornaments among the men are much of the same kind, only differing in the size of the rings and bracelets, with which their arms, legs, fingers, and toes are loaded. Hardly the meanest negro goes without some of these, and the number increases with the wealth and vanity of the wearer.

Buildings. IN their houses, which are of the same model we shall have occasion to describe when we come to *Senegal*, they are neat and cleanly. The royal palaces and the houses of the great are an oblong square, with one story floored with beams in the manner we have mentioned in our account of *Sestos*, and covered with palm leaves so closely united, that it withstands the heaviest rains, and most scorching beams of the sun. The floor they divide into a number of apartments, allotted to different purposes; the first being a chamber of audience, surrounded with sofas, raised about a foot above the floor, and covered with mats of palm leaves, beautifully united and diversified with a thousand elegant colours. Here it is that the great pass most of their time, stretched along those couches, with their heads resting in the laps of their favourite women; here they eat, drink palm-wine, and smoke tobacco, when they receive strangers; another apartment answering those purposes when the family is alone. In their manner of eating they are more civilized than most other negroes; for here they eat off plates of a hard wood, and dishes of ivory neatly turned, and kept white with abundance of care. They use wooden spits for roasting: and that their elegance may be more uniform and consistent, their kitchens are intirely separated from their houses, to prevent their being incommoded by the heat, smoke, or fumes of the victuals.

Language. IT is observable, that the language of the negroes alters gradually as you pass along from east to west. Arts and sciences being intirely unknown among them, their language is formed by a few words, sufficient to express the necessities of life; that is, all the ideas they have; and hence perhaps reigns that silence observable in all their public meetings and entertainments, their ideas being insufficient to enliven conversation, and furnish a constant fund of discourse. Voyagers observe, that the same sounds frequently occur, even in a short discourse; and that their songs are only a repetition of five or six words. *Villault* says, that in his time a corrupt *Portuguese* mixture was in great vogue among them; nor need we be surprized at this, considering the number of mulattoes spread all over that part of *Africa*, who have formed to themselves a language, by blending together the *Portuguese* and negro tongues.

Religion. WITH regard to their religion, the same author observes, that it is difficult for *Europeans* to procure a distinct idea of it, it being a mixture of *Mohammedism*, borrowed from the *Moors* who cross the continent, of idolatry, ignorance, and superstition. He was once seriously told that the white men worshipped God, but the black men were votaries to the devil;

a devil; and *Des Marchais* assures us that they pay great regard to this being. They pray and sacrifice to him, but without acknowledging his divinity or loving him; and *Snoeck* remarks, with great appearance of truth, and from many instances, that their religion consists in paying an intire submission to the will of their king and governors; in this is contained the sum of all virtue; as for what passes above, they give themselves no trouble about it.

ALL the *French* writers affirm, that the *Roan* company carried on a regular trade hither, about the year 1526; although the seat of their factory can be discovered by no remaining monuments. When the *East-India* company sent some ships to *Cape Monte*, in the years 1666, 1669, the king of the country, probably the king of *Queja*, received the admiral b with all possible marks of respect; granting the freedom of all his ports, and an exemption from every kind of duty or impost. The reigning prince at that time was considerably advanced in years, of a noble and majestic deportment, tall in stature, and full of sweetness and engaging manners. His name was *Fullam Bure*, and he greatly delighted in the sprightly manners of the *French* nation.

ALL the *Europeans* who trade hither, the *English*, *Dutch*, &c. buy up great quantities of *Trades*. mats, cotton cloths, and ivory, which is nothing inferior to what they find on the *Ivory Coast*; however, what the natives purchase from the northern negroes is of a yellower cast, and of less value, though larger than what they produce in their own country. Here also are purchased the skins of lions, tigers, panthers, and other fierce animals, with which all c the mountains are filled. This coast likewise affords five or six hundred slaves yearly; but they are such as they buy, or get in exchange for their commodities from the king of *Mandingo*, and the interior regions of *Africa*; for custom forbids their enslaving any other besides criminals, which are sold for the king's emolument. *Cape Monte* furnishes as much gold, *Des Marchais* believes, as would support the expences of a factory, although it is drawn from the interior countries. Besides all these articles of commerce, the woods abound with trees useful for dying, which the negroes cut down and carry in logs to the shore, in pieces of about five feet in length, ready to be shipped. This is the wood which our merchants call *cam*, and prefer in many respects to brasil wood. *Atkins* observes, that d the timid disposition of the natives is almost the only obstruction to an advantageous trade with this coast. They surround the ship in canoes, which they row with great dexterity, and sing all the while out of respect, if they happen to have a *cabocero* on board. Before they board the ship they examine her closely, and after they mount deck betray their fears, by a certain impatience and anxiety visible in every countenance, which makes them hurry on business, and upon the slightest accident throw themselves into the sea. When a *cabocero* comes on board, he immediately presents to the captain a certificate from the last *European* ship that touched there, in testimony of the honour and kindness with which she was treated; a custom of great use, if practised with discretion and judgment; but if followed indiscriminately, through good nature, of bad consequence, as it only furnishes the negroes with the fairer opportunity of plundering and stealing.

e It would be endless to treat of every separate kingdom within the division of *Sierra* The kingdom of *Leona*, and indeed unnecessary, as the natural productions and manners of the people have Mesurado. nothing strikingly different; it may not however be improper to give a short account of the kingdom of *Mesurado*, before we proceed to the north-west end of *Sierra Leona*. Notwithstanding this country comes first in order in course from the south-east to the north-west coast, yet we have deferred our account of it, as of less importance, and in some measure dependent on the former.

BETWEEN *Cape Mesurado* and the river *Sestos*, is *Rio Junco*, a beautiful river, called Customs, man-ners, and reli-gion, of the natives. likewise *Rio del Punto*, under five degrees fifty minutes north latitude, about 500 paces wide at its entrance, the banks cloathed with a perpetual verdure, from groves of oranges, f limes, and all manner of fruit trees. Six miles east from hence is the river *Jabo*, on which stands a fine village, large and well peopled. Near this it was, that the merchants of *Dieppe* established a factory, some vestiges of which still remain; enough indeed to assure us, says *Des Marchais*, that the *Normans* traded hither. As to *Cape Mesurado* and the adjacent country, *Snoeck* affirms, that the chief wealth of the natives arises from the excellent palm-wine produced in this country, in great abundance; and that rice holds the second rank in trade. The natives take in exchange *bujis* and *kowris*, the most valuable of all possessions in their opinion; insomuch that *Phillips*, for about half a pint of these shells, bought thirty pounds weight of rice. They are also fond of bars of iron and scarlet cloths; but the country produces nothing worth while to carry a cargo thither. *Des Marchais* on g the contrary affirms, that *Cape Mesurado* furnishes 1500 or 2000 slaves yearly, 500 quintals of ivory, gold in proportion to the address and diligence of the factor employed, and as much dying wood as can be required.

The country is populous, and the villages stand so thick along the coasts, that they resemble one continued town. The women are so remarkably prolific, that one is amazed how

how the country finds sustenance for such a number of children. Although the laws of a proportion are but little regarded in building particular houses, yet their towns are laid out with the strictest order, and in a manner so analogous, that they can hardly be distinguished from each other, but by the surrounding country. The king's palace differs in nothing but extent and the number of apartments from other houses; only that here he has a magnificent state room; magnificent at least, for the simplicity of their manners, and ignorance of all the arts of refinement and luxury. In the middle of each village stands, upon pilasters about six feet from the ground, a town hall, what the natives call a *kaldé*, or conversation chamber. As the doors of this hall always stand open, you may enter at any hour, and meet with company and palm-wine. Here they transact bargains, talk over their narrow politicks, drink, and smoke tobacco. At *Cape Mesurado* there is one piece of luxury practised, but little known in any part of *Guinea*, from *Cape de Tres Puntas* to *Senegal*, and that is a kind of litter or *palanquin* of palm-leaves, in which persons of condition are carried on the shoulders of slaves. *Phillips* had occasion to go to *Andrea*, the capital and residence of the then reigning prince, who was called *Peter*; a name that had descended for generations, from king to king of this country. It stands about eight miles up the little river *Mesurado*, surrounded by wood, and intirely hid till you are ready to enter it. Like all the other villages and towns of the kingdom, it is walled round by a strong high earthen parapet and ditch, which intirely conceals the houses, and defends them. Instead of gates are little holes in the wall, just enough to creep through, that being their method of fortifying. Their mats on which they sit are elegant, and prettily diversified with red, white, yellow, green, and a variety of other colours. One thing remarkable in their buildings, especially the kitchens, is, that they are open to the contrary side to what the wind the blows. If they have an easterly breeze, they throw open the west side, if a south breeze, they receive the cool air from the north; having by this means a fresh draught of air, without the inconveniency of a brisk wind. In general those houses resemble theatres, more than dwelling houses. Besides these, the negroes have large buildings, intended for granaries, and for the most part well stocked with rice, millet, pulse, palm-oil, and *aqua vite*. Every week's provision is given out to the women by the master of the family, and then the magazine is locked up. An admirable order and regularity is preserved in all domestic concerns, every woman having her particular province appointed her; they take care of their children, render mutual good offices to each other, neither ambition or jealousy raising heats and contentions to disturb the tranquility of the family; but all living rather with the harmony of sisters, than with the rancour of rivals, in the affection of their lord.

THE religion of the country is the grossest idolatry, confused, and without any certain principle; their *fetiches* altering with their humour, and according to their caprice. The most constant object of worship is the sun, to which glorious luminary they make sacrifices and offerings of palm-wine, oil, fruits, and different sorts of animals. Formerly they used to sacrifice human victims; a barbarous custom! that has ceased, since commerce pointed out to them that their true interest consisted in the multiplicity of their slaves and prisoners, whom they sell to the *Europeans*. These offerings are made by the hands of the high priest or *marbut*, who shares with the king all that is valuable in it, the rest being left to the populace. The doctrine of *Mohammed* has never yet had footing among this people, altho' the name given their high priest seems to countenance this opinion; whence it is probably a name applied by the *Europeans*, and received into their language by the negroes.

Of the river
Sierra Leona. NORTH-WEST of *Scherbro* is the great river *Sierra Leona*, by some called *Mitomba*, and by others *Tagrin*, or *Tagrim*. This river derives its origin from a lake in the kingdom of *Mandingo*, according to some geographers; while others maintain it to be a branch of the river *Senegal*, or rather of the *Niger*; neither of which opinions are supported by unexceptionable proofs. The mouth, or first opening of the river, is three miles, some say three leagues wide; but four or five miles up its breadth is reduced to one mile. The entrance is not above two fathoms deep, except a narrow chanel close under the mountains, which varies from six to ten fathoms water; a circumstance that greatly affects the trade and navigation of this fine river. It abounds with fish, but is infested with crocodiles as far as it is known by the *Europeans*, probably indeed to its very source. It is bordered, without a single breach, with fine large trees, and filled with little islands all covered with wood, particularly the palm, whence the natives make incredible quantities of wine. When *Villault* was here in 1666, the *English* had a factory in one of the most fertile and beautiful of these islands. Their house was built of brick and hewn stone, defended by four pieces of cannon, and a small garrison.

BARBOT observes, that the north side of the river being low and flat, it is the southern country which is filled with high mountains, that, properly speaking, is called *Sierra Leona*: however, most voyagers give all that coast from *Sestos* to *Cape Verga* this general appellation. In the open and plain country, although the heat of the sun be intolerable

- a before a breeze rise, yet a refreshing gale always springing up towards the middle of the day, renders the country supportable enough, except it be woody and mountainous. In general it must be allowed to be an unhealthy climate to *Europeans*, as but too many instances of losses sustained by this nation evidently confirm. The continual thunder and rain, with a close, stifling, and malignant heat, that prevails for six months, and especially for four months of the year, bring on such a corruption of air, that myriads of insects are produced, and all animal food reduced in a few hours to a state of thorough putrefaction. People are confined for several days together in their chambers, to avoid as much as possible the pestilential infection of the atmosphere. Sometimes tornadoes produce a scene the most frightful and astonishing, day is turned into night, the most horrible darkness overcasts mid-day, and the face of nature seems all of a sudden to be changed. However this may seize strangers with amazement and terror, it is seldom attended with consequences that are fatal, or in the least dreadful to natives : so powerful is custom and habit.^b

- SIERRA LEONA is inhabited by two nations, the one called *Vieux Capez*, as the *French* spell it; the other *Kombus Manez*. The former pass for the most polished people in the latter for a barbarous, bold, warlike, and restless nation; esteemed men-eaters, or *anthropophagi*, as we are told the word *Manez* imports in the negro language. The *Portuguese* of *Congo* and *Angola*, look upon the *Capez* and *Manez* as the same race with the *Gagos* and *Galas*, who inhabit the east and north-east parts of *Congo*, and who have long been the terror of all their neighbours. They are all believed to be sprung from the *Galas Monous*, possessing those interior lands at the source of the river *Seftos*, as from one common root. The *Capez* and *Manez* nations were at perpetual war, till the year 1505, when the latter, leaving the inland countries, resolved to settle on the coast, of which the former were the natural inhabitants, taking the cruel resolution to ruin their country, and sell it to the *Portuguese*, who had about that time settled on the western coast of *Guiney*. After their arrival, they found the soil so rich and fertile, that they determined to remain there, and to sell all the *Capez* prisoners they could make to the *Portuguese*, and eat all those who perished in battle. Despair however animating the *Capez* nation, and giving vigour to their arms, the enemy found it impracticable to compass their design of wholly subduing or rather extirpating them. They maintained a part of their territories, while these barbarians possessed the rest; continual wars ensued, which lasted to the time *Barbot* was on that coast, in 1678. At that very time the *Manez* were preparing for a vigorous descent, and the others for a no less vigorous resistance; whence it may be conjectured, how destructive to both nations those incessant hostilities in so long a course of years must have proved. The *Capez* were the greatest sufferers, being despoiled of a part of their fine territories, their arts and commerce disturbed, the nation depopulated, and every thing kept in constant confusion by the alarms of those formidable and cruel neighbours. Their battles began however to be less bloody than formerly they had been; both sides were exhausted, and nothing hardly remained but the desire of hurting, the ability being spent. It is affirmed, that now they both are subject to the king of *Quoja*, who has his residence at *Cape Monte*. *Flanfin*, one of the predecessors of those princes, having conquered them, his posterity have ever since continued to govern them by viceroys, called *donghas*; in time, however, these *donghas* erected themselves into a kind of independent princes, and were, at the time *Atkins* was in the country (1727), at war among themselves, the younger brother with the elder. The younger, called *Tom*, then about sixty years of age, resided at *Tombey*, within a mile of *Bagos*, at a place where the *English* shipping usually come to an anchor.

- THE north side of the river *Sierra Leona*, towards its mouth, is possessed by two petty kings, the monarchs of *Burri* and *Bolm*, the first to the south, the other to the north. The king of *Burri* commonly resides at a village of the same name, which consists of about three huts, and five hundred inhabitants fit to bear arms. As to the king of *Bolm*, we are told that he and several of his court have been converted to Christianity by the *Portuguese* missionaries; how enlightened they may be we are not informed. In the language of the country, according to *Barbot*, *Bolm* signifies low ground, which some pronounce *Bulom* and *Bulon*, adding *Berre*, or *good*, from which they make out the name *Bulomberre*, by which the whole country of *Sierra Leona* is sometimes denominated. The coast of *Bolm* is low and flat in comparison of that of *Burri*, behind which lie the famous mountains, the *Portuguese* call *Sierra Leona*, forming a chain of the highest hills, except the *Ainbofes*, of any on the south or north of *Guiney*. Within these mountains are such a number of dens and caverns, that a cannon fired in the bay, makes a frightful echo here; nor had thunder a less dreadful effect, the first time it was heard in this country. Hence it was, that the *Portuguese* called them *Montes Claras*.

To return to the river *Sierra Leona*: it is filled with islands and little rocks, that resemble a number of hay ricks. The chief islands are *Togu*, *Taffo*, *Benfè*, in the last of which

^b ATKINS, p. 56. BARBOT, p. 72. VILLAUT, p. 154. DES MARCHAIS, t. i. p. 79. & seq.

the *English* had a factory and little fort, fronting the palace of captain *Tom*. The fort was a built of stone, flanked with parapets, mounted with five pieces of heavy artillery, with an intermediate curtain and platform mounted with ten cannon. The garrison was usually composed of twenty white and thirty black men, free negroes, who lived in huts covered by the cannon of the fort. In 1704 it was taken without resistance by two *French* men of war, under the command of the *Sieur Guerin*. At that time the garrison amounted to an hundred men, all of whom, except a gunner and six soldiers, abandoned the fort, headed by their commander, on the approach of the shipping. After pillaging the fort, and making prize of four thousand elephants teeth, together with other merchandize proper for the country, the *French* razed it to the ground. As for the fort on the island of *Taffo*, it was destroyed by *De Ruyter* in the year 1664. b

Of the natural
productions of
the country.

A SMALL distance from the head of the bay of *France*, a creek near the entrance of the river, *Barbot* takes notice of a bason of fresh water, which tumbling down the mountains is collected in this reservoir in such a quantity, that an hundred tons may be filled in an hour by a few hands. Nothing can exceed in beauty this delightful spot, surrounded with hills covered with wood, which afford a perpetual shade, in a country parched with the sun, the numberless cascades gliding down the mountains in gentle murmurs, or rushing with an impetuous stream and noise, which either lull or rouse the attention, just as you happen to apply the object, or assist to give an additional coolness to the scene. In this agreeable retreat it was, that our author used to dine, and spend whole days, when his business would permit. In a wood, at a small distance from hence, is the house of captain *Tom*, c or rather the residence, composed of a number of little huts, round which he has a well cultivated plantation, filled with delicious fruits. He exacts a duty of two or three crowns from shipping, for the privilege of wooding and watering here. The whole country on every side the river is rich in rice and millet, which makes the chief sustenance of the inhabitants. The women grind the rice and form it into little balls or cakes, while the men steep it in water, and eat it greedily without any other preparation. Lemons, oranges, citrons, and bananas, are produced in great plenty and perfection; but they have but little *Guiney* pepper, that however being excellent that the country affords. Farther up the river, all the above fruits, together with ananas, *Indian* figs, water melons, wild pears, cassava, white prunes, *manioke*, different sorts of pulse, and the nut *kola*, are in extreme d abundance. These provisions they carry upon their shoulders to the shore for the use of shipping in the road.

BESIDES fruits, roots, and the spontaneous productions of the earth, there are in great abundance, fowls, hogs, hares, and deer, which mariners may purchase for a little *aqua vitæ*, of which the natives are extravagantly fond, preferring it to the best palm-wine. The mountainous parts are well stocked with elephants, lions, tigers, wild boars, different sorts of apes and monkeys, together with serpents of so monstrous a size, that, if we may credit writers, each of them is capable of swallowing a man whole. The negroes pretend to have a plant of sovereign virtue against the poison of this animal; but as it is scarce, the natives frequently perish of their wounds before it can be procured. Monkeys are so plentiful, that, e forming themselves into bodies, they make incursions into all plantations, which they ravage and spoil with that eagerness for mischief peculiar to this ugly animal. One kind of them they call *barry* is of a monstrous height, and amazing docility. When young they learn to walk erect, and seldom chuse any other posture: they grind their rice or millet, steep it in water, carry it in vessels on their heads, and turn the spit when meat is roasting. Nothing is too difficult for this imitative animal; they will even open oysters, of which they are great lovers, with a knife. Here the negroes are fond of their flesh, preferring it to that of all other animals, except the elephant. The woods furnish a retreat to an infinite number of parrots, paroquets, pigeons, and other birds, of the most beautiful kinds, but they are not easily taken, on account of the thickness and closeness of the trees. The sea and rivers afford the same fish f as the other parts of *Guiney*, and a constant supply of fresh provisions to the *European* mariners; for the negroes here are too indolent, says *Barbot*, to make the instruments of fishing, and catch no other fish but what is left by the sea among the rocks.

EVERY part of the country is covered with wood and fruit trees, some wholesome and congenial to the human constitution, others virulently poisonous. *Finch*, in his voyage, mentions a tree resembling a beech, which the negroes call *agon*. it bears an oblong fruit, like the pod of a bean, distinguished into three kinds from its size, but all of the same malignant qualities. The negroes use them in poisoning their arrows, for which purpose nothing can be better contrived, the smallest quantity of it, entering the humours of the body, being fatal. Within the pod are inclosed four or five square beans, almost like the seed of a tamarind, incircled with a hard rind, containing a yellow kernel, from whence g the poison is extracted.

a THE inhabitants of this part of *Sierra Leona*, that is, on both sides the river, are not so black or flat nosed as most of the other negroes. They adorn their ears with a great number of toys they call *kazubos*; and it is usual with them to mark their cheeks and noses with certain figures, raised by a red hot iron. Their fingers are loaded with iron rings, and their arms with bracelets. Both sexes go naked to the age of fifteen; at which time they begin to dress in a little piece of cloth, wrapt round the waist or the back, or leaves of trees formed into aprons. They also wear a leathern girdle or belt, to which hangs a long knife or poniard; but persons of condition appear abroad in a long flowing robe of striped callico, like the *Moorish* dress, with this girdle buckled over it, or under, according as they intend to be more or less dressed.

b As they are naturally malicious, turbulent, and jealous in their dispositions, they seldom live long without quarrels and dissensions among themselves: and the *Euproeans*, who are continually exposed to their insults, can contrive no better means of vengeance, than by burning their huts and ruining their plantations. On the other hand they are temperate and sober, from a dislike to gluttony and drunkenness. Tho' they are beyond belief lovers of spirits, brandy, usquebaugh, &c. yet do they never drink to excess, deeming the loss of reason to be one of the most beastly vices a man can commit. They have likewise a quickness of apprehension, and a delicacy of sentiment, particularly the *Capez* nation, not to be met with in other negroes; however they are, it must be acknowledged, extremely lascivious and effeminate; though their constant wars with the *Manez* has somewhat exalted their

c courage, and improved their military skill. Every house in this country is provided with a public room or school, to which all parents send their daughters to be taught singing, dancing, and other accomplishments, under the eye of a matron of noble birth. After a year's residence here, the young ladies have a public ball, where they give proofs to all the inhabitants of the town of the proficiency they have made at school: and this may be called the school of love; for here young men chuse their wives, pay their first address, and are first attracted. No regard to birth or fortune is heard of here; but every one chuses the woman whose accomplishments he thinks are most likely to render him happy. A lover no sooner declares his affection, than he is already looked upon as married, provided his circumstances will admit of making certain presents to the parents of the young lady, and to the matron entrusted with her education.

d VILLAUT affirms, that all sense of decency and modesty is confined to the men, the females being the most abandoned of all prostitutes. According to him, their women are all in common: a man takes a certain number of wives, or as many as he pleases, confining his embraces to a few; the rest he lets out upon hire to his neighbours or strangers. She who holds the first place in the affections of the husband, and properly bears the title of wife, is served with great submission by the rest, and her virtue narrowly watched by the husband. Their methods of punishment and purgation of crimes are similar to what we have described in our account of the *Gold Coast*. On a charge of adultery, murder, and the most heinous crimes, the accused must drink off a certain red water, prepared by his judges; that is, if his life has been disorderly, or strong presumptions appear that he bore malice to the deceased. Of this he drinks till he swells up and dies; it being prepared strong on purpose: but when the judges intend to mitigate the punishment, they dilute the water plentifully, and weaken the force of the ingredients; which passes, from the effects, as proof of the innocence of the accused.

e THEY have their *palaavers*, or town-houses, where the chief persons of the village meet, to adjust differences among the inhabitants, or with *Europeans*. On coming into the great hall they salute each other, by bending the elbow and touching their forehead with their hand. After both parties are heard, and the case fully canvassed, the equity of their several claims is settled by a vote of the majority of the judges. *Panyarring* is a term for stealing men, or indeed any thing else. If a man has been defrauded by his neighbour, custom has established it into a law, that he may retaliate to the amount of his loss; but he must prove before the judges at the *palaaver* court, that he is no gainer by the exchange of property.

f ATKINS mentions a few peculiar customs omitted by *Barbot*, *Villault*, and *Labat*. He says, that the migration of whole villages is frequent among them, if they dislike their situation, or prefer another to it: they soon clear ground enough for their new habitations and plantations; nor is this reckoned any encroachment on the property of a neighbouring village, as all uncleared grounds are in common, and they become the lawful proprietors who render it first useful to the purposes of society. "Captain *Joseph*," says our account, "a Christian negro, has lately shifted his residence from this place (at the mouth of the river *Bullom*), which was a neat, well-built town, higher up the river, where he has to begin building afresh." Their huts are generally of an orbicular form, a spacious area in the middle, the doors paved with oyster and cockle shells, two or three crosses erected in different

ferent parts of the house, and the whole surrounded with limes, papas, pine-apple, and plantane trees, and beehives, which they make out of the trunk of a tree, and erect upon high poles * (A).

ANOINTING their bodies, especially their arms and legs, with palm oil, is a daily practice with the negroes of both sexes; which cannot be omitted without the imputation of slovenliness. Some use civet, or musk, procured from an animal found here on the banks of the *Scherbro*, about the size of or larger than a cat, with a head resembling a fox's. This species of perfume cat we have already described.

As to their religion and government, *Barbot* observes, that they hold some particular tenets, no-where else to be met with. Before the *Capez* and *Manez* had erected themselves into independent states, they were governed, as we have taken notice, by viceroys, who administered justice according to the laws of the country. They held their courts and other public meetings in a hall that surrounded their palaces, which they call *fankos*, at the upper end of which was seated the viceroy, as supreme judge, upon a throne raised high, and covered with a beautiful mat for a canopy; the *saltatesquis*, or counsellors, being placed round him on benches. Here the parties with their advocates are produced, and, after pleading their several causes, the viceroy sums up their arguments, which he refers to the counsellors, as to a jury. Sentence is pronounced according to the opinion of a majority, the judge having a casting vote, and immediately executed, whether it be a fine, or corporal punishment, or banishment. The advocates or lawyers are no less preposterous in their dress than the gentlemen of the long robe in *Europe*; for they use clappers in their hands and bells on their legs, with which they would lay an emphasis upon those parts of their pleadings which they would have particularly attended to by the judge, by jingling their bells and striking their clappers. They are dressed in long robes, or a kind of cassock, adorned with large plumes of feathers, which to an *European* give them an air of extreme buffoonry; nor are the ceremonies accompanying the election of a *saltatesque* a whit less ridiculous. The candidate is seated in a wooden chair, dressed in the manner of the country. After the viceroy has several times struck his face with the bloody entrails of a he-goat, killed for the occasion, he then rubs his body all over with the same piece, claps a red bonnet on the head of the candidate, and pronounces the word *saltatesque*. This disagreeable and uncleanly ceremony being ended, the new counsellor is carried in his chair three times round the *fanko*, and for three days gives a public entertainment, celebrated with bonfires and the discharge of musquetry; and, to close the ceremony, and be duly elected, he sacrifices an ox, which he cuts in pieces, and divides among all his brother counsellors.

Of their religion.

AFTER the conversion of the king of *Fatima*, by father *Bareira*, a great number of negroes in all countries, we are told, followed his example, and received the light of the gospel. This conversion, of which the Jesuits boast so greatly, was effected in the year 1607; since which time the natives of the coast, and indeed interior countries, have relapsed into their former idolatry. In *Sierra Leona*, as well as in many other parts of *Africa*, the negroes wear on their arms, legs, or breasts, little figures, they call *grisgris*, to which they pay constant worship and adoration. Whenever they eat or drink, they offer a part of their food to this little deity. Fully assured that this idol has a particular influence and authority over the element of water, they never enter their canoes, either on the sea or rivers, without being secured from danger by this preservative; and as they attribute the success of their voyage to the kind interposition of the *fetiche*, so they redouble their adoration, zeal, and acknowledgements for his favour, on their return from any expedition. *Barbot* once saw a *grisgris fetiche*, or land deity, which represented a man's head in miniature, upon a pedestal. It was covered over with a little tent, to preserve it from the air: and he was informed by good authority, that in the provinces of *Bolm* and *Timna*, numbers of these are found in every house and upon every road, either in honour of the dead, or for the protection of the living. In worshipping them the negroes have been often heard to pronounce the words *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, and some names mentioned in the gospels; probably a remnant of the instructions of the Jesuits. The same writer adds, that he never heard of a *Mohammedan* upon the coast, or within some hundred miles of the sea, that sect being established only in the interior countries, and about the *Niger*: however, he says, that all the inhabitants of *Bolm*, *Timna*, *Silm*, *Kondo*, *Quoja*, *Folgia*, *Galas*, and, in a word, all this country of *Sierra Leona*, are circumcised; and, he might have subjoined, of all the

* P. 72.

(A) It would appear from *Atkins's* account, that some houses have an open area: "for," says he, "I have seen a large tree in the middle of the area or court, with 500 hanging nests upon it (1)." These are built by a small familiar bird, that builds upon the flen-

dereft twigs, their nests floating suspended in the air, like fruit, and declaring the force of instinct, which prompts them by this ingenious contrivance to protect their young against monkeys, parrots, and squirrels; the branches being too small to sustain their weight.

(1) P. 51.

interior

a interior and maritime provinces of *Guiney*, and every negro country; this practice being derived no more from the *Mohammedans* than from the *Jews*; but a custom established among almost all primitive nations, particularly of warmer climates; and taking its origin, perhaps, from a mode of cleanliness, which it would be unnecessary to explain.

LABAT is more particular in his description of the persons and religion of the negroes of *Burri*. Both men and women are tall and agreeably shaped, of an extreme black complexion, regular features, lively piercing eyes, and white teeth. There is not to be seen among them a flat nose, or thick lips, nor any of those blemishes of features, esteemed beauties among other negroes. The men have as many women as they are able to purchase by presents to the parents: but though they treat them with extreme regard, they are jealous only of one woman, who is in fact the wife, the others being rather on the footing of concubines, permitted to prostitute themselves to strangers for hire, which they share with the husband. Nor is there the least reproach annexed to their incontinence: on the contrary, they are looked upon as faithful servants, attached to the interest of their masters, and labouring diligently in their vocations. During pregnancy a husband has no commerce with his wife, nor for the term of four years after her delivery. The prince who reigned at *Burri*, in 1666, had embraced the Christian religion, and was baptized by the name of *Philip*; but he allowed his subjects liberty of conscience, not pressing their conversion, tho' he entertained the missionaries at his court, the one a Jesuit, the other a Capuchin. LABAT says, that the zeal of those fathers had but little effect in checking the extreme passion of the natives for women and wine, the two most obstinate vices in the breast of a negroe: yet the other writers extol them as mirrors of sobriety and temperance. In other respects, say the Jesuits, they are honest, sincere, humane, and hospitable to strangers. They still retain something of the manners of the *Normans*, who were once settled among them, if we may believe the *French* writers; who have an admirable talent in complimenting their own nation upon the most trivial occasions. The prevailing religion, says LABAT, is idolatry; but without principle, order, festivals, or ceremonies. The number of their gods is indefinite, or rather infinite; every one creating his own deity, as caprice directs. One worships a horn, another a crab shell or claw, a third a nail, a bird's head, a cockle, or a stone; and all these objects of their devotion are called *fetiches*: in this respect differing in nothing from the more eastern provinces of *Guiney*. Their *fetiches* they wear in little bags round their necks, adorned with bits of glass, shells, &c. called *cowris*, and other such trinkets; and feed them morning and evening with their best provisions. Such are the bounds of their religion: narrow indeed, and overcast with deep ignorance: "but still more happy" in it than the savages of *America*," says LABAT, "who are frequently beaten by the devil; whereas here they never receive any injury from their *fetiches*:" a puerile remark, that shews how ignorant this author must have been of the manners he describes: for it is certain there are negroes on the *Guiney* coast, who entertain the same notions as the savages of *America* of the devil; and complain, that they are frequently roughly treated by him^d.

BARBOT informs us, that in the province or kingdom of *Capez* the royal dignity was hereditary in the same family, before they were conquered by the king of *Quoja*; the youngest son always succeeding to the crown: but in case of deficiency of heirs male, the next of blood was called to the throne, with some very peculiar customs. A number of the nobility visit him at his house, tie his hands behind, and in this condition carry him to the palace, amidst crowds of people, who scoff and insult him by the way, and have even the privilege of beating him with rods; intimating, that this is the last time he will ever see the real inclinations of the people. On his arrival at the palace he is invested with the badges of royalty in the *fankos*, or great hall, where he is attended by the *saltatesquis*, and nobles of the kingdom. The oldest counsellor then harangues the people on the necessity of chusing a prince, and enlarges in the praises of the monarch elect; after which he puts a hatchet into the king's hands, signifying thereby the necessity of punishing crimes injurious to society. The prince is then crowned amidst the acclamations of the people, all of whom flock to the throne to offer their submission and fidelity^e.

THE deceased kings are buried in the public road leading to the capital; in favour of which custom they observe, that persons so much elevated above the rank of other men in their life-time, should likewise be distinguished by some extraordinary ceremony at their deaths. All the other ceremonies resemble those we have mentioned in our account of the *Gold Coast*. Every one is buried with what he possessed most valuable, and a small opening is left at the head of the grave. The body is carried to the grave by a silent company of friends, more or less numerous, according to the quality of the defunct; and the hired mourners pour out their plaints and tears in proportion as they are paid.

WE shall conclude this section with a short extract from *Atkins*, concerning captain *Joseph*, of whom we have made mention a little above. This little prince had removed from his

^d T. ii. p. 221.^e BARBOT, p. 123.

village on account of the expence of living so near the *English* factory (B); and also for the a
conveniency of *panyarring*. He had been in *England* and *Portugal*, at the last of which places
he was baptized, and received into the bosom of the Christian church. He had built a little
chapel, for the preaching the doctrine of Christ, where he and his people that were Christi-
ans used to assemble. Here he erected a cross; taught several of his people to read, and
dispersed among them little *Romish* prayers. Through dint of industry and commerce he
has enriched himself, and made his people happy, the country round him abounding in
beautiful plantations of grain, roots, and fruits; while his inland neighbours are forced to
live upon honey and *manioko* root. When *Atkins* visited him he was dressed in an *European*
habit, gown, slippers, and a cap, and received him with great courtesy and hospitality. b
He sent his canoes with the *Europeans* to shew them the diversion of catching *manatees*, and
left nothing undone that could contribute to render their visit agreeable to them, or impress
a favourable idea of his own character.

S E C T. IX.

Containing a geographical description of the interior countries from Rio Sestos to Sierra
Leona; particularly of the empire of Monou, and the kingdoms of Quoja and Hondo:
also a description of the manners, religion, government, &c. of the natives.

Description of the interior countries, from Rio Sestos to Sierra Leona. WE begin this section with an account of the interior countries between *Rio Sestos* and c
Sierra Leona. The first people of note we meet with are the *Quabes*, inhabiting the
southern banks of the river *Sestos*. They had formerly been conquered by *Flansire*, king of
Folgia; but, having thrown off their subjection, they have ever since remained a free
people, though under the protection of the emperor of *Monou*, or *Manu* (A). Next follow
the powerful nation of *Folgia*, and great empire of *Monou*; the limits of both which are
utterly unknown. Both kingdoms are watered by the rivers *Junco* and *Arvorado*, which
divide *Folgia* from the kingdom of *Karrow*: but since the union of these two nations, the
monarch of *Karrow* resides in the kingdom of *Folgia*. The *Folgians* are dependent on the
emperor of *Monou*, and the *Quojans* upon them.

Of the empire of Monou.

THIS powerful monarch extends his authority over all the neighbouring nations, and has d
reduced them almost to a servile obedience, a few only excepted. They pay him an annual
tribute of the produce of their country, or of *European* merchandize purchased from the
maritime negroes; such as glass, toys, bars of iron, or slaves: and the *Folgians* expect the
same tributes in their turn from their vassals. They give the emperor of *Monou* the cogno-
men of *Mandi*, which signifies *lord*, and to the *Quojans* that of *Mandi Monou*, or *servants of*
the lord; esteeming it an honour to be distinguished as tributaries to his imperial majesty.
Hence it is that our geographers are fallen into the mistake of confounding the provincial
or tributary kingdom of *Quoja* with the empire of *Monou*^a. Notwithstanding this submis-
sion to the emperor, each king enjoys an unbounded jurisdiction within his own territories,
and can make laws, declare war or peace, without permission from any one, and of his own e
will and choice. It is really astonishing, that a people, once so despicable, and dominions
so confined as those of *Monou* formerly were, should be able in the course of a few years to
establish so potent, extensive, and vast an empire as it now is, by force of arms alone; and
it is perhaps no less amazing, that so potent a people as the *Folgians* should quietly submit
to the yoke, without once offering to recover their liberty. No other cause can possibly be
assigned for events so extraordinary, but the situation of the countries, and the admirable
policy of the court of *Monou*, of which we shall have occasion to speak farther, after we
have described the different kingdoms of this division.

Kingdom of Quoja.

NEXT follows the powerful kingdom of *Lower Quoja*, comprehending all that space from f
Cape Mesurado to the river *Scherbro*, surrounding the sea-coast behind, in an arc of a
circle. *Upper Quoja* is situated farther north-west; and is bounded by the *Scherbro*, the
kingdoms of *Hondo* on the north, *Silm* on the north-west, and the kingdom of *Eastern*

^a BARBOT, p. 83, ubi sup. Vide etiam auct. citat. ubi sup.

(B) This factory was abandoned in the year 1728. It was probably that on the island of *Benise*, of which we have spoken.

(A) We find this empire called by the *English* geo-

graphers *Mendi Manow*; and even the *Sieur D'Anville*, improved by *Bolton*, has it so in his chart of the coast of *Africa*; but we have preferred the authority of *Barbot* and *Dapper* (1).

(1) See *D'Anville's map of Africa*.

a *Bolm* on the south (B). *Barbot* affirms, that all the interior country, from *Cape Monte* to *Wacongo*, near the river *Sierra Leona*, bears the name of *Quoja*: but we have ventured upon the authority of *Dapper*, *D'Anville*, and the accurate geographer *Bolton*, to lay it down more south-east, and beginning with *Cape Mesurado*.

As to the kingdoms of *Galas*, *Galavey*, *Hondo*, and *Karrow*, we know nothing besides their names, and that they form a chain behind the maritime provinces from *Quoja* to the kingdom of *Mitombo*. Thus much travellers inform us of the kingdom of *Galas*, viz. that its capital is called *Gala Falli*; that the country is filled with towns and villages, most of which stand on the banks of the river *Maffilagh*. The kingdom of *Hondo* is divided into Hondo a four principalities, *Maffilagh*, *Dedouagh*, *Dangyrni*, and *Dandi*, whose viceroys or princes powerful are appointed by the king of *Quoja*. They have all an equal authority, and pay the same state. tribute to their superior, viz. copper vessels, cloth of *Quaqua*, from the *Ivory Coast*, scarlet cloths made in the country, and salt.

b THE two last kingdoms are *Silm*, or *Cilm*, and *Bolm*. The first, according to *Dapper*, is forty miles from the sea. Amidst a number of other towns and villages, voyagers take notice of *Quanamora* in particular, which contains at least five thousand families; the inhabitants having the reputation of a faithless, perfidious people. *Eastern Bolm* stands on the *Scherbro*, and is no more than a province of the former kingdom, which is itself tributary to the king of *Quoja*, and he again subject to the emperor of *Moncu*; so that here are degrees and a subordination of vassalage. The town of *Bogos*, or *Boga*, is the residence of the king; and contains about two hundred houses.

c THE negroes of the interior countries, as well as those on the coasts, are libidinous, and much given to venery, which greatly abridges their lives, and emasculates them before the prime of life. The women, who are no less addicted to the pleasures of sense, use philtres, potions, and herbs, supposed to be possessed of provocative virtues, in dressing their husbands' victuals. In a word, nature is soon extinguished by the eager desire of making it perform actions above its powers. This is their greatest vice, and indeed the most prejudicial to society of any other: in all other respects they are temperate, modest, gentle, and sociable, to a degree much superior to the coast negroes. They take no delight in shedding human blood; ambition seldom occasions wars, upon which they never almost enter, but in self-defence. They live in the closest bonds of friendship, always ready to succour and relieve each others' distresses, and remove the slightest inconveniences. With a friend under misfortunes they will share their cloaths, their victuals, and their all; expecting or receiving the same treatment from him in their turn. If a person happens to die when his effects are insufficient to bury him, his friends contribute to the expence of his interment, and attend with the same respect, and even form, as if he had divided an estate among them. Among each other stealing, the common vice of negroes, is hardly known here: for, by the benevolence of their temper, it is rendered unnecessary; however, they are less scrupulous with strangers; owing chiefly to the narrow minds and selfishness of *European* merchants, who have no idea of the generosity that reigns here. Upon the whole, one would imagine, that writers are describing an *Utopia*, and a phantom republic of the imagination, not a rude uncivilized nation of negroes, whom we unjustly term savage and barbarous.

d HERE, as in all other negro nations, polygamy is suffered, and encouraged by law: but whatever be the number of women, the husband attaches himself to one in particular, who has the government of all the rest, and of all domestic affairs. Here she is distinguished by the name of *makilma*; the marriage ceremony being the same as in other countries, with this difference only, that the bridegroom must necessarily make three nuptial presents to his intended bride. The first, which is called *taglo*, usually consists of a piece of coral, or some glass trinkets; the second is called *jafn*, and for the most part is composed of pieces of cloth and apparel; and the third, called *lafing*, is a small chest or box, with a lock, in which to deposit her jewels and valuable effects. All these are proportioned in value to the wealth and affection of the bridegroom, and the humour of the bride. In return for this munificence, the father of the lady presents the husband with two suits of cloaths, a quiver filled with arrows, a sword and belt, and three or four baskets of rice. The care of the male children devolves upon the father, that of the females on the mother: nor do the men much regard the age of their bride, provided she bring a handsome portion. Here, as on the coast, they abstain from connubial embraces from the moment a woman is discovered to be pregnant ^b.

^b BARBOT, VILLAVULT, DES MARCH. in loc. citat.

(B) The reader is to observe, that geographers in their charts make two *Bolms*, one on the *Scherbro*, and another on *Rio de Sierra Leona* (1).

(1) See *D'Anville's map of Africa*.

*Their manner
of baptizing
children.*

TEN days after the child is born he has a name given him; upon which occasion the father, with all his domestics, armed with bows and arrows, make a tour round the town or village, singing and bawling out a kind of triumphant song or chorus, which is echoed by all the people they meet in their way, accompanied with instrumental music. After this a person charged with this ceremony takes the infant out of the mother's arms, and lays him upon a shield, placed in the midst of the assembly, with a bow and arrow in his hand, then pronouncing a long and laboured discourse to the spectators; which finished, he begins another, turning to the infant, and addressing himself to him. This whole harangue is made up of wishes for his prosperity, that he may resemble his father, be industrious, faithful, and hospitable as him; that he may be able to build his own house, conduct his own affairs, have no inclination for the wives of his neighbours, be affectionate to his own; and, lastly, that he be neither a drunkard, glutton, or spendthrift. The harangue being finished, he gives him a name, delivers him into the arms of his mother or nurse, upon which the assembly disperses, every man to his own home, except a select number of friends, who have an entertainment made for them, and spend the day in mirth and festivity. If the child prove a female, the mother or nurse carries it to the middle of the town, where the concourse is greatest, and there lays it upon a mat, with a stick in the hand of the infant. A female orator is appointed to pronounce the harangue, which she does with prayers, that the child may inherit all the accomplishments of the mother, and, like her, be possessed of all the female and domestic virtues, such as chastity, obedience to the will of her husband, affection for her children, and resolution to aid, follow, and support her lord in all hazards, dangers, and difficulties.

Right of inheritance.

THE eldest son inherits all the effects and women of his father, except small portions given to the younger sons, to prevent their being reduced to poverty on his death: but a married man, who dies without male issue, passes over his daughters to leave his fortune to his nephews. If the whole male line chance to be extinct, then the effects belong to the crown, with this restriction, that the king provide a father to the daughters.

THE chief occupation of the negroes consists in cultivating the earth; for they have no fishing, but what arises from a few rivers; nor trade, but in exchanging the productions of their plantations for the fish and other commodities of the coast-negroes.

*Language and
arts.*

THE general language of all the inland countries is the *Quojan*; though several provinces have their own particular dialects, which almost form a new language. For instance, the kingdoms of *Hondo*, *Mendo*, *Folgia*, *Galas*, and *Gebbes*, have languages all derived from the same root as the *Quojan*, or rather dialects of it; but so variegated, that they seem to have no affinity to each other, nor connexion with the mother tongue. The most elegant branch is the *Folgian*, in which they have considerably refined upon the *Quojan*, and formed a smooth, soft, and vocal language, at the same time that it is full and expressive: for this reason it is called *Mendisko*, which intimates the superiority it has over all other tongues. The negroes of rank pique themselves upon talking with elegance, and find a peculiar beauty in similes, allegories, and parables, insomuch that the most trivial discourse has something in it of poetical ornament and dignity. Nor are they intirely ignorant of the sciences, particularly astronomy; for they know the hour of the night by the stars, and distinguish the middle of it by the fifth star in the head of the bull, that appears with the *Pleiades*, which they call *monjading*.

Funeral ceremonies.

THE ceremonies of interment in this country resemble in general those we have related of others, but they differ in some circumstances. After the body is washed they place it in an erect posture, well propt up, and the hair finely decorated. They dress it in its best cloaths, place a bow and arrow in its hands, and in the mean while the friends perform a kind of mock skirmish; after which they fall upon their knees, with their backs turned upon the dead corpse, and, with a menacing air, draw their bows, and declare vengeance against any one who dares to asperse the character of their friend, or has been accessory to his death. They next strangle some of their slaves; recommending it to them diligently to attend their friend in the next world; a barbarous custom, which indicates, that they have some faint idea of futurity and another state. Before these unhappy victims are offered at the shrines of superstition and ignorance, they feed them with all the delicacies the country affords, and bury with them as much food and wine as they believe will last them during their journey, advising them to secrete no part of it from their master. While, on the other side, all the women, who have any connexion with the deceased, throw themselves at his feet, repeating the word *byune*, that is, *console yourself, wipe your tears!* At length the corpse is laid upon a plank or bier, and carried upon the shoulders of men to the grave, into which are thrown with it the bodies of the sacrificed slaves, their mats, basons, and kitchen utensils: over them is thrown a mat, and this is covered with abundance of earth, to prevent noxious exhalations from the putrid bodies. The relations build round the grave a hut, with an iron rod at the top, to which is suspended the arms of the deceased, by way of escutcheon.

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- a If the deceased be a female, instead of arms all the implements of domestic industry are hung up; and for several months all kind of provisions and liquors are brought to the tomb, to nourish the deceased in the next world, till they have cleared plantations and formed connexions in a strange country.

- It is customary to bury all those belonging to the same family in one grave, at a small distance from the place where they have died; and these cœmeteries, or bury-places, are commonly chosen in some deserted village, which they then call *Tombruoy*. They esteem human blood too precious to be spilt, and therefore strangle the slaves destined for sacrifices. However, this barbarous custom begins to wear out of fashion in most provinces; and where it is still retained, the parents generally conceal themselves and children, upon the least appearance of danger to the king's life; tho' they seldom escape without a reprimand, and censure of ingratitude, that, after having lived on the bread of their lord, they should now refuse to die for him. Another custom they have is, to observe a fast upon the death of a near relation or intimate friend. In general this fast continues but ten days, unless it be the king, or some person very dear to them: in which case it seldom is prolonged to less than a month. Those who are bound to keep it, lifting up their hands to heaven, swear they will not touch rice during that period; that they will drink nothing but so much water as a certain vessel, which they shew, will hold; and that they will wholly refrain from the nuptial embraces during the period of their mourning and humiliation: while, on the other hand, the women vow they will wear no other dress than white *paans*; that their hair shall be neglected, and the earth their bed as long as the fast continues; at the end of which the penitents hold their hands up to heaven, in testimony of their having fulfilled their engagements.
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- No nation among the negroes abound more with formal ceremonies than the *Quojans*; *Obligatory ceremonies.* and the surest method to gain their esteem is, to mark the taste of the nation as to manners: many of them are such as do honour to humanity. If a woman be accused of adultery, and no other proof than the allegation of her husband appears, she is acquitted upon her oath. She swears by *belli paaro*, that she is innocent; beseeching that *spirit* to confound her, if she varies from the truth: but if, after the oath is made, she be convicted, the law ordains, that her husband bring her in the night to a public place, where a council sits to judge her, and pass final sentence. Here, after invoking the *jannanins*, or certain spirits, her eyes are covered, *Punishment of adultery.* to prevent her seeing those beings who are to carry her out of the world; and the criminal is left for a while in the belief, that this will certainly be her fate. When she has undergone the most dreadful apprehensions and irksome suspense, the oldest in council begins a solemn discourse, representing to her the shamefulness of a disorderly loose life, and threatening her with the most cruel punishment, if she persist in it. All of a sudden a confused murmur, which passes for the voice of the *jannanins*, is heard over the room, declaring, that her crime, though meriting the most rigorous chastisement, will be pardoned, as being the first trespass; enjoining certain mortifications and penances, and recommending so austere a chastity, that she will not take a male child in her arms, or touch the cloaths of a man.
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- Hitherto the *Quojans* are persuaded, that fear and shame are punishments adequate to the offence: but if she fall under the same censure a second time, and the presumptions be clear, the *bellimo*, or high priest, with one of his *saggonoes*, or ministers, attended by proper officers, go early to her house, making a prodigious noise with a kind of rattles. They seize her, and bring her to the court, obliging her to make three tours round the market-place, attended by the same noise and instruments, and all those of the society of *belli* being admitted evidences of what happens. Then, without hearing her defence, or promises of reformation, they conduct her to a wood, sacred to the *jannanins*, from which moment she is never again heard of, nor are the people permitted ever to mention her name. The negroes believe, that she is carried out of the world by the *jannanins*; but *Barbot* supposes, with great probability, that
- f
- she is put to death in the wood, and her body interred in the most secret manner.

- When a man is accused of murder or theft, without proofs sufficient to convict him, he *Trial by* is condemned to the trial by *bellimo*, which is a composition of certain herbs and barks of *bellimo*, or trees, which they oblige the accused to hold in his hand; fully persuaded, that, if he be *a kind of* guilty, blisters will immediately rise upon the skin. Sometimes the *bellimo* consists in obliging *purgation.* the accused to swallow a large glass of a liquor, composed from the bark of the *nenô* and *quoni*, trees which the negroes believe to be virulently poisonous. Those whose consciences are clear reject it immediately by vomit, and are deemed the more pure for this trial of their innocence; but the guilty shew a froth about the mouth, and are accordingly judged worthy of death. Thus convicted, the criminal is carried off to a secret grove, far removed from all habitations, and there suffers capital punishment. He is placed upon his knees, his head is cut off, and stuck upon a javelin; after which his body is severed into four quarters and sent to his women, or rather given to them, for they generally assist at the execution,
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- to

to receive and burn the last remains of the deceased. The friends boil the head, sip the a
broth, and nail up the jaw bone, in testimony of their having discharged their duty: a hor-
rid custom, totally inconsistent with the other manners of this sensible people.

Religion.

THEY acknowledge One Supreme Being, the Creator of all things; but their ideas are too
exalted to admit of a definition, or even a description of the attributes of this Being, whom
they call *Kanno*. However, they attribute to him infinite power, infinite knowlege, and
ubiquity, or that universality and immensity of nature which makes him every-where pre-
sent: but they are not agreed about his eternity; some affirming that he will be succeeded
by another being, who punishes vice and rewards virtue. They believe, that the dead are
converted into spirits, whom they call *jannanins*, or protectors; their business being to guard b
their parents and antient friends. A negro who flies from any danger hurries to the tomb
of his patron spirit: if he escapes, it is attributed to his interposition; in acknowledgement
for which he sacrifices a cow, rice, and palm wine, as an offering, in presence of the living
friends of the *jannanin*, who celebrate the occasion with singing and dancing round the
tomb. The *Quojans* who have received any injury fly to the groves, the supposed residence
of the *jannanins*, and there pour out their complaints, and beseech, that the *jannanins* will
either themselves assist in avenging them, or mediate with the *Kanno*. In all emergencies
and difficulties they have recourse to the same support, as well as in all enquiries concerning
future events. For instance, if no *European* vessel arrives upon the coast (for this affects them
as much as it does the maritime negroes) they interrogate the *jannanins* about the cause of
their stay, when they will arrive, and whether they are richly laden? In a word, their vene- c
ration for the spirits of the deceased is extreme; they neither eat nor drink without first tast-
ing in honour of the *jannanin*. The king himself is as much addicted to this superstition as the
meanest subject; and the whole nation harbours the deepest veneration for the *Kanno*; though
the *jannanins* alone are publicly worshipped. Every village has a sacred grove set apart for
their worship; to which, in the seasons of the year, great quantities of provisions are brought.
Here it is that persons labouring under any affliction implore the aid of the *jannanins*; and
hither women, children, and slaves, are prohibited to enter; a trespass of this nature passing
for the most abominable sacrilege, which they suppose will immediately be punished by
the spirits in a manner the most exemplary and tragical.

NOR do the *Quojans* believe less firmly in the magicians and forcerers than in spirits. These d
they imagine to be inveterate enemies to mankind, poisoners and suckers of human blood;
for which reason they call them *sava manifestin*, which expresses their malicious nature. They
also believe in the reality of other enchanters, whom they stile *billis*; these they are per-
suaded have a power over the seasons, and can forward or intirely stop the growth of rice.
Those who indulge melancholy, and leave society from some sudden fit of despair, are
taught, they imagine, by the *sava*, or devil, the qualities of herbs and roots possessed of
enchancing virtues: from this malignant spirit they learn certain incantations, gesticulations,
grimaces, and the power of hurting mankind imperceptibly. Death is the infallible punish-
ment of such as are accused of this diabolical art; and the smallest suspicion of living in a
manner different from other people, is admitted as proof and clear evidence. e

THE *Quojans* never pass through a wood without company, dreading to meet with a *billi*,
busied in culling plants and herbs; and they generally fortify themselves with a charm against
the *sava* and all his ministers. But it would be endless to recite all their absurd superstitions,
so little of a piece with their excellent civil policy, and otherwise sound understandings.

AMONG the negroes of the interior kingdoms of *Sierra Leona*, it is usual, upon suspicion
of a violent death, first to wash the body before it is examined. They then begin their
inquest, by making a bundle of shreds of the deceased's cloaths, the pairings of his nails,
and locks of his hair, sprinkling it with powder of *mammon*, or pulverized corn. The
bundle is tied to the bier, which is carried by two negroes to the most public part of the f
town, while the two priests precede it, strike their hatchets, which they hold in their hands,
against each other, interrogating the corpse, where, when, and in what manner, it was
deprived of life. After the spirit of the deceased, or *jannanin*, has, by certain movements,
imperceptible but to priestly eyes, discovered, that to the *sava manifestin* he owed his death,
the priest then enquires, whether the forcerer be male or female? This question being
answered by the same invisible signs, which those pious rascals interpret as their spleen, hatred,
passion, or interest direct, they repair immediately to the house of the forcerer, seize him,
bind him, and drag him before the corpse, to be condemned upon the accusation of the
spirit. If he denies the charge, the *quoni*, or bitter draught, is administered, and if, after
drinking three large cupfulls, he vomits, he is acquitted; but if only a froth appears at
his mouth, he is delivered to punishment upon the spot; his body is burnt, and the g

- a ashes thrown into the river: from which fate neither his power nor his wealth can save him, there being no distinction of ranks, or mitigation of the law by favour, in cases of sorcery.

ALTHOUGH no author affirms that the natives of these countries worship the sun or moon, yet it is customary to have a holiday and recess from labour on the approach of the new moon. This custom is chiefly observed in country villages; and strangers are rigidly prohibited from mixing themselves with the people during the celebration of those orgies. The reason they assign for this practice is still more ridiculous than the custom itself: they say, that the first day of the moon being a bloody day, their rice would change to a red colour, were they to neglect these ceremonies. *Barbot* relates two other superstitious ceremonies, no less absurd than the former, and equally observed by the negroes of *Folgia*,

- b *Hondo*, *Monou*, *Gebbe*, *Sestos*, *Bolm*, and *Silm*^d. In all those places there is established a society or sect called *belli*, which is properly a school or seminary for the education of children, renewable every twenty-fifth year by order of the king, who is visitor or superior of the college. Here the young men learn to dance, to fight, fish, hunt, and above all to chant a certain hymn, which, in the language of the college, they call *bellidong*, or the praises of *belli*. These songs consist only in the repetition of the same lewd expressions, enforced by the most indecent and lascivious postures. When a young negro becomes an adept, and perfectly instructed in his lesson, then he is raised to the rank of an associate or fellow of the college, which renders him qualified for all employments, spiritual and temporal, and intitles him to a number of important privileges: but the *quolgas*, or dunces, who have either not been admitted into the society, or were incapable of instruction, are by an established law excluded from all public offices, and places of trust and profit: an example we should gladly see followed in our own country.

- c THE seat of this instructive foundation is chosen in a thick wood of palm trees, including a compass of nine or ten miles, in which they build huts, and clear plantations, for the support of the scholars. When persons of fortune send their children to this seminary, proclamation is made, strictly forbidding all females to approach the sacred grove, during the whole course of their education, which takes up the term of five years; and, to render this prohibition the more effectual, girls are taught from their infancy to believe, that, if they violate so sacred a law, the *bellis* will destroy them with the most excruciating torments.

- d THE *saggonas*, who are the elders of this sect, have the royal commission to preside over this establishment; and immediately upon entering their offices, declare publickly to their pupils the laws and regulations of the community, with the penalties annexed to their violation. The first law is a rigid prohibition from passing the bounds of the college, or conversing but with the students, during the course of their exercises; and as these are known by peculiar marks upon their bodies, no excuse is admitted in palliation of the offence. This mark is made extremely visible, being no other than cicatrices raised from the ear to the shoulder, by ignited iron instruments: a painful operation, which all students are forced to undergo, before they are duly matriculated; after which they have a new name imposed, as if by entering this school of wisdom they became regenerated. During their residence in this laborious retreat they go quite naked, are fed by their *saggonas*, or tutors, and presents are frequently brought by their friends and relations, who are notwithstanding denied the privilege of conversing with them. On the day appointed for finishing their studies, they are conducted to a little town, built on purpose by the king, at some distance from the frontiers of *Minerva's* school, where they receive the visits of their relations of both sexes. Here are all the conveniencies for bathing, anointing, and performing the other exercises of the society: but their retreat, like *European* colleges, is so far from polishing their manners, that they quit it the rudest and most learned of the people.

- e AFTER a few days are bestowed by their parents in fitting them to the manners of the world, and refining their exteriors, they are presented with cloaths, and the dress of the nation, their necks being adorned with glass beads and leopards teeth, as a distinction of their superior education, their legs charged with copper rings and bells, and their head covered with a cap of osier, which falls down over the brow. With these marks of wisdom, and a *paan*, adorned with plumes of feathers, they are conducted publicly to the king's palace, where they are ranged in order, amidst surrounding crowds of spectators, especially women, who flock from all quarters to gratify their curiosity. The first thing done by the young students is, to uncover their heads, and let their hair down loose about their ears; a ceremony which we imagine must prove a little difficult to a woolly head; this they do with great solemnity, to afford the spectators an opportunity of examining their figure, and afterwards repeat one after another the hymn and dance taught them at college for the occasion.

- g Those who do not acquit themselves adroitly are rallied on all hands by the women, who

^d BARBOT, p. 98.

cry out, that they have wasted their time in eating rice—*Fruges consumere nati*. The dance a being finished, each *saggona* calls his own pupil, and delivers him over to his parents, acquainting them with the name he had given him upon entering the college.

As to the *belli*, so highly revered among negroes, that has denominated this sect, it is a creature formed by the hands of the high priest from the *bellimo*, being sometimes of one figure, and sometimes of another, just as caprice and accident determine. It is inconceivable the impression this substance makes upon the minds of the negroes, who hold it as sacred, and believe that the most terrible judgment will fall upon whoever is wanting in the most profound veneration to the *bellimo*; yet they imagine, that the *belli* must derive his authority from the king, without which he has no power of punishment: so that even superstition itself is here dependent on civil policy, and the most unruly passion of the mind b reduced to the standard of government. It is, upon the whole, no more than a cheat, invented by the king and the priesthood, to contain the people within the bounds of their duty: they have been for ages taught to regard the *bellimo* as an unfathomable mystery, and this doctrine being implanted in their tender infancy, takes root, and acquires proportionable strength as they grow up: the whole intention being simply this, to subject the people to the priesthood, and them again to the throne.

The school for young ladies.

THE other society we mentioned is a female institution, which had its first rise in the kingdom of *Goulla*. At a time appointed by the king, a number of little huts are built in the middle of a remote wood, for the reception of girls and young women, who chuse to be initiated in the mysteries of the society. The sisterhood is distinguished by the appellation c of *sandi-sinodisino*, or the daughters of *sandi*. When the society first meet, the *soguilli*, or lady abbess, that is, an antient matron of distinction, expressly commissioned by the king to preside over this nunnery, enters upon the office with a festival and entertainment which she gives to the young ladies her scholars, called *sandi-lati*. Here she exhorts them to a compliance with the laws of the sisterhood, to a perfect harmony among themselves, and labours to conciliate them to this short recess of four months from the world. Upon this they shave their heads, throw off their cloaths, and remain naked during their abode in this seminary of virtue. They are carried to a rivulet within the precincts of the abbey, if we may so call it, where they are washed, anointed, and circumcised, by cutting off the d *clitoris*; an operation extremely painful, but soon over, and easily healed. Their studies consist in learning to dance, and sing those verses called *sandi*, which are equally indecent, both in the words and postures, with those taught the boys in the male college. They are denied the visits of all men, and even the women who enter the bounds are first stripped naked. When the term of their noviciate is expired, the parents send them pieces of scarlet cloth, glass necklaces, copper rings, and bracelets, with other female ornaments, which they snatch greedily. Thus equipped, they range themselves in order, and march to the royal palace, preceded by the matron; the inhabitants of whole provinces assembling to behold them. The lady abbess alone sits idle, while the girls frisk it away, dance and sing merrily to the sound of a tabor; after which they are remitted to their several families, with applauses proportioned to their merit, and the proficiency they have made. e

Of the policy and government of the Quojans.

BEFORE we close our account of the manners of these nations, we shall observe, that if the *Quojans* maintain their authority over the extensive and potent kingdoms of *Silm*, *Bolm*, &c. it is by the same wise policy by which the emperor of *Monou* preserves his power over the *Folgians*, *Quojans*, and all that country from *Rio Sestos* to this of *Sierra Leona*. Their councils are composed of the oldest, wisest, and most experienced men of the nation; their government is mild, and the distribution of justice simple and equitable. To impress a high opinion of their power, they never permit the northern nations to traverse their country in their way to the eastern parts, nor those of the east in their journey to the west. This rule, invariably adhered to, engrosses to them the chief share of all the commerce with the coasts: they maintain factors, agents, and even ambassadors at neighbouring courts, to f transact the affairs of trade, and, in a word, conduct a regular system of policy and commerce through every part of the constitution, which is as wisely modelled as prudently managed.

ALTHOUGH the *Quojans* are dependent and tributary to the *Folgians*, yet that prince gives the king of *Quoja* the name of *dandaghs*, the same which he himself has from the emperor of *Monou*; and the king of *Quoja* permits it in his turn to the monarchs of *Silm* and *Bolm*, who pay him just the same submission that his superior exacts. The title of *dandagh* is conferred with some very magnificent ceremonies. When the king of *Quoja* is installed by the king of *Folgia*, he prostrates himself on the ground, in which situation he remains till the other monarch has sprinkled a handful of earth all over his body, and asks him what title g he chuses to bear. When he has made his answer, it is proclaimed by an herald, in a loud voice, repeated by the king of *Folgia*, and echoed by the joyful and numerous assembly of spectators. The new *dandagh* is then desired to rise, and the king of *Folgia*, with his own hands, invests

- a invests him with the sword of state, a quiver upon his left shoulder, a bow in one hand and arrows in the other; signifying thereby the obligation he is under of defending, with all his might, the dominions with which he is entrusted. The ceremony is concluded by his doing homage to his superior, which consists in making him some presents of cloth, kitchen utensils, and table furniture.

THE *dandaghs* are absolute within their dominions, and jealous to an extreme of their prerogative; which, however, they only defend against the encroachments of the people, while they never scruple submission to a superior *dandagh*. A great part of his state consists in the number of his women, brought to him from distant countries. When he appears in public, he is seated, leaning upon a shield, which his subjects call *koreda*; importing, that he is the defender of his domains, the leader of his armies, and the protector of his own people, and also of all oppressed nations. If any lord, accused of mal-administration, is slow in appearing to answer to the charge against him, the *dandagh* sends his *koreda*, accompanied by two drummers, who never cease beating at the offender's door till he consents to pay his submission, and go along with them. If he be admitted to an audience of the *dandagh*, he prostrates himself on the ground, covers his head with dust, asks pardon for his fault, with the most humble respect, and acknowledges himself unworthy of the protection of the *koreda*, or of the countenance of so just a prince.

- WHEN a subject demands an audience of the *dandagh*, he begins by making presents to the chief women of the seraglio, who carry them to the prince, and solicit that he will graciously permit such a nobleman to enter his presence, and prostrate himself before him. If his majesty consents, the presents are accepted, and the visitor introduced; otherwise they are returned with all possible tenderness and gentility, and the petitioner retires without presuming again to approach the palace, till he has made his peace with the king. Nor is this a matter of difficulty in slight offences; the culprit is introduced with the same ceremonies, he makes his submission, and meets with a kind reception; but majesty does not easily forget gross affronts or heinous trespasses. When the offender has obtained his pardon, and leave to approach the monarch, he advances slowly towards him, with a profound reverence, and low inclination of his body; when he comes before the mat on which is majesty is seated, he falls upon his knees, and kisses the king's hand, extended for that purpose, respectfully, pronouncing the word *dandagh*; upon which the king calls out *numadi*, I forgive you, and orders him to sit down upon a stool or mat placed at a little distance, if he happens to be a person of high rank or a foreigner, otherwise he stands all the while he is in his majesty's presence.

- WHEN a foreign ambassador proposes coming to court, he stops on the frontiers of the kingdom, and sends a gentleman of his train with notice of his approach; upon which a nobleman is immediately dispatched to welcome him, and in the mean while preparations are making for his reception. On the day appointed, he makes his public entry, attended by a great number of officers and guards, all dressed in the richest manner of their country, a bow in their hands, and a quiver well stocked with arrows slung over their shoulder. This procession is made amidst the sound of warlike instruments, and thousands of people skipping and dancing to the time of the music. On their arrival at the royal palace, the ambassador is received between two lines of the *dandagh's* body guards, fully accoutred and new cloathed for the occasion, along which he passes to the chamber of audience. If his excellency happens to be sent from the monarch of *Folgia*, then his attendants are permitted the vast privilege of dancing between the lines of the life-guards; but this honourable distinction is denied to all other nations by his *Quojan* majesty. When the dance is finished, the whole retinue enter the audience chamber, and are allowed the honour of kissing the ground before the king; after which, they approach the *simnora*, or throne, while the ambassador, turning his back upon the king, bends his bow, falls upon his knee, and by this menacing posture, intimates his inclinations to defend his majesty against all his enemies. While this ceremony lasts, his retinue sing and dance to some songs composed in honour of the king, and the *Quojans* return the compliment, by reciting scraps of poetry in praise of the ambassador and his master. In this ceremony, which is called *polo somnah*, the most flattering and complimentary expressions are repeated so frequently, that the ear is fatigued with the repetition of the words, *kemnee*, *bolle*, *machang*, which is all that authors give us of their language, although they pretend to call it energetic and full.

- THE mutual eulogies being ended, the ambassador sends the principal person in his train to prostrate himself before the king, his own character exempting him from that submission, and during this new scene the dances go on. All of a sudden the ambassador commands silence, and begins to pronounce his harangue, which the royal interpreter explains word by word. If the discourse relates to matters of state, it is referred to the king's council; otherwise an immediate answer is given, and his excellency is conducted to the apartments provided for him. Then the officers of the household bring into the king's presence the

merchandize intended as presents to the foreign minister, explaining each article, and the reasons of their having made choice of it. At night a number of servants flock to the house of the minister to offer their assistance in providing necessaries, and rendering his situation commodious; and last of all the king's women, cloathed in their richest habits, attend him with plates of rice, and the most delicate foods the country affords; the king after supper sending him large quantities of palm-wine, and presents to his master, which consist generally of large vessels and dishes of copper. We have dwelt the longer upon this ceremony, as it marks the politeness of those untutored negroes, and especially the dignity annexed to the character and function of a king. We shall now proceed to a brief recital of the conquests of the powerful kingdoms of *Karrow* and *Folgia* °.

Of the conquests and wars of the kingdoms of *Karrow* and *Folgia*.

WHILE the former inhabited the banks of *Rio Junco* and *Aguida*, they were engaged in perpetual disputes with their neighbours the *Folgians*, which at length terminated in an open rupture between the two nations. The *Folgians* being defeated in several battles, and greatly weakened by their losses, had recourse to the art of a famous sorcerer, called *Jakelmo*, who advised them to throw boiled fish, with their scales, into a *tank* or pond belonging to the enemy. It was a tradition of very ancient date amongst the *Karrows*, that their first ancestor dropt down from heaven in one of these baths; they therefore made offerings to the pond, and the fish it contained; but being strictly forbid by a law, almost as ancient as the tradition itself, to eat fish either boiled or with the scales, they believed the pond profaned by this act of the *Folgians*: dissensions and civil discord sprung up among them; and the *Folgians* seizing the opportunity, when every thing was in confusion, and the enemy were weakened by their civil wars, attacked and defeated them, slew their king, and obliged his son with all his subjects to submit to their yoke. But the *Folgians* conceiving a great esteem for the bravery of the *Karrows*, treated them more upon the footing of allies than of a conquered people. *Flansire* the *Folgian* monarch, married *Wavalla*, sister to *Flonikerri*, the young king of *Karrow*, leaving his brother-in-law in possession of his ancient dominions.

ABOUT this time the *Quabi*, a people bordering on the *Rio Sestos*, attacked the *Folgians*; when *Flonikerri*, hasting to defend his ally, obtained a signal victory over the enemy, and returned home after having made an absolute conquest of the country of *Quabi*. During this war, *Medino* emperor of *Monou*, to whom the *Folgians* were tributary, died, not without suspicion of poison; *Manimassa* his brother, accused of having been an accomplice in it, was forced to drink the *quoni*. He justified himself by taking the drench; but being odious to the nation he could not obtain his right, nor establish himself in the throne of his brother: besides, the *Monouans*, not contented with the trial by *quoni*, determined to consult the forcerers. *Manimassa*, incensed at this fresh indignity, after declaring that he was no longer able to support it, quitted the country, attended by the *jannanins* or spirits of some deceased friends, taking his rout northward. Arriving in the kingdom of *Gala*, which was at that time without a king, he soon obtained such a degree of credit by his prudence, equanimity, and gentle disposition, that he was unanimously raised to the throne. However, the respect of this simple people was of so short duration, that *Manimassa* quitting the kingdom, went to the court of *Folgia*; he having formerly married the king's sister. *Flansire* warmly espoused his interest, and sent an army under the conduct of the brave *Flonikerri* his ally and brother, who soon subdued the *Galans*, and firmly established *Manimassa* on the throne.

FESIA, the nephew of *Flonikerri*, talking to his uncle about the beauty of the country of *Vey Benkoma*, or *Cape Monte*, whither he had made a journey, raised a desire in the king to attempt its conquest. The nephew furnishing him with sufficient lights to judge that this would be a matter of no great difficulty, *Flonikerri*, whose soul was equally ambitious and great, consulted his brother-in-law, the *Folgian* monarch, upon the subject, and procured his assent, after warm debates in the council. He was soon at the head of an army, and joined by a body of *Folgians*, with whom he immediately began his march towards the south of *Cape Monte* and the village of *Tombi*, conquering this, and with it the whole country, in the space of a few days, and as soon as he could traverse it. The vanquished appeared before him with their heads covered, which is a mark of the deepest submission here, and prostrated themselves before the conquerer, acknowledging his power, paying their homage, and praying his clemency. *Flonikerri* granting them their lives and liberty, contented himself with erecting a monument of his conquest, and entered into an alliance with them, which was confirmed by the following extraordinary ceremony. The conquered taking the blood of a number of fowls, killed in their presence, sprinkled it on the earth between the two parties; then boiling the fowls, they eat the flesh all but the legs, which they gave to *Flonikerri* as a pledge of their fidelity; and to be shewn them upon all occasions, whenever they appeared deficient in their duty, or relaxed in their engagements.

• Vid. aut. citat.

a FLONIKERRI's ambition being rather fired than gratified with the number of his conquests, meditated fresh projects, more extensive than any of the former; but scarce had the people of *Cape Mount* began to taste the sweets of their new alliance with their conqueror, but *Miminiko*, forgetting his father's obligations to *Flonikerri*, marched against him with a powerful army, and assisted by the alliance of two potent nations, who began to dread the growing power of so ambitious a prince. *Miminiko* was the son of *Manimassa*, established on the throne of *Galas* by the bravery of *Flonikerri*: but now ambition, jealousy, and the dread of being eclipsed in glory by this hero, pushed him on to the ruin of his benefactor. His troops were so numerous, that the *Karrowans* gave way, *Flonikerri* alone maintaining his ground. This brave prince drew a circle with the point of his sword, within which he
b fell upon his knee, and vowed that there he would either conquer or die. His defence was long and obstinate, though supported but by a few of his guards, whom shame had brought back to their duty; but covered at length with arrows and darts, he failed in strength, though nothing abated in courage, and breathed out his last upon that spot; an eternal monument of his noble perseverance in that course of glory in which he had ever lived. His death was a spur to the courage of a nation accustomed to conquer; the *Karrowans* rallied, returned to the charge, and fought with such fury, that the enemy was soon discomfited, and forced to yield up the victory, with prodigious slaughter, and the loss of many thousand prisoners.

KILLIMANZO, the brother of the gallant *Flonikerri*, succeeding him in command, pursued
c the victory, attacked the enemy a second time in their camp, defeated and pursued them to *Pay Monu*, which they left to be pillaged by the victorious *Karrowans*. At length advancing to *Quoja Monu* on the banks of the river *Maguiba*, or *Rio Novo*, he received the submission and homage of the vanquished army and nation. Thus the *Karrowans*, assisted by the *Flogians*, extended their conquests over all the neighbouring states, and rendered their name famous, and arms formidable, among the nations west of *Guiney*. What
d deserves notice in all these wars is, that no sooner was a people conquered by another nation, than, instead of being made slaves, they were taken into the strictest alliance with the conquerors; their ambition rose with their defeat, and they themselves became the conquerors of other nations. This appears further in the conduct of *Killimanzo*, who had no sooner
received the homage of *Miminiko*, than he made him his ally, and the instrument of fresh conquests. With him he marched towards the river *Magualbari* or *Gallinas*, and subdued the *Quilligas*, retiring after so many glorious successes to his palace at *Tombi*, where he died loaded with glory, but not without strong suspicions of his having been poisoned.

His eldest son, who was called *Flanfire*, mounted the throne, under the tuition of his uncle *Gemmab*, by the father's side, who was charged with the administration during the minority of the young prince his nephew. *Flanfire*, inheriting the courage of his ancestors, had scarcely arrived at the age of manhood, when he meditated schemes for enlarging his dominions by new conquests, which should raise his glory, in proportion as they augmented his power. Putting himself at the head of his army, he passed the river *Magualbari*, and
e subdued all the nations west of it, as far as the river *Sierra Leona*, obliging them in an incredibly short time to receive the yoke, and granting a commission to his uncle *Gemmab* to reign over those provinces. Another of his lieutenants he made governor of the countries upon the river *Scherbro*; this man's name was *Selbore*, and from him the river bears that name, though by corruption called *Scherbro*. *Sitre*, another officer of rank, was made viceroy of those nations bordering on the river *Magualbari*; and having thus settled his conquests, *Flanfire* returned to his palace at *Tombi*, where he lived long in peace and glory. But while he was thus enjoying his felicity, he received advice that his uncle was driven out of his dominions at *Sierra Leona*, by *Dogo Falma*, king of *Dogo*, in the country of *Hondo*, and forced to retreat to a strong hold in the island of *Banana*. This insult roused the warrior,
f and he instantly gave orders to the nobles of *Bolm* to assemble all the forces of the country, and rendezvous at a place where he appointed to meet them. In the mean while he had private intelligence of a conspiracy formed against him by his brother, to which he gave so little attention, that proceeding in his design, he committed the government of the kingdom in his absence to that very brother, taking with him his son *Flambure*, afterwards king of *Quoja*. This was a rash step; but he relied upon gaining over the affections of his brother, by his generosity, and the confidence he reposed in him, without reflecting that such is the malignity of some hearts, that heaping favours upon them is only adding fuel to their rancour, and nourishing those weeds of jealousy and envy, which can never be rooted out of the bosom in which they are indigenous, and the spontaneous growth. *Flanfire* saw, that
g the levies of *Bolm* went on but slowly; and though he had discernment enough to discover the causes, yet a mistaken policy made him wink at them, and set out on his expedition, supported only by his courage and a handful of troops. His first measure was to pass in canoes to the island of *Banana*, where he joined his uncle, and collected his scattered forces, with which he proceeded directly against *Dogo Falma*.

THIS man had been one of the most powerful lords of the kingdom of *Hondo*; but being discovered in an intrigue with one of the king's women, his majesty, instead of punishing him in the usual manner by a fine, ordered his ears to be cut off, and himself banished. In this situation he remained some years, till the king's indignation wore off, and he had found means to make his peace; upon which he returned to court. Instead, however, of trying to regain his master's esteem by acts of submission and obedience, he more and more irritated him by fresh offences. One day he had the presumption to tell the king, that the punishment he had undergone having rendered him ridiculous and contemptible in the eyes of the court, he ought to insist that all persons guilty of the same crime should be punished in a similar manner; and that unless this was done, he had determined to proclaim the injustice done him on every high road and public place in the kingdom, and apply for redress to the *jannanins* and forcerers. The king, struck with the boldness of *Dogo Falma*, and also with the justice of his complaint, referred the matter to his council, who gave it unanimously as their opinion, that one example ought not to be established into a law for all; however, in some measure to give satisfaction to *Dogo Falma*, the king gave him the command of an army, then marching to *Sierra Leona*. This was the enemy *Flansfire* had to oppose; a general, who found it necessary to wipe off by his glorious actions, the contempt into which the loss of his ears brought him at court. After the arrival of *Flansfire*, the fortune of war hung long in suspense; courage alone was unable to weigh down numbers; and yet that hero performed prodigies of valour. At last finding there was no dependence on the arrival of the troops from *Bolm*, he found means to engage a few white men, probably *Portuguese*, into his service, and with them laid siege to the city *Falmaba*. Having forced the gates, he began to fire the buildings, when *Dogo Falma*, who was besieged within it, finding no other resource against the vigour of his enemy, resolved to save himself by flight. *Flansfire* pursued him, but was not able to overtake him, though his successes had however gained him the title of *Dogo Falma-Jundo Mu*, or the conqueror of *Dogo Falma*.

AFTER having restored his uncle to the throne, and settled the affairs of his kingdom, he hastened to apply a remedy to some other disorders that had arisen, when advice arrived, that the repose of his dominions were disturbed in his absence by the revolt of his brother, who had usurped his throne, ravished his women, and put to death his children; a rebellion that was immediately followed by the invasion of the *Gibbes Monou*, a people inhabiting the country round *Cape Mesurado*. They had entered the countries of *Cape Nunez* and *Donalla*, burnt a number of villages, and carried off men, women, and children, into slavery. *Flansfire* now saw the weakness of his own policy, and the falsity of that opinion, that a corrupt heart could be changed by generosity and kind usage; he applied however with vigour to repair his error, and instead of sinking under the weight of his misfortunes, seemed to be animated by them to a double exertion of all his faculties. Marching to the river *Magualbari*, he there invoked the *jannanins*, that they would punish the guilty, and relieve the oppressed and innocent; but knowing also that human means were not to be neglected, he crossed the river with his small army, gave battle to his brother, and obtained a complete victory. The war however went on, till the usurper *Guamana* was slain in a skirmish by his nephew *Flambure*, the eldest son of *Flansfire*; upon which the rebels were disheartened. *Flansfire*, though he had now the power to punish them as their infidelity merited, was generous enough to pass over all their misconduct, and grant them a free and full pardon.

HIS affairs here being happily re-established, he turned his victorious arms against the *Gibbes*; and though they were prepared to receive him, he defeated them, made a terrible carnage among them, and ravaged their country: but proposing to himself only a happy tranquility as the fruits of so many victories, he retired to his palace at *Tombi*. Here he was hardly arrived, when *Dogo Falma* re-entered his dominions, with a more potent army than he had ever commanded; and was ravaging every place with the fury of a barbarian, irritated with his disgrace. As he had now disbanded his army, *Flansfire* was forced to take refuge in the island of *Massa*, in the river *Plizago*. His enemies believed his ruin infallible; and his friends, though they knew his prudence and courage, greatly dreaded the event. *Dogo Falma* was collecting canoes to transport his forces to the island, in order to surround *Flansfire*; and every thing was in such a train as threatened his destruction; when unexpectedly one of *Flansfire's* generals, having got together a choice body of troops, fell upon the enemy's rear. The king no sooner discovered this from his retreat, than getting into some canoes he had on the island, he attacked the enemy in front. The battle was long and obstinate, owing to the inequality of forces; but courage at last triumphed over numbers, *Dogo Falma* was utterly defeated, his army dispersed, the king relieved from his distress, and his faithful general rewarded equal to his merit, and far beyond his expectations. In this manner were the interior countries of *Sierra Leona* conquered, by the bravery

a very of the *Karrowans* and *Folgiens*, who were themselves tributary to the emperor of *Monou*; a set of princes superior to each other, and forming a chain of dependencies not to be met with in any other country, or perhaps paralleled in history.

As to the natural productions of these kingdoms, they have nothing hardly in them peculiar, or that has been omitted in our description of other nations. A species of porcupine is however described by naturalists, which we believe is found in no part of the globe but this. It is about the size of a large boar, armed on all sides by long, sharp quills or prickles, streaked with black and white rays in a very beautiful manner. These quills are so strong, that they are proof against the most violent blow. In nothing besides the size does it differ from those commonly seen in *Europe*. In this country are likewise four kinds of eagles, all extremely ravenous and large; the first, the natives distinguish by the name of *kequolantia*; it perches and builds in the loftiest trees in large forests, is a bird of prey, and feeds chiefly upon monkeys, which it conveys whole and alive into the nest. The next, which is called *kequolantia klow*, has this peculiarity, that it prefers fish to all other food, and lives upon the banks of rivers and lakes. The talons of this bird are extremely strong and crooked. The others have nothing particular, only that the fourth called *poy*, delights in fishing for crabs, lobsters, and small fish, which it devours with great voraciousness. The sea coasts afford abundance of fish of an extraordinary kind; but they are not so minutely described as to give us a clear idea of them; and to retail the names given to them by the natives, would afford but an insipid entertainment (C).

S E C T. X.

History of the kingdoms of Mandingo, Fouli, and Jaloff, or Oualof, with some account of the manners, customs, religion, &c. of the natives; their method of trafficking, as well among themselves as European nations; a description of some particular kinds of birds, beasts, &c. found therein; a relation of their wars; with several other curious particulars.

c FROM the river *Sierra Leona* to *Senegal*, are an infinity of kingdoms, principalities, and petty states, of which we know not even the names, voyagers having only related trivial circumstances, which fell under their own observation, or such occurrences as related merely to trade and the navigation of the river *Gambia*. With regard to the extent of dominions, the peculiar customs of different nations, their religion, policy, and laws, they are intirely silent; except a few particulars relative to the three great kingdoms of *Mandingo*, *Fouli*, and *Jaloff*, all of them interior countries. With respect to their precise frontiers, although their dominion, on account of their power, is in some measure established to the sea coasts, voyagers give us no satisfaction. That the reader may not intirely be left in the dark, we shall extract all that travellers agree in, concerning the three powerful kingdoms above mentioned, and begin our account with *Mandingo*, as the first in order.

d ALL the numerous nations inhabiting the banks of the river *Gambia*, and extending to *Cape Verga*, go by the general name of *Mandingoes*; and *Jobson* says, that they exactly resemble each other in complexion, features, and language, as well as in their general manners and policy. He affirms, that they are all of a jet black colour; though *Moore* says, that in general they are so, as if however there were some exceptions. This kingdom is of vast extent, both along the coasts and into the interior countries, on the banks of the river *Gambia*; but geographers and voyagers differ so greatly in the limits they lay down, that its frontiers cannot be described with any degree of certainty. According to the same author, they are more sociable, rational, and humane, than they have been represented by other travellers; for on all the occasions he had to visit their towns, he met with the most cordial reception, the men running out to welcome his arrival by kissing his hands, though some women, who had never beheld a white man, fled at the sight of him, and could not be prevailed on to approach him. Some have pressed him to enter their huts, have entertained him in the best manner they were able, and produced their wives and daughters for him to salute; his complexion, habit, speech, and manners, all of them equally raising their astonishment and curiosity.

e THE *Mandingoes* are in general a lively joyous people, who consume half their time in dancing, music, mirth, and good humoured gaiety; yet being much addicted to company, (C) As these accounts follow the quotations already made, we thought it unnecessary to crowd the page with a reference to every particular article; sufficient it is, that we point out the authors, to which the reader may have recourse for a more minute detail.

warm

warm and impetuous in their disposition, they fall into frequent quarrels, which commonly terminate in blood, and spoil the society of the day, by the unhappy discord of the night. Nothing is more usual than challenges to single combat, upon any affront or injurious expression; but as their heat subsides almost as soon as kindled, they seldom come to deliberate blows; and all the accidents of that nature which arise, are generally the effects of sudden passion. However, when they do engage, nothing can be more furious than their transports, and the animosity with which they rush upon each other, with whatever weapons come in their way^a. The fury of tygers, says *Jobson*, is not to be compared to theirs, every organ and limb expressing the most malignant and rivetted hatred; their eyes strike fire, their teeth gnash, and the most opprobrious and vilifying expressions are poured out, upon the most trivial occasions, the dispute ending in the death of one of the parties, and possibly in a bloody war between two nations, each taking part with their own countrymen^b.

How to reconcile this account with what *Labat* asserts, we shall leave to the reader, after we have laid before him the following sketch of their character, as drawn by that writer. The *Mandingoes*, according to him, are a lazy, indolent, ignorant people, unskilled in commerce, in arts, and every manly exercise and science. Necessity and self preservation oblige them to sow and reap, but this labour does not last above two months in a year; the other months are spent in idleness and sloth all the day, and at night in dancing under the shade. A few childish diversions they have, which they perform with abundance of address; but every thing manly is neglected: fishing and hunting unknown, though no country affords better opportunities for both. Smoking tobacco is their whole pleasure, which increases their natural sloth, by destroying their appetite for food. It is of the growth of their country, and they smoke in wooden pipes, five or six feet in length, the bowl made of wood, hardened and dried in the fire, and finely polished.

MOORE says, that the nation of *Mandingo*, in points of honour, are jealous and delicate to an extreme; nor are they less possessed with that foible of almost all nations, pride of birth and ancestry^c. While the author was at *Butto* on the river *Gambia*, he saw a dispute of honour arise between *Bo-John* a prince of the blood, and the son of the reigning monarch. Each flew to arms, and their resentment appeared so keen, that the spectators had the utmost difficulty to prevent fatal consequences, and yet the whole contention was a matter of small importance, and indeed, no other than a comparison of their parentage. Though the combatants had been parted for the time, there was no preventing a formal challenge from passing, after which the author found it no hard matter to reconcile them, each looking upon this as a salvo of his honour. There was something ridiculous in the manner of their reconciliation; for at the very time they were vowing a sincere friendship, they also threatened to resume the dispute, as soon as fit occasion offered; believing menaces were necessary to establish an opinion of their courage in the by-standers.

It is observable, that the characters of those people inhabiting the interior parts of the river *Gambia*, are altered greatly for the better. Formerly they were crafty and knavish, in the most trifling affairs; insomuch, that if they had the misfortune to break a pipe or to want money, they remedied the loss by a piece of cunning, artfully laying it among the feet of the *Europeans*, insisting that, as they broke it, they should repair the damage, which they computed at twenty times the real value. In this situation the *Europeans* found themselves under the necessity of immediately satisfying the unjust demand, unless some friend interposed and proved the fraud; nor were little crafty tricks of the same nature uncommon in their dealings with one another, though they seldom ventured to carry the imposition so far, as when they had to deal with strangers, and persons unable so readily to detect the imposture. If a person had sold any thing in the morning, it was allowable for him to retract his bargain, upon offering restitution before sun-set; a custom that opened a large field of corruption and fraud; for if you had bought only a fowl or an egg, it was a risque to eat it before next day, as you were subjected to pay ten times the value, should restitution be offered, and you unable to produce the equivalent. However, those pernicious and dirty practices are in a good measure abolished, commerce with strangers having shewn them the necessity of paying the strictest attention to their word, and being delicate in points that affect their credit.

THEIR mode of salutation is to shake hands; but if a man salutes a woman, he runs his nose close to her, as if to smell her, and falls back twice. It is the grossest indignity to offer the left hand in salutations. When a man returns to his family after an absence of two or three days, his women throw themselves on their knees before him, an omission of which is deemed a heinous crime, and a proof of her little esteem for her lord and tyrant. For-

^a LABAT, t. ii. p. 23. Idem, t. iii. p. 147.

^b JOHNSON'S Golden Trade, p. 56.

^c MOORE, p. 36.

a merly it was customary, when a woman offered her husband any thing to drink, that she first fell down on her knees and tasted it; whence voyagers deduce, that the practice of poisoning had been frequent in this country.

WRITERS assert, that nothing is more easy than to distinguish a native of *Mandingo* or *Flup*, from their extreme flat noses and thick lips, they being in this respect the ugliest of all negroes in the eyes of an *European*, but in their own the handsomest. *Janequin*, however, in his journey to *Libya*, affirms, that those features are by no means natural to them, but the consequences of that custom of suckling children over their shoulders, when they are employed in any other business^d. *More* attributes it to the great care taken to form their features to that cast, nothing in their opinion being so beautiful as large nostrils, flat
b noses, thick lips, and among the women large, loose, and flabby breasts.

IMMEDIATELY after a child is born, he is bathed in cold water three or four times a day, and after being carefully dried, anointed with palm-oil along the spine, elbows, hams, and neck. They go naked to the age of eight or ten, and frequently paint their faces and breasts for ornament. Sound health and fertility in marriage are the common qualities of almost all the negroes of this country, it being equally difficult to find an infirm young man, and a barren woman; they are, however, subject to some very dangerous acute diseases, but few chronical, the small-pox in particular making terrible havock, and sweeping off incredible numbers every year. It must indeed be owned, that they are not
c wholly strangers to the king's-evil, worms, especially the *Guiney-worm*, which swells their legs to the size of their bodies, the yaws and maladies of the head; but as these are not frequent, the people may in general be reckoned, perhaps, the most healthy in the universe. Besides the inflammation in their legs, arising from that species of worm almost peculiar to this country, they are sometimes subjected to swellings, arising from other causes, among which are reckoned certain herbs, which they mix with their food, to excite mutual love and affection among the men, and raise the passions between the sexes. To all their diseases they apply no other remedies than *Grifgris* or *Fetiches*; a superstition that extends even to their hair, and their bows which hang over their shoulders.

EVERY part of domestick oeconomy is left to the care of the women, while the men cultivate the small quantities of rice wanted for the family, and pass the rest of their time in
d the indolent manner we have described. After laying up a quantity sufficient for the consumption of the family, the women have a right to dispose of the rest, but are accountable for the profits that arise to their husbands. The same regulations take place in regard to their poultry, of which they breed a great number, these two articles being their principal support, and the staples of commerce, next to slaves. Many of the *Mandingoes* have a pride in keeping a crowd of slaves, whom they treat with such gentle usage, kindness, and humanity, that it is not easy to distinguish the master from the slave; especially the women, who wear necklaces, bracelets, and ear-rings of amber, coral, and silver, as if the men had purchased them only to become their husbands. *Moore* affirms, that he has seen female slaves wear trinkets to the amount of thirty pounds sterling in value. Most of these slaves
e are born in their families, and naturalized to them as their own children. At *Butto*, there is a whole village of two hundred souls, composed of female slaves, all of them belonging to one nobleman of *Mandingo*, who treats them with the tenderness of wives and children. In most other parts of *Africa*, the master has a right to sell all slaves born in his family; but in *Mandingo* this is treated as a crime; insomuch, that if any of them are disposed of without their own consent, and against the will of their fellow slaves, they all abandon their master, and seek a retreat in some other kingdom: for though in this case he has no power to punish them, yet they reckon it dishonourable to enter into the service of another master in the same kingdom.

Kingdom of Fuili, or Fouli, or Pholey.

f THIS large country is divided from the kingdom of *Jaloff*, which we shall describe in *Of the manners, customs, religion, &c. of the people called Fuili, or Pholey.* this section, by the lake called, in the language of the *Mandingos*, by the name *Kayor*. From this lake to the village of *Embakane*, on the frontiers of *Galam*, that is, from west to east, it stretches about 187 miles, but its limits from south to north are not ascertained; though travellers affirm, that it extends a great way southward. The reason why the frontiers of all these kingdoms, bordering on the rivers *Gambia* and *Senegal*, are so inaccurately marked is, that the *French* and *English*, who were furnished with the best opportunities, made commerce the sole object of their care, neglecting every thing that did not assist in promoting that chief end of all their labours. The interest of their companies, as

^d JANEQUIN, p. 93.

well as their own private concerns, engrossed all the attention of the factors, and they gave, ^a no more of their time to the gratification of their curiosity and their passion of knowledge, than what was necessarily spent in the pursuit of riches. All then that we know with certainty of this powerful kingdom is, that its boundaries are of great extent, its lands fertile, its inhabitants numerous, and capable of rendering themselves a rich and happy people, were their industry in any degree proportioned to the advantages of nature, by means of which they might drive a prodigious commerce with foreigners. Voyagers are not agreed upon the etymology of the name *Fouli*, nor is their language sufficiently known to afford room for such an inquiry. They are in general of a tawny complexion, though many are of as fine a black as the *Mandingoes*. It is supposed that their alliances with the *Moors* have given them that mixed colour, between the true olive and the black. Their ^b stature is rather low, but their gait comely, and their shape easy and genteel, with an air peculiarly delicate and taking. However indolent they may be in pushing all the trade the country is capable of supporting, they are by no means so in private industry, which they cultivate with as much assiduity as other negroes. They are diligent farmers and graziers, and raise millet, rice, tobacco, cotton, pease, roots, and fruits, with abundance of care; nor are they less expert in rearing cattle, in which consists a great part of their traffick with the neighbouring countries. Their mutton is sweet and delicate, their beef fat, and their goats the best which are to be met with almost in any part of *Africa*; and hence it is, that their markets are better stocked, and their kitchens supplied with the most luxurious plenty of any negro people, unless we except the *Whidans*. The *Foulis* are fond of hunting, ^c and extremely skilful and eager in the chace. The elephant is the object of their diversion, of which they are never disappointed, as the country is filled with these monsters. The sword and dart they manage with great dexterity against this furious animal; and such as have been taught the use of fire arms by the *French*, have applied them to great advantage, both in hunting and in battle. Their disposition is lively, and their manners polite. Fond they are to excess of *European* commodities; but as they are much addicted to pilfering, they prefer gaining possession of them by stealth to a regular and fair commerce. They love music so much, that their princes reckon it an accomplishment to be able to touch an instrument with a genteel air; while their neighbours of *Jaloff* condemn music as ^d an effeminate soft exercise, that degrades the character of a man. Their musical instruments are various, and their compositions tolerably melodious, tender, and pleasing; and as dancing is almost a natural consequence of their love of music, their passion for it is such, that they will dance three or four hours after the hardest labour, by way of relaxation^e.

THE women are low, but well shaped and handsome. Their features are delicate, the air of their face sweet, and the symmetry regular. Their hair, which is long, like the *Moors*, is of a shining jet, soft and thick, nor are they at all negligent of it, dressing it in different fashions composing their chief labour, next to dancing and music, which the females of this country carry to a pitch of extravagance. They are passionately fond of *French* cottons and morees, of which they make long flowing robes, extremely becoming, were they made of silk, which *Labat* is amazed the *European* factors have not introduced ^e here. The women, he observes, fall into fits of spleen, and are seized with the vapours, whenever their husbands refuse to gratify their passion for dress; and this he makes use of as an argument of the power the women have over the men, and the facility with which they introduce any fashion that would set off their charms.

THE account which *Jobson* gives of this people is somewhat different, and perhaps not very consistent with the above. This traveller affirms, that the women are tall and handsome in face and person; but that the men are not proportionably large or agreeable, which he attributes, though falsely, to the nature of their employment and living. As their chief wealth consists in their cattle, they lead a wandering life, and roam about from field to field, from country to country, with large droves of cows, sheep, goats, and horses; ^f for although they have some fixed habitations, yet they use them but little, removing as the dry or wet seasons require, from the low to the high lands, residing in no one place longer than the pasture for their cattle will admit of. An hard laborious life, says our author, that is greatly increased by the continual necessity they are under of defending themselves and their cattle against the depredations of those fierce animals, with which the country abounds, lions, tigers, and elephants, assailing them from the land, and crocodiles from the rivers. At night they collect their flocks within a circle of tents and huts, in which they live, and where they light large fires to terrify those animals from approaching them; but we must acknowledge, that we do not see how all this should suppress their growth, as the nature of such an employment cannot be so laborious as to constrict the ^g solids, or produce the effects of untimely old age, which sometimes happens from hard painful exercises of mind or body. Besides, the *Foulis* have all the advantages of climate they

^e Aust. citat. ibid.

a can desire; nor will the comparison he makes with the *Tartars* by any means hold, the latter being equally pinched in their growth by cold and by poverty. Hence it is, that we are inclined rather to credit the relations of *Labat* and *De Brue* than of this author, who seems to have formed his general idea of the nation from some particular instances.

In their peregrinations through the kingdom, this people carry on a trade with other commodities besides their cattle; for they sell milk, cheese, butter, all of them equal to any to be met with in *Europe*; and these they carry in baskets and *gourds*, so neat and clean, as would do credit to the most refined dairy in *Europe*. The women have the sole care of this traffick, and they exchange their goods for those trinkets on which all negroes put so high a value, glass beads, bits of coral, and little knives; but salt is the commodity
b they prefer to all others, which they call *ramdam*. *Jobson* and his company were so delighted with the spirit of these women (though in another place he says, this people are but a degree less stupid than their cattle) that they continued all day in bargaining with them, in order to engage their company longer. They observed that the smallest mark of contempt, the slightest reflection upon their merchandize, kept them whole weeks away, which seems to be a proof of the great delicacy and sensibility of their disposition, and a kind of presumption, that neither sex merits the epithets of stupid and ignorant, which he so liberally bestows on them: for it may be laid down as a general maxim, that the tempers of both sexes differ but little in the general run of a whole nation, the disposition depending no less upon the manners and customs of people, than upon nature itself: or, to go higher, the
c manners are formed from the natural disposition of both sexes, without depending wholly upon either.

THE *Mandingoes* have erected a kind of tyranny in *Fouli*, and by virtue of it seize upon the wealth of the kingdom. Their power arose not from conquest, but from constant migrations into this from their own country, a few coming at a time, not probably with any view of one day becoming masters of the kingdom and a deep refined policy; but from motives of private conveniency and choice. But finding their numbers so considerable, they were induced to usurp that superiority their strength could maintain over the natives and lawful possessors. They submit however to the former government, and have rather undermined the private property, than overturned the public government. *Moore* says,
d that in every province you will meet with troops of *Mandingoes*, who greatly resemble the *Arabians* in some of their manners and language, which, like the *Latin* in *Europe*, is become the learned language of all the schools on this coast of *Africa*. Almost all the *Pholeys*, as *Moore* calls the *Foulis*, speak it, though they have a proper language of their own.

THE king of this country is called a *siratick*, and though he seldom appears with the badges of majesty, he is a prince of great authority over his subjects, and as much respected by his neighbours as any on the coast; yet does he govern with so much moderation and gentleness, that all his decisions seem to be those of the people assembled in a body, rather than of a single person. *Jobson* says, that they never remove from their habitations, or drive their cattle into another field, without leave from their prince; he probably means some of his officers settled in the large villages; for it is inconceivable, that, in
e so large a kingdom, they should be able to apply to court upon every trivial occasion. Besides, *Labat*, *Moore*, and *De Brue*, affirm, that they ever form societies, and build towns, without being at all constrained to wait for the king's leave, or even at the trouble of afterwards gaining his approbation. The *Mundingoes* assume still higher privileges, and take it upon them, if not to dispute with the king, at least to avoid his displeasure, by removing in a body from one province to another, as soon as the prince has laid a tax upon that province, for the support of his civil list and dignity. Among his vassals, the *siratick* of *Fouli* reckons the king, the great *brak*, and all the lords and nobles of *Hawal*, who pay him every fourth year a tribute of forty-three slaves, and a certain number of cattle.
f His army is no less strong in cavalry than in infantry; for the *Moors*, his neighbours, furnish him with as many horses as he pleases. The arms used by his troops are bows and sabres, and his nobility are dispersed among the provinces, to execute the various military and civil offices, that become their station and circumstances in life. The employment next in rank to that of *siratick*, is the lieutenant governor's, who is looked upon as the representative of his majesty's person, and attended by a court little inferior to royalty itself; after him, the officers next in quality are, the *solidné*, *ardobude*, *gheri sambu*, *lama de bossé*, *farma vavalarde*, *akson*, *boukar*, *lanktor*, *lali*, *lamenage*, *ardogbedè*, *farbe voagali*, &c. a list
g of names which we enumerate, rather to give the reader some notion of their language, than that we are able to prefix clear ideas to each, and distinguish the duties of each office. All we know of them is, that every man raised to those posts holds them conditionally, that he furnish the *siratick* with his contingent of foot and horse to be ready upon a call; their charge to be supported by the sale of such prisoners as are made by that division of the army: and besides, by selling for slaves all such negroes within their jurisdiction as are
not

Of the chief
officers of state
in Fouli.

not in arms for the king, or have refused to enlist themselves; a privilege which even the king cannot deprive them of, without destroying the fundamental maxim of government, notwithstanding they frequently use it to the worst of all purposes, the gratification of a sordid avarice, the oppression of the poor, and the satiating revenge and private animosity^f.

Laws of succession.

History of the prince of Sambaboa.

By the established laws of this monarchy, and indeed of a number of negro kingdoms, although none but princes of the blood can be called to the throne, yet the crown descends not from father to son, but from brother to brother, or nephew to nephew; that is, if the king have no brother, his rights descend to his nephew by his full sister, or in preference to the son of his mother's daughter only, as the blood royal is most assuredly untainted in the female line. With regard to the children of the king, their blood is always dubious, as the king's women generally indulge themselves in acts of gallantry and intrigue: nor is it thought very safe to rely on their word, since the methods anciently used to oblige them to a true confession are now abolished. The only instance in which the king's sons pretend to the throne, is when they have married a princess of the blood, because in that case, the blood is sure upon one side at least; and if by any accident they fail of succeeding themselves, the right of their children is however indisputable, and always admitted^g. But without regard to these customs, the *siratick siré*, who reigned towards the close of the last century, endeavoured, from a natural affection for his children, to raise them to the throne, and with that view he invested the eldest with the dignity of *kamalingo*, a post always filled by the presumptive heir. The prince of *Sambaboa* was at that time possessed of the office, but deposed, to make room for his cousin the *siratick's* son, notwithstanding his amiable qualities had attracted the esteem and engaged the affections of the nobility and people, who had long with pleasure beheld him as the heir apparent. He was the king's nephew, handsome in his person, easy in his address, of noble sentiments, liberal and generous in his disposition, and of approved courage, which he had often signalized against the enemies of his country. Such was the person removed to make way for the young *siratick*; a circumstance that gives us a mean idea of the old king's policy, though we cannot blame his preferring the interest of a son to that of a nephew, had the latter been possessed of less amiable qualities. The old *siratick* intended to have confined his nephew; but, penetrating into the king's intentions, he withdrew from court under a strong guard; and although he had nothing to fear from the negroes, who were to a man strongly attached to him, yet knowing that his uncle had drawn over the *Moors* to his views, he retired to the frontiers to avoid involving the nation in a civil war, and bringing those calamities upon the people, which they might avoid under the government of the worst of princes. However, all his endeavours could not prevent numbers of the nobility from joining themselves to his fortune, and forsaking their country, rather than their affections and zeal for so esteemed a prince; acession which the enraged *siratick* looking upon as a kind of rebellion, raised a numerous army to suppress. As the *siratick* with his army advanced, *Sambaboa*, who resolved not to draw his sword against an uncle to whom he had always given the name of father, continued to retire; but at last finding himself hard pushed by this defensive war, his faithful attendants exposed to all the calamities of fugitives and outlaws, and lastly, that the command of the king's army was given to his rival, who had usurped his dignity, he determined to come to an action. His cousin, whose forces were greatly superior, better provided, and flushed with what they esteemed equal to victory, driving the enemy before them, did not at all hesitate to embrace the occasion. A battle was fought, *Sambaboa* was victorious, and the *siratick's* son, with his potent *Moorish* army, totally defeated, through the conduct of the brave prince and his intrepid faithful little army. Reflecting, however, upon the consequences of a civil war, which must inevitably terminate in the ruin of the people, and in establishing more firmly the power of the *Moors*, who were already possessed of the confidence of the monarch, he took the noble resolution of removing into some distant kingdom, and sacrificing every ambitious view to the duty to his country and uncle, who he desired might die in peace; after which, he thought he might recover the throne through the affections of the people, in spite of all the arts made use of to supplant him. A conduct that reflects equal honour upon him, and disgrace on more enlightened princes, who for a petty state, or trifling additional title, lay aside natural affection, duty to their people, the ties of friendship, the most solemn engagements, and whatever ought to be dear to reason, honour, and religion.

THE old *siratick*, whose mind seems to have been enervated with age and bodily infirmities, fell on a sudden into the most austere fit of devotion, from a life not very strict or scrupulous; and this made him commit the government of the realm into the hands of his son, while he spent his whole time among the *marbuts*, placed round him by

^f LE MAIRE, p. 114. BARBOT, p. 35. LABAT, t. iii. p. 200. ^g BARBOT, *ibid.* LE MAIRE, p. 85.

- a the insidious *Moors*, to draw his attention from the affairs of the nation by religious zeal, and thereby to establish their own influence the more firmly. They knew the young *siratick* rested his security upon their support, and that, by raising him to the throne, they might get the reins of administration into their own hands; it was their business therefore, to shut the old king's eyes against the merit of his nephew, which could not be done while he continued to meddle with the public affairs, and the *marbuts* were made the pious instruments of this artful policy. Their endeavours were soon followed with all the success they could wish; that weak old prince became so passionately enamoured of the alcoran, that he carried a huge folio of text and glossaries upon the doctrine of *Mohammed* slung about his neck; although he laboured under the enormous weight of this sacred burthen, inclosed in leaves
- b of massive silver, yet would he never lay it aside, or be prevailed upon to change it for a more commodious and portable copy. He heaped honours, preferments, and wealth, upon the *marbuts*, who had always access to him under the cloak of devotion. So intirely was he weaned from all temporal concerns, that he looked upon a pilgrimage to *Mecca* as the highest proof of human wisdom, of pure religion, and claiming the best right to the title of saint; the highest dignity that human nature was capable of acquiring. He had sent one of his prime ministers into the kingdom of *Kayor*, to conduct from thence, at a great expence, a celebrated *marbut*, of whose virtues he had been told some marvellous stories; and this same saint and his noble attendant made a visit to the *French*, in the isle of *St. Lewis*, by whom, out of respect to the *siratick*, they were received with great honours and extraordinary marks of distinction.

c THE banishment of *Sambaboa* continued for the space of thirty years, part of which time he lived upon the frontiers of *Fouli*, perpetually in arms to defend himself against the attacks of the *Moors*, and the artifices of the young *siratick*. At length he demanded protection of the king of *Galam*, and a safe retreat into his dominions; which that prince, after having been informed of his character, readily granted; though at first hearing only of his valour, he was greatly embarrassed how to conduct himself in so delicate a situation, fearing on the one hand to offend such a hero, or to violate the rights of hospitality, and on the other, to admit so dangerous a prince into the bowels of his kingdom. Being acquainted with the cause of his banishment, the justice, the piety, and the valour, of this unfortunate prince,

d he sent a great body of his nobility to conduct him into his dominions, assigned lands for his support, officers for his household, and treated him in every respect with those honours due to his rank and character; a conduct of which he had never reason to repent, as the fugitive prince ever repaid it with the utmost fidelity, attachment, and gratitude. In this situation he lived many years, adored by the king of *Galam*, beloved by the nobility, and the idol of the people, who wanted nothing so much as to raise him to a throne, to which he formed no pretensions: such, however, was his prudence and moderation, that the wishes of the people excited no jealousy either in the old king of *Galam*, or the prince his successor; they too well knew the equity of *Sambaboa*, and the inclinations of the *Foulians*, to apprehend a rivalry. In the year 1702, as he was beginning to sink under age and mis-

e fortunes, his uncle died, his cousin was deposed, and *Sambaboa* called by the numerous voice of the people, to fill that throne, from which he was so long banished, and reign over that people who always loved him.

His reign began with expelling the *Moors*, who had caused so many misfortunes to the nation, with fortifying several provinces that lay exposed to the insults of the neighbouring states, and with reforming all those abuses which had crept into the administration, during the indolent and weak reign of his uncle. His wise design was to render his people happy, and himself secure, by the felicity he communicated to them; but he was cut off in the midst of all those joyous prospects by a sudden death, which *De Brue* scruples not to attribute to poison; and the artifices of the *Moorish* priests, and the deposed prince, son to the

f late king. He was succeeded in the throne by *Samba Dondè*, who soon afterwards fell in battle, by the hands of his own brother, *Bubaka Siré*, raised upon this event to the crown; an usurpation of which he was in a short time deprived, by *Gbelongbaya*, a person he had elevated from a low station, to the high rank of *kamalingo*^h.

It may not be amiss to relate some transactions that passed between *Sambaboa* and the *French* factory, on the island of *St. Lewis*, as they will help to elucidate the character of that great prince, and afford us a specimen of the insidious and artful conduct of those *French* merchants. Prince *Sambaboa* had two strong causes of complaint against the company, the first of them of such a nature as to be palliated by no excuse. It happened in the year 1680, at the time when that prince was embroiled in a quarrel with his uncle. Being

g upon the eve of a battle with the *siratick*'s army, the event of which he foresaw would be doubtful, he committed his treasure, to the amount of a thousand crowns, into the hands

^h Auct. citat. in locis citat.

of a *French* factor, to be kept till the sword had decided his fate; a deposit which this treacherous friend thought fit to appropriate to his own use, and convey into the island of *St. Lewis*, from whence the prince could never recover a shilling. The next occasion of complaint arose from the imprudence of the *Sieur Chambonneau*, the director general, who had taken one of the prince's women, upon her dropping some hints about the coldness of her husband, who bestowed all his favours upon her rivals. It must be acknowledged, that both these actions deserved the severest chastisement, and the prince had all the opportunities of revenge he could wish, long before his restoration, as the king of *Galam* had frequently offered him an army to redress his grievances; but revenge was not agreeable to the disposition of this amiable person; and the *French* company was an object too mean to call for his vengeance; however, he still harboured some dislike against the *French*, and these notions they were, which *De Brue* had the address to remove, after the prince's restoration. No sooner was he seated on the throne, than *De Brue* sent a letter of apology, accompanied with some handsome presents. By this embassy the king was assured that the company had no concern in the fraud of their factor, whom they would have punished, had he not avoided the law by a speedy retreat. They likewise protested to the king, that if he could seize the culprit, they would cheerfully resign him to the punishment which his conduct so well merited. As to the princess, whom *Chambonneau* had seduced, they blamed the credulity of the director; but assured his majesty at the same time, that he had been deceived by the information of her brother, who protested that his majesty desired nothing more than being rid of her. They farther declared, and *De Brue* staked his honour, that she should immediately be surrendered, if his majesty required itⁱ.

Nothing could be farther from truth than the whole of this justification; but the address of *De Brue*, and perhaps the prudence of the monarch, who was desirous of cultivating a strict correspondence with the *Europeans*, made it all pass for sacred. The *French* congratulated themselves on the refinement of their policy, and the prince was contented with enjoying the advantages which resulted from a perfect harmony with the *French* (A).

Character of
the Fouliaus.

THE people of *Fouli* are celebrated by travellers as an extreme hospitable nation, all persons, without distinction of country, being freely admitted into their huts, and the best accommodations they can afford; nor is their humanity in any other particular less commendable; for as soon any of them has the misfortune to fall into slavery, all the rest join stock to redeem him. When any of them is well stored with provision, no poor person goes away empty handed; or rather every thing necessary to life is made common, and only that looked upon as private property, which supplies the luxuries of living, and creates the distinction of rank. *Moore* says, that quarrels are so rare among them, that his long stay afforded but one instance, where a *Fouliau* was insulted by another; which proceeds not from their tameness or want of courage, for there is not in all *Africa* a braver people, or men who know better how to resent an injury^k. Even the *Jaloffs* themselves dare not attack them; but their politeness, their natural affection, and naturally mild disposition, are perhaps without example; a character that does not perfectly agree with what *Jobson* alleges, or indeed with the relation of the civil wars we have just recited from *De Brue*. According to *Moore*, their arms are composed of bows and arrows, lances, swords, daggers, and occasionally a kind of small fusée, all of which they use with great dexterity, and an address superior to most negro nations, particularly in hunting, a diversion in great esteem among them. Elephants, lions, tygers, and the fiercest animals, are the game they pursue. Twenty or thirty of them, some on foot, some on horseback, follow the chase, and seldom return but laden with the spoils of some of these desperate enemies. The elephants teeth, the lions, leopards, and tigers skins, they sell, and the flesh is smoked and dried for use and winter store. In such numbers are the elephants bred here, that they are seen in droves of two hundred together, plucking up the small trees, and destroying whole fields of corn with their terrible trunks; pleasure therefore alone is not the object of their hunting, but necessity and self preservation.

ⁱ Vid. Journ. DE BRUE apud Labat, p. 4. ibid.

^k MOORE, p. 68.

(A) About this time, *De Brue* engaged in another negotiation, which he conducted in such a manner, as to acquire great honour to himself, and considerable advantages to the company. The daughter of the *firatic* fire, married to *Lali* Lord of the *Red Country*, had left her husband from some notions of jealousy, or inconstancy, and retired to her father, who refused to send her back. *De Brue* was so closely linked in alliance with *Lali*, that, by his good offices, he obtained in 1720, at a low price, about 1600 quintals of gum for the use of the company, charging himself at the same time with pro-

curing the restitution of his wife. This cost him no more than one letter to her father, and a few well directed presents. The lady was sent back to her husband, and *Lali*, in acknowledgement of his obligation to the company, permitted them not only to establish factories in every part of his dominions, but invested them with the intire property of the island of *Sadel*, to settle colonies, build forts, or do whatever they pleased with it. *De Brue* besides got the thanks of the lady's mother, which she expressed by a number of genteel presents, and acts of civility (1).

(1) Labat, t. iii. p. 293.

- a As to the dress of the *Foulians*, it is as peculiar to themselves as some of their customs; but it would be difficult to convey an idea of it in words. Sufficient it is, that it is composed of white cotton cloths, agreeably folded round their waists, all of the manufacture of the country, nothing else being permitted to be worn there: a prudent institution, that greatly promotes trade and industry, and first set on foot by their wise prince the *Siratick Sambaboa*. This is all we know of this people, except their religion, which they have in common with the *Jaloffs*, *Mandingoes*, and other inhabitants of the rivers *Gambia* and *Senegal*, and which we shall describe under one general head. *Dress of the Foulians.*

Of the customs and manners of the Jaloffs, or properly Oualoffs.

- b **B**EFORE we come to speak particularly of this potent nation, it may not be improper that we lay down, as minutely as our authorities will permit, the precise situations of the *Mandingans*, *Foulis*, and *Jaloffs*, as those are the three great states to which all the others are tributary, and, in a measure, dependent. The last-mentioned nation is by much the most powerful, though perhaps the least extended in territory. The *Foulis* inhabit the interior country on both sides the river *Senegal*, stretching from north to east; the *Jaloffs* stand south of them, and extend westward along the ocean, possessing all that tract of country across *Cape Verd*, from the river *Senegal* to *Gambia*; and the *Mandingoes* lie south and east of the *Jaloffs*, occupying both sides of the river *Gambia* from its source perhaps to the ocean. No historians pretend to mark the precise limits of either of these nations; and we are only able to speak in general terms, and rather from conjecture, than actual mensuration or positive authority: for though the navigation of these rivers is well known, yet no *Europeans* have penetrated far enough into the country on each side to give us an accurate geography, much less a topography, of which we are intirely ignorant. *Geographical description of Mandingo, Fouli, and Oualoffe, or Jaloffe.*
- c THE *Jaloffs*, *Jaloifs*, or, according to some writers, *Gbialoffs*, or *Oualoffs*, inhabit, by *Moore's* description, the north side of the river *Gambia*, stretching a great way into the interior country, and likewise to the river *Senegal*; so that they and a part of the country of the *Foulis* border on each other^k. They are of an exceeding black and more beautiful complexion than most of the surrounding nations; nor have they, like the *Mandingoes*, flat noses, or thick lips, the characteristics or distinguishing marks of almost all genuine negroes. *Character of the Jaloffs, or Oualoffs.*
- d *Moore* assures us, that he had seen numbers of this nation, all of whom had a smooth black skin, and fine regular features. *Barbot*, speaking in general of the negroes on the banks of the rivers *Gambia* and *Senegal*, and the intermediate coast, says, that they are of a beautiful black complexion, strait, well made, active, and robust: that their teeth are small, white, and regular; their nose rather flat, and lips thick, but not in that extreme observable in almost all other negroes^l. From these descriptions one may conclude, that the *Jaloffs* are distinct from the other natives, as well in features as in customs, laws, and manners (L). No author besides *Moore* seems to have distinguished the native *Jaloffs* from an infinity of other nations intermixed with them; and this seems to be the cause of that diversity of descriptions we meet with. What seems to confirm the truth of *Moore's* relation is, the acknowledgement of all writers, that the notions of beauty the *Jaloffs* entertain are much the same with those of the *French*: they admire a small well-proportioned nose, little mouth, thin lips, with a gentle pouting in the under lip, and lively eyes: for it is seldom that a people does not fix the standard of beauty among themselves, and judge by that symmetry of features the most familiar to them.
- e **A**UTHORS differ no less with respect to the qualities of the mind than those of the body. *Moore* admits, that their disposition is in general warlike, their constitutions vigorous and strong; but asserts, that they are good-natured, generous, and hospitable; whereas *Barbot* paints them as the most treacherous, lascivious, and villainous people upon the face of the globe. They are, says that writer, debauched, lazy, impudent, cowardly, vindictive, haughty, vain, and much addicted to theft and lying. They equally indulge in eating, drinking, venery, and every other kind of intemperance; nor will they stumble at any means to gratify those desires: friendship, honour, oaths, and religion, are all set at nought, wherever their passions stand in the way; that their treachery in trade cannot be paralleled.
- f

^k MOORE, p. 30.

^l BARBOT, p. 34.

(L) *Villault*, describing the inhabitants of *Rio Fresco*, near *Cape Verd*, a people probably the same with the *Jaloffs*, or rather a part of that nation, says, that he never met with one flat-nosed or thick-lipped person of the nation; an account quite the reverse of *Le Maire* (2).

The inhabitants of the towns of *Joali*, *Portodalli*, and *Yaca*, are the greatest thieves in nature, especially the latter, who have the address to steal from the *Europeans* while they are smiling in their faces, without being perceived. *Barbot* has seen them make use of their feet in these employments, while their hands have been busied in some obliging office. But we must observe, that our author speaks here of the natives of the coast. *Labat* makes much the same remark on the *Jaloffs* towards *Senegal*. It is not upon their hands only, says that writer, that you must fix your eyes, if you would prevent their frauds, but on their feet likewise; for, from a habit of going barefoot, they acquire the same dexterity in those parts as *Europeans* have in their hands, and will even pick up a pin with their toes off the ground. If they chance to see a knife, scissars, or toy, that attracts their inclinations, they will turn their backs upon it, engage you in conversation, and slyly seize it between their toes, with which they have the art of throwing it into a kind of pouch, which they wear behind. Nor do they deal much more honestly with their countrymen of the inland parts, to whom they give the name of simple mountaineers; for, when they come to trade to the coasts, the maritime negroes immediately offer their service in carrying their goods, which they seldom quit before they have stole half, while the owner stands amazed by what enchantment and conjuration he should be so great a loser, while his eyes are kept constantly fixed on his property ^m.

BUT they go still great lengths; and where address fails, they scruple not to have recourse to force, assassination, and the most cruel murders, which are seen every day on the highways. To such a degree of barbarity do they carry their avaritious disposition, that many of them sell their fathers, mothers, children, and neighbours; of which *Barbot* gives a great number of instances. *Le Maire* gives one ridiculous example of this practice: an old negro intending to sell his son, sent him with a load to the *French* factory; but the young man, suspecting his father's design, resolved to out-wit him, and accordingly hastened to the factor, to sell the old parent; so that on his arrival he was seized, as the property of the merchant. The old man cried out in vain, that he was the father of that monster who had sold him; but the son swore vehemently it was false, and the bargain remained firm. The son, returning home triumphant with the price of the father's liberty, was met by the lord of the district, pillaged of his ill-got riches, and carried as a slave to the very person who had just before bought his father. A number of children are daily kidnapped by their neighbours, who have found them strolling in the woods, or driving away the birds from the corn fields and plantations, according to the custom of the country; and in times of great scarcity, many negroes sell themselves, in order to be assured of bread, and make no scruple of disposing of their children for a few handfuls of rice ^a.

WE are told by the same authors, that the *Jaloffs* are much addicted to magic and sorcery, which they exercise by the means of the grand socerer's ministers, the priests; who, they believe, have a power over serpents and monsters. *Walla Filla*, king of *Jaala*, a province of *Jaloff*, passed for the greatest conjurer of his time, and was reckoned the most expert poisoner in the whole country. This man could, according to the tradition of the negroes, assemble all his forces in an instant, by virtue of his art, and at the same time disperse those of the enemy. *Le Maire* mentions it as a proof of the stupidity of the negroes, that their interpreters are not able to give the sense or convey the meaning of a foreign tongue in their own, though they perfectly understand both languages; thus, by their dullness, occasioning numberless embarrassments in business. If they once know that they are necessary or useful to an *European*, then they become insupportably troublesome, are perpetually drunk; and the spirits, which they procure with great labour and pains, are squandered away prodigally in one debauch: for palm wine is not so common in this country as to become a general liquor among them. They have not the least idea of gratitude, nor the smallest notion of returning kindness by reciprocal good offices; all their actions arise from some mean, selfish view, and indirectly to gratify some brutal appetite; nay, their ignorance is so gross, that it would be difficult to make them comprehend how two and two make four. So total is this stupidity, that they know not their own age, or the day of the week, for which they even have no names: and indeed the only virtue of which they are possessed is hospitality, if it be a virtue in them, who invite a stranger to their houses only that they may gain by them ^o.

BARBOT, speaking of the *Jaloff* princes round *Senegal*, compares them to the worst of the *Mandiens*, another nation he has celebrated for their vices; but they join cunning to their impudence. They begin a bargain or treaty with begging trifles that cannot well be refused, in order to sound the temper of the person they have to do with: if they find

^m LE MAIRE, p. 125. LABAT, MOORE, & BARBOT, ubi supra.
 BAT, *Afric. Occid.* t. ii. p. 170.

^a LE MAIRE, p. 82.

^o LA-

a his disposition easy, they proceed to ask things of more consequence, and in such a manner that they cannot be refused without breaking with them, and destroying all hopes of trade. In general, there is no method of checking their avarice, but by obstinately refusing them every thing they ask: this will sometimes have the effect, and at other times so enrage them, that they avoid all communication, and seize every opportunity of doing you an injury. Their princes are so basely impudent in this begging trade, that, if a well-dressed *European* visits them, they will successively ask for every thing he has about him; for instance, they will beg leave to try on his hat, sword, gloves, &c. till they have got possession of all, and then force only can get them returned. However, the *Jaloff* princes towards *Gambia* are more modest, honest, and humane, and indeed of a character altogether the reverse of the former. They are less avaricious, less mean, and at the same time less proud, except where certain ceremonies require a decent dignity. Their estates consist chiefly in droves of camels, dromedaries, cows, goats, millet, and fruits. In the audiences they grant the *Europeans*, they always appear with a becoming magnificence, and great decorum of behaviour. They are usually seated on a throne, and covered with a long red or blue robe, adorned with the tufts of hair from the tail of an elephant or some other wild animal, little pieces of ivory or coral, and a crown of osiers on their head, decked with little horns of small deer, antelopes, and other animals. They proceed with great solemnity to the place of audience, which, in fine weather, is generally under the shade of a great tree, round which their guards are ranged, and always with a pipe of tobacco in their mouths. In all these audiences the *Arabs* and *Moorish* marbuts have liberties allowed them superior to the negroes; but the *French* have some exclusive privileges, denied to all other nations. Nothing can exceed the dignity with which those princes take the pipe from their mouths, to interrogate an ambassador, concerning his commission, and the particular business for which he demanded an audience: this they do with a kind of gravity and solemnity of countenance, and manner altogether peculiar, and of which an *European*, who has not seen it, can have no idea. It would be unnecessary to enlarge farther upon these *minutiae* of character; we shall therefore proceed to their civil policy, government, and religion °.

d ROUND *Senegal* the *Jaloffs*, we are told, call the princes of the blood by the name of *tenbala*, and the nobles by that of *sabibobo*. *Le Maire* says, that the *damel*, or prince of that country nearest the *Senegal*, has under him two officers of the highest rank; the one, called *kondi*, presides over all military affairs, and commands his armies; the other, called the great *jarafo*, sits at the head of civil affairs, and is chief in all courts of justice, the *damel* himself having no power to reverse his decrees. He makes circuits round all the provinces, to hear complaints and redress grievances; so that no people of so bad a character are more happily governed, or live in a more peaceable manner. Another officer, called the *alkair*, a word of *Moorish* extraction, is treasurer to the crown, and exercises much the same function with the *jarafo*, but in a narrower compass: he too has under him subaltern *alkairs*, or *alkades*, who are the chiefs in the villages where they reside, and a kind of justices of the peace; though appeals in all cases of consequence are made to the *jarafo*, when he performs his circuit. *Barbot* relates, that all the great officers have their representatives in every large village; and that there are an infinity of *jarafos* and *alkairs* in almost every province of the empire. The *kondi*, who, in virtue of his office, is lieutenant-general of the whole kingdom, and commander in chief of the king's armies, with a power similar to a high-constable of *France*, frequently makes the tour of the kingdom with the *jarafo*, to examine into the conduct of the *alkairs*: whence it seems as if the *jarafo* alone had no authority to call them to an account. The particular province of an *alkade* is to levy the rights of the crown, and taxes imposed for the support of government; though his name seems to import the governmentship of some town, village, or district (M).

e f VASCONCELOS affirms, that the negroes of the coast are greatly superior to those of *Senegal* in the art of government; that they are more exact in all the duties of administration, their policy more extended, and their schemes of security and aggrandizement more refined, more profound and secret: in a word, that they are more equitable in their rewards and punishments, public and private, civil and military administration: an assertion altogether opposite to the testimony of all other writers. Here the prince's privy-council is composed of persons the most venerable for their age and wisdom, and the judges of the most experienced and intelligent men of the nation. Punishment immediately follows conviction, and a thief is sold for a slave, seldom put to death. *Le Maire* says, that a native of *Jaloff*, who is accused of any crime, but cannot be convicted by positive evidence, is obliged to lick

° BARROT, p. 57. MOORE, p. 231.

(M) *Le Maire* writes it *Alkair*, *Alkadi*, *Alkadbi*, or *Alkazi*, either of which in the *Arabic* or modern *Moorish* tongue signify judge; how it can be applied to

the governors of towns, who were judges of their districts, is easily understood.

with his tongue an ignited bar of iron, stroking it slowly over three different times. If a he resists this tryal, he is declared innocent, and the accusers obliged to go through the same tryal; otherwise the accused escapes corporal punishment, but is banished the realm. Moore relates, that the *Jaloff* natives, upon the river *Gambia*, purge themselves of crimes, by holding boiling water in the mouth; frequent instances of which he has seen: yet does not the rigour of those punishments deter them from theft and other crimes of an equally heinous nature. The reason perhaps is, that here, as well as in more civilized countries, the course of justice is often changed through corruption, money and interest having power to acquit the most notorious delinquent. *Le Maire* furnishes us with a very remarkable example of the power of money in preventing justice. Two petty kings, dependents on the *damel*, the uncle and nephew, disputed about a piece of ground, to which each b claimed a right, and at last resolved to leave the affair to the determination of the *damel*. The day of tryal was appointed, and crowds of people assembled from every corner of the kingdom, to see the event of a litigation so solemn and important. Both the princes prostrated themselves before their superior, and each advanced all the arguments he could in support of his claim. The nephew, who was son to the late king, concluded his harangue by representing, that the domains in dispute had belonged to his father, to whom they were given by the favour of heaven, and that it would be the highest injustice to deprive the son and legitimate heir of what the father possessed. After deliberating for some time, the *damel* replied, "What heaven gave to the father, I will give to the son:" c a sentence that was followed with repeated shouts of applause from the whole assembly. The justice of the *damel*, the praises of the nephew, and the dishonesty of the uncle, were echoed from mouth to mouth, and every man seemed happy in so equitable a decision. Next day, while the young man was ruminating upon his good fortune, he was amazed to find himself stripped of all he possessed, without any new offence or form of tryal: but he soon found, that the *damel*, corrupted by a large bribe, had revoked the sentence, re-established his uncle, and, to prevent his disputing this final decision, had divested him of his honours, authority, and property. What surprised him still more, was the sudden alteration in the sentiments of the people, whose love kept pace with his fortune; for they now decried him as much as they before had praised him; and his uncle, who but the day before was the subject of their ribaldry and satire, became now the object of their adoration.^a d

Occasions of
war.

As there are an infinity of petty kings included under the general name of *Jaloff* princes, so there are perpetual wars in some quarter or other of this large tract of country. When a rupture with some other power is resolved on, the *kondi* assembles the troops, which never exceed five hundred in number: thus it is that their greatest battles are really but skirmishes, in which hardly any dead are left in the field. Voyagers inform us, that in the whole kingdom of *Damel* there are scarce horses sufficient to mount two hundred men, and yet the strength of their armies consists in their cavalry. The king of *Damel* is however a potent prince for that part of the world; his armies are well supplied with provisions, and hundreds of women attend the camp every day with live stock, for the use of the troops, as well as fruits, roots, and all kinds of vegetables. Sometimes five hundred dishes of e *kuskas* are sent into the camp, dressed and seasoned in a variety of different methods. Such of them as suit the king's taste the best he keeps, the rest he distributes among the officers and soldiers, who never want an appetite for so delicate a regale. The arms of the cavalry are long darts, a kind of javelin, rivetted like an arrow, and short swords, which they use when they dismount; a part of discipline they are always taught, and frequently practise in battle; however, so loaded are they with *grisgris*, that they march but slowly on foot. The infantry are armed with scymitars, javelins, and a quiver, charged with ten or twelve poisoned arrows, a wound from which is attended with infallible death. Their bows are made of a kind of hard reed, resembling the *bambou*, and the cord of an elastic piece of wood, which they form with great dexterity to yield and recover its tone. All the negroes f are such excellent marksmen, that few will miss a shilling at the distance of fifty paces; but they fight in a tumultuous and irregular manner, both sides marching into the middle of the plain, pitched upon for the engagement, without any manner of order or discipline; their *guirats*, or instruments of war, sounding all the while, with a most horrible din. When they come within a proper distance, the infantry make a general discharge of their arrows, after which they engage sword in hand, but with such precaution, as all the while to have their commercial interest in view, making as many prisoners and as little slaughter as possible; for the prisoners of all ranks and ages are to be sold for slaves. Moore however affirms, that, notwithstanding all their care, their battles are frequently very bloody in their consequences, altho' the carnage in the field be not considerable, as few of those wounded g with their poisoned arrows ever recover. He further affirms, that the *Jaloffs* are particu-

Their arms.

Method of
fighting.

^a LE MAIRE, p. 119.

a larly delicate in point of military honour, preferring death to the smallest reproach on their courage: this it is, says he, which animates them no less than the dread of slavery, to more than a natural intrepidity, and hurries them on to feats of prowess above humanity. Should the first shock of battle fail to decide victory, they will frequently renew it for several successive days; and at length, when the obstinacy of both sides begins to faint under the fatigue of action, they enter upon a treaty by means of their *marbuts*, who meet in the field between the two armies; and, if these holy men agree about the articles of convention, they swear upon the *Alkoran* and by *Mohammed* to be faithful to their engagements.

b Moore and *Le Maire* give us sketches of the character of some princes that reigned here, *The character of some Oualoff princes.* when they resided in the country. The king of *Howal* (N), once a powerful and respected prince, was now, and since the year 1682, become tributary to another petty king, not for want of courage, but by reason of his inferior strength. His dominions stretch about fifty miles along the river, and are eight or ten miles broad, besides certain little domains and lordships about the mouth of the river, and without the boundaries we have mentioned. Although this prince is absolute in his dominions, yet does he often stand in need of a handful of millet to keep him from starving; and hence arose the cause of his subjection, poverty having effected what the sword could not. Necessity often obliged him to make incursions into the neighbouring territories, in search of slaves, cattle, and other plunder, which he immediately sold to the *French* for brandy. One circumstance in the conduct of c this prince deserves to be mentioned. When he had got possession of a puncheon of brandy, he first got drunk, and then ordered it to be locked up, and the key put into the hands of his favourite minister, who was obliged to ride off thirty or forty miles distance from the king. This he did by way of check on his inclinations, knowing that, if the key was in his power, he could not resist the temptation of drinking till the whole was exhausted: but the minister had often reason to repent obeying his majesty; for when the fit seized him, he immediately dispatched a messenger for his favourite and the key; and if he did not make his appearance within the time allowed by his majesty, his head became the forfeit^a.

d THE *damel* or king of *Kayor*, another *Jaloff* prince, was no less sottish and drunken. As the *French* factors seldom appear before him, but to ask some favour, or complain of some of his officers, they never came to court unprovided with a dozen bottles of brandy, and were sure to meet with the most favourable reception, and have every request granted as long as they chose to keep his majesty drunk, which frequently happened for whole weeks together.

e THE *Jaloffs* who border on the river *Gambia* occupy the kingdom of *Barsalli* and the *Kingdom of Lower Yau.* Moore alleges, that the name of the royal family here is *U'jai*. This monarch governs with a despotic authority, all the people prostrating themselves on their faces whenever any person of the royal family appears; and from this mark of respect no degree of quality is exempted; yet does he live upon a most familiar footing and perfect equality with his troops and all the officers of his army. Every soldier has his share of the booty made in war, and the king but a certain moderate proportion, considering that he might, if he pleased, seize upon the whole. This custom it is that makes the *Barsallans* not only pursue a war with vigour, but continue it with obstinacy; for the soldiers, reaping the reward of their toils, refuse no hazard or fatigue to render the remainder of their lives easy. All the court profess the *Mohammedan* religion; though they seem to pay little regard to that part of the impostor's creed which forbids the use of wine; for the king cannot live without brandy, nor is he ever more devout than when he is drunk.

f THE general dress of the *Jaloffs* is a kind of loose callicoe surplice, that hangs down below the knee; which they sometimes plait about the waist, in a very agreeable manner; and the natives of *Barsalli* in particular wear a great number of gold trinkets in their hair, ears, noses, and round their necks, arms, and legs; but the women especially are fond of those ornaments. The king of *Barsalli*, whom *Moore* saw in 1732, had a prodigious number of women: but when he went abroad, he was seldom attended by more than two, who seemed to be dressed out in the whole finery and jewels of the seraglio. He had likewise a number of brethren; but it was seldom that he deigned to speak to them, and much less to associate with them; but if ever he condescended to do them that honour, they were forced to treat him with the same respect as other subjects, and prostrate themselves on the earth the moment they came into his presence, notwithstanding they were *Dress of the Oualoffs.* *Farther account of the king of Barsalli.*

^a MOORE, *ibid.* Vide etiam LE MAIRE, & LABAT, in loc. citat. BARBOT, p. 58.

(N) It must be observed, that *Le Maire* calls this same kingdom as *Howal*, by which name *Moore*, and prince the king of *Senegal*, by which he means the indeed almost all other writers, speak of him.

the presumptive heirs to the crown. Here indeed it is usual for the king's children to a dispute the right with the brothers, and the longest sword generally carries away the prize^r.

THE usual residence of the prince is at *Kabone*, a town situated near the sea, an hundred miles from *Jour*, another town belonging to the same king on the river *Gambia*. When his majesty is in want of brandy, or any other necessary, he sends to beg of the governor of *James-fort*, that he will dispatch a boat with the merchandize he may have occasion for; to purchase which he plunders the neighbouring towns, and seizes a certain number of his subjects, whom he sells for slaves, and exchanges for *European* commodities. This is his method of supplying himself, if he happens to be at peace with his neighbours; for which reason the people can never be so happy and secure as when they are at war, their most cruel b enemy being their own king, and their greatest danger arising from the person who ought to protect them in their liberties, lives, and property.

HIS majesty of *Barfalli* has divided his kingdom into a number of provinces, over which he has set governors, called *bumeys*, who pay him an annual homage, and send in a certain revenue or tribute to the exchequer. Those *bumeys* are powerful and absolute within their jurisdictions; but they seldom carry their prerogative so far as to incur the dislike of the people, whose affections are the surest barriers against the tyrannical encroachments of the king. His majesty has notwithstanding an absolute dominion over these governors, his standing forces being at all times sufficient to reduce them to obedience, did they attempt to throw off their subjection; trials of which seldom or never occur, both sides finding it to be their interest to c live in amity, the one to acknowledge the homage that is due, and the other to require no more than is due. Thus the king enjoys a despotick dominion, without having the whole load of government upon his shoulders; the *bumeys* enjoy all the privileges of crowned heads, only by acknowledging a superior; and the people are in full possession of happiness, by having a kind of mediator between them and the monarch, whose slaves they are.

THE king of *Barfalli* maintains so strenuously the dignity of despotism, that he admits of no other counsellor besides his prime minister, that is, his prime slave: for nothing can be more servile than the implicit regard this tool of state pays to the nod of his master. The minister is at the same time the general of the king's forces, and the interpreter of his will, from the very letter of which he must never deviate. He is called the great d *farbro*, or master of the horse; and he likewise enjoys another office, that of bearing the sword of state before the king upon all public occasions.

MOORE describes one of the brothers of this prince as a person equally amiable in mind and body. He was, according to this author, of tall stature and genteel air, regular and handsome in his features, his skin exceeding black, his teeth white and even, his nose high, his lips thin, and eyes lively and black. Nothing could exceed the appearance this prince made, when mounted on a beautiful barb he had, finely caparisoned, with a bridle plated with silver, a handsome saddle, and stirrups of silver well polished. This horse Moore takes great pains in describing; which he believes, in point of beauty, exceeded the *Bucephalus* of *Alexander*^s: but as most of our readers have a sufficiently clear idea of an *Arabian* steed, we c think it unnecessary to dwell upon the description of an animal that so strongly took the fancy of our author. Such is the account we have of the manners, customs, and government, of the several *Jaloff* nations: for though we have mentioned but a few, out of the great number of states which go by this name, yet from what is said the reader has a general idea of the people, and more cannot be expected in a work of so vast extent, and where we are describing countries known but to a few writers.

An account of
some other in-
terior nations.

BEFORE we enter upon the religion and other particulars common to all the negroes inhabiting the banks of the rivers *Gambia* and *Senegal*, and that great tract of country lying between both, from the sea to the lakes *Mabeira* and *Lahor*, we shall just give the geography of two other states that deserve some notice, as being next in power and extent to those we have f described. The first is the kingdom of *Galam*, situated eastward, about twenty-four miles from the bar at the mouth of the river *Senegal*, beginning a league below *Fuabo*, and extending forty-five miles up the river, to the cataract or high rock *Felum*. This kingdom is bordered on the north and north-west by those vast tracts of good and bad regions inhabited by the wandering *Moors*, and by some of the *Foulis*, who reside constantly in their town, and acknowledge the sovereignty of the *Siratick* king. On the east and north-east is the kingdom of *Coffon*, or *Casson*; whose prince has the title of *Segudova*, having his residence in an island, about a mile higher than the cataract of *Felum*. This island is formed by two branches of the river, which, after a course of above sixty miles, lose themselves in the lake *Caston*, a great body of water, but very imperfectly known to *Europeans*. They are called the black and g white rivers; probably from the colour of the sand and chanel through which they run. As the *French*, who have pushed their discoveries the farthest here, have never penetrated beyond

^r MOORE, in loco ult. citat. ^s Idem, p. 83.

- a *Govina*, that prodigious cataract that had foiled all the attempts of the adventurers, sent from the island of *Senegal* by the *Sieur De Brue*, we know nothing of the extent of the kingdom of *Casson*, but from the *Moorish* merchants and negro factors, who pretend to no knowledge of the north side; but affirm, that to the south it extends to the countries of *Godova* and *Giacca*; the *Mandingoes* of *Tamboura* and *Bambous* being tributary, though not actually subject to it. The *Cassons* are said to be descended from the *Foulis*, to be rich, industrious, numerous, and their king the sovereign of *Galam*, and of most of the other states under the immediate dominion of the *Siratick*. The country is said to abound with mines of gold, silver, and copper, so rich that the veins appear almost at the surface of the earth; and this the natives rake off, sift, and sell as gold dust, after it has been first washed and cleaned
- b by a running stream.

LABAT says, that, before the direction of affairs at *Senegal* came into the hands of the *Sieur De Brue*, several of his predecessors had formed the design of accurately examining the kingdoms of *Galam* and *Casson*, with intention to cultivate assiduously the commerce which those rich countries would necessarily afford; but whether from a deficiency in power, capacity, steadiness, or from the natural difficulties which attend the execution of all new projects, it is certain they could never push their discoveries beyond *Leide*, *Betel*, or *Gilde*, the cataracts of the *Niger* being insurmountable difficulties. Without venturing to establish factories, and a regular settled commerce, they contented themselves with sending a few small vessels as far up as the river was navigable, to receive slaves, gold, and ivory, which

c the *Mandingo* merchants did not chuse to carry to the river *Gambia*: but of this we shall have occasion to speak more particularly, when we come to treat of the navigation and commerce of those two rivers; at present we shall relate those customs, which are peculiar to the inhabitants of that great tract of land lying between the rivers *Gambia* and *Senegal*, and common to them all, though distinguished into different nations^t (O).

S E C T. XI.

Containing a minute description of the dress, diet, marriages, education of children, and burials, of the interior negroes in general; of their language, arts, manufactures, &c. of their religion and superstitions; together with a particular account of their marbuts, or priests.

- d **A**S all the inhabitants of this division of *Africa*, except the *Foulis*, are of a complexion totally black, we might be expected to enter here upon a philosophical inquiry into the causes of this diversity of colours. It is the first object that strikes the imagination of travellers, and perhaps one of the most curious subjects in natural philosophy; but we chuse to refer the reader to the reflections we have already made in some of the former volumes, as nothing more than conjectures can be offered, and we see all the ingenious hypotheses formed by the *French* academicians overthrown by some obstinate facts, that cannot be reduced to their otherwise plausible system.

e THE common dress all over this part of *Africa* is a kind of shirt or surplice, and wide drawers, made of blue and white cotton cloth, the sleeves large, which they tuck up over their arms, when they are employed in any business that requires the free use of their hands, and the drawers hanging in a bag that separates their legs, and makes them straddle as they walk. On their feet they wear a kind of leathern sandals, buttoned at the instep and toes, and behind at the heel. Their heads and whole bodies, when full dressed, are covered over with *grisgris*: for here religious ornaments constitute the material and chief beauties of dress. Some wear a sword slung over the right shoulder, others a long dart, and others a bow and arrows; but all use a long knife by their left side, a weapon they are never seen without. We here speak of persons of better fashion, for as to the poor, they generally go

^t Vide MOORE, LABAT, LE MAIRE, & BARBOT, in locis citat.

(O) It may be worth remarking, that altho' the prevailing customs of all nations inhabiting this part of *Africa* have so strong an analogy, that he who describes one gives a tolerable general idea of the whole, yet the remarks of most writers are confined to some particular people: and, as different authors have treated of different countries, we have thus an idea of those peculiar national manners that characterize them. For instance, *Johson's* remarks are confined to the *Mandingoes*; those of *Le Maire* and *Labat* to the *Jaloffs*; of *Moore* to the

Mandingoes and *Jaloffs* together; and many of *Barbot's* to the *Foulis* only: yet would each of those writers seem to convey a general idea of the whole, from observations they have made on particular kingdoms; though from comparing them, it is obvious that they are each characterized by peculiar manners, which was the reason why we treated of them separately; for we would omit nothing that could contribute to enlighten so obscure a part of history.

naked, and are at least bare-footed. As to the women, their dress consists only of a piece a of cotton, tyed round the waist, and falling down to the knee, in form of a petticoat, much in the same manner as the negroes of the *Gold, Ivory, and Grain Coasts*: all the upper part of the body is naked, which, for ornament, they mark, stain, and paint, with various figures and colours, which at a distance have the resemblance of a painted callicoe, or flowered stuff. Some of them have a loose piece of cotton cloth carelessly flung over their shoulder; but this is a piece of extravagance very unusual: and *Moore* observes, that both sexes pride themselves on having a large bunch of keys suspended to their girdles, only for the ostentation of passing for persons of wealth ^a,

With regard to the diet of these negroes, it is plain and simple, composed chiefly of rice, roots, and fruits, which they eat with abundance of appetite, as we may imagine b from their making but one meal a day, and that in the evening. This temperance however is not so much the result of virtue as of laziness, which prevents their going in search of game, the only animal food they use; for their cattle, sheep, and goats are carefully kept for milk. *Jobson* indeed acquaints us, that it is an established maxim among many of them, that abstemiousness and temperance in diet, during the hot season, contribute greatly to the preservation of health; a practice which, from their example, he strongly recommends to all *Europeans*, who reside in the same climate; and his reasoning it must be owned appears consonant to reason and the laws of the animal œconomy. The ordinary drink of all the negroes is water; though the better sort of people in this country use palm wine, diluted with water, and a kind of beer, called *ballo*, made from the grain most com- c mon here; but whether that be rice or millet we are not told. It is true they have all an extreme fondness for brandy and strong spirits; but as these are purchased from the *Euro- pcans*, only persons of condition are able to indulge in them to any degree of excess: yet, whatever the inclinations of the men to debauchery may be, nothing can exceed the beha- viour of the women as to temperance and simplicity of diet and drink; for they never taste any thing stronger than water, or at most a little wine or *ballo*, plentifully diluted.

Their diet.

SOME authors tell us, that the negroes make two meals a day, one about the middle of the day, the other in the evening; that they sit down to table without any of that furniture deemed necessary among us; they eat with their fingers, and always use the right hand, esteeming it an indecency to touch their food or lips with the left, which they employ in d all the meaner offices. Nor are their kings any better provided with the instruments of refinements and luxury, although they eat in state, and alone, except when they sometimes admit their high *marbut* to the honour of sitting with them at table. Hence it is that the negroes very unwillingly admit *Europeans* to their meals, as if themselves were sensible of the misery, the slovenly manner, and the clownishness of their customs, in this particular.

Marriages.

As to their marriages, we find a variety of different relations by voyagers, a particular which we attribute rather to the inconstancy of this ceremony than to the mistake and ignorance of writers. *Jobson* alleges, that every man has a right to marry the girl he loves, without regard to fortune or quality, or indeed to any other circumstance than that of maturity and a proper age; yet he allows, that contracts are seldom made without the participation e and consent of the parents, in whose hands he deposits the jointure intended, or at least a proper security for the payment. The king or chief person in the province, town, or village, holds certain rights, as the general guardian of all the girls within his jurisdiction, more especially of orphans. As soon as the preliminaries are adjusted, the bridegroom, accompanied with a number of young fellows, set out by moon-light, or at least in the night, and surround the house of the bride, in order to carry her off by force; while she and her female attendants pretend to make all possible resistance, and alarm the whole vil- lage with their cries; a coyness that is looked upon as a ceremony of course, so that no opposition is made to the ravisher, the comedy always terminating in a wedding. To such a degree of absurdity is this farce carried, that the lover haunts the house for several weeks f before, and is seen concealing himself in woods and groves around the residence of the object of his wishes, covering his face with a veil, to prevent discovery, and giving the courtship all the air of an intrigue, without which the joy is reckoned flat and insipid ^b.

MOORE affirms, that round the *Gambia* a father often betroths his daughter to some neighbouring infant on the day of her birth; an engagement so firm and binding, that it can never be retracted; nor are the inclinations of the parties themselves sufficient to dissolve a marriage made without their consent. In general the women marry very young, and leave off bearing children at the time of life when others begin. When a marriage contract is agreed upon, the bridegroom must present the parents of his bride with two cows, a bar of iron, and two hundred *kola* nuts; without which ceremony the bargain is g not binding, even supposing he should have carried her home and consummated. The same

^a *JOBSON'S Golden Trade*, p. 49. 55. *LE MAIRE*, p. 131.

^b *JANEQUIN*, p. 96.

a author observes, that the husband must give an entertainment, to which all the neighbours are supposed to come without invitation; and that this ceremony, the neglect of which inevitably incurs the contempt of the village, continues for three or four days. The bride is carried from her father's house upon the shoulders of young fellows, friends to the bridegroom, her face covered with a veil, which she never lays aside till after consummation; her doing this being a testimony to the whole assembly that the nuptial rites are duly performed; for the method is, that the married pair retire, while the company continue singing, dancing, and drinking, till their return.

LABAT's account of this ceremony, in the countries bordering on the *Senegal*, is different. Here the young lover applies to the parents of his mistress, and endeavours to win her consent through their influence, but without ever desiring or expecting that any constraint should be laid on her inclinations, which he believes must terminate unhappily to both parties. If he has been so fortunate as to gain her affections, he makes some presents to the father and mother, or nearest relations, the bride is conducted to his house, and the marriage is concluded without any other form or ceremony than a collation to the village. When she approaches the house, the bridegroom offers her his hand, to conduct her to the best apartment; where she no sooner enters, than he takes upon him the husband, and employs her immediately in fetching water, or in some other servile occupation, intimating thereby her subordination; and she respectfully retires at the first motion to execute his commands. She sups after him, attends him in quality of a servant during supper, and patiently waits his time to be led to bed; but this is an authority which only brutal husbands assume after the first night, and while it is looked upon as a marriage ceremony. If the bride is secure of her being a virgin, a thing extremely rare in any of the negro countries, she always, from a motive of vanity and compliment to her husband, spreads a white cotton cloth upon the bed, which, in token of her former chastity, and the abilities of the bridegroom, she exposes publicly to the company after consummation; by whom it is received with profound respect, and carried in triumph round the village, attended by crowds of people, with a variety of music, and great rejoicings. *Labat* assures us, that if the proper marks of virginity do not appear, the parents are obliged to take her back, if the bridegroom requires it: but this is a disgrace seldom put upon them, as the greatest care is taken that the bride be examined by competent judges before marriage; and should the husband chance to be disappointed, he chuses rather to keep his engagement than embroil two families, the inevitable consequence of sending back the bride^c. It is true, that in many parts of this coast virginity is but little prized, the *Africans* as well as *Europeans* being greatly divided about the value of this female jewel, some deeming it above, and others below all estimation. We shall conclude our account of the nuptial ceremony, with a custom which is observed by some nations of this division, according to *Janequin*, a writer of some credit. By him we are told, that the bride is delivered naked to the bridegroom by her parents; that he immediately carries her before the *marbut*, who orders them to eat a few grains of fine sand, and to consummate the following night, this being the whole form of marriage. According to the same writer, if the marks of virginity are not evident in the morning, the husband has a right immediately to repudiate his wife; and this in some countries is esteemed so disgraceful, that a woman who cannot bear the test will rather perish than marry.

ALL authors agree, that polygamy is permitted here, with the same latitude as in all other negro countries, the husband being confined to no number, and taking as many women as his circumstances will support; but they differ greatly concerning the privileges of the husband and wife, the power given to the one, and the obedience required of the other. *Jobson* calls one of the women the handwife, because she always attends the husband, assumes a kind of superiority over the rest, and is in fact the mistress of the family, because she has brought him the first child, or the largest fortune, or, what is of more consequence than all, her virginity. In consequence of her station, she is exempted from many of the servile occupations in which all the rest are employed, and sometimes eats with her husband; an honour denied to the others, who eat in a little cabin apart from the principal hut, never appearing in his presence but when called, or sharing in his embraces but when satiety of the principal woman calls for variety; notwithstanding which, *Jobson* speaks with admiration of the harmony and perfect understanding that reigns through the whole, where all might expect to be in confusion, from jealousy, lust, and envy^d.

THE punishment of adultery is, according to *Jobson*, no other than slavery, with this caution, that both parties be sold to the *Europeans*; for then they are assured that the criminals will be transported beyond sea: but *Barbot* observes, that if they are taken in the fact, the adulterer is put to death, and the woman repudiated, the greater guilt being

Punishment of adultery.

^c P. 131.

^d P. 51.

always supposed to lie on the man. As for her, she returns to her parents, who are obliged a to receive her, as if nothing had happened; though in some places she is stigmatized with a mark of infamy, and forbid to associate with the other women of the family. In some cases the woman is put to death, or sold for a slave; while the man escapes unpunished; but this must be on clear evidence, that she had decoyed him into a belief of her being single. An instance of this nature happened to the *lali*, one of the chief officers of the *damel*; his wife having given him cause to suspect her fidelity, and that she had deceived her gallant, he was going to put her death, but was advised on account of her high birth, to lay his grievances before the king. The facts being clearly proved, she was sold by his majesty's order to the *French* factor, and the gallant not only acquitted but rewarded, for the honour he had shewn in refusing her favours, till she had convinced him that she never had been b married.

MOORE affirms, that, in general, the husband has the power of punishing the infidelity of his wife, by selling her to the highest bidder, or driving her forth out of his house with all her children, without any thing to support them. Yet notwithstanding the rigour of these laws, the women look upon an intrigue with a white as a great honour, and their husbands frequently compliment the factors with the use of their wives, their sisters, or daughters; but *Barbot* thinks, that this complaisance proceeds from motives of interest; as there is no tie so sacred but what they will break, nothing so base but they will commit, to gratify their strongest of passions, the love of money. Although the women are by nature not averse to gallantry, yet among them too interest is the first principle and spring of their c affections, which they always proportion to the wealth and liberality of the lover; and as they are in general tall, handsome, and lascivious, the *Europeans* seldom dispute with them about the price of their favours.

In this country the women are charged with all the laborious employments, and they not only perform the domestick offices, but the culture of the earth, the sowing, planting, and reaping, devolve upon them; in a word, the women here enter upon the whole province of the other sex, at least what is reckoned so in almost every part of the world besides; but although this subordination be established by custom immemorial, it reflects greatly upon a man's reputation, if he suffer the weaker sex to toil like slaves, while he is indulging in ease and luxury; and nature seems so strongly to dictate this, that, in spite of their d favourable laws and inbred laziness, they usually share the labour with the women.

AMONG the negroes of this country, whether *Mohammedans* or *Pagans*, there are certain degrees of consanguinity, which are by law prohibited from marrying; for instance, a man cannot marry his sister, his daughter, his aunt, or niece; and a king who would violate this religious law, would probably be severely censured by the *marbuts*. All the women are incredibly fruitful, and intrepid in child-bearing, as in the severest pains of labour they never utter a groan, or even a sigh, which would be reckoned cowardly in the most racking pangs. They seldom require the assistance of a midwife, except those who are pregnant very young, and never keep their beds above a day or two, if at all: in general, indeed, the mother and infant are immediately washed, the child wrapt up in a cloth, e tucked round the mother's shoulders, who sets about her work as if nothing extraordinary had happened (A).

Education of children.

FIVE or six days after birth, some writers say a month, the child has a name given it, with the ceremony of having its head shaved and anointed with oil, in the presence of five or six of the nearest relations. Their names, at least among the professors of that religion, are generally *Mohammedan*, such as *Omar*, *Hali*, *Dimbi*, *Maliel*, for boys; and *Fatema*, *Alimata*, *Kamba*, &c. for girls; after which, the child is every morning washed in cold water, and then anointed with palm-oil.

THE mothers treat their children with exceeding tenderness, sparing no fatigue or labour in indulging them, till they are able to walk, and then carefully cherishing and assiduously f attending their bodies, but neglecting their minds, till they are in a condition to provide for themselves. As they are bred in a perpetual course of idleness, their laziness becomes habitual, and seldom wears off for their whole lives; and this is all they gain by the ill judged tenderness of the mother. As to the girls, they are bred to labour from their infancy, to a reserved and modest behaviour in company, especially with their superiors and parents; but take them aside, says *Barbot*, and you will find that an education, not founded on principle, and instilled by example, is but of little efficacy, as there are no favours which

^c LABAT, t. iv. p. 160. ^f P. 133. ^e LABAT, *ibid.* & seq. ^b BARBOT, p. 37. LE MAIRE, p. 159, 160.

(A) To this method of carrying their children continually on their backs, *Le Maire* attributes the flatness of their noses, from the perpetual friction against the mother's back; but this solution not only contradicts the facts, which both he and other writers advance,

that the natives of these countries have high noses, but is contrary to common sense, as the infant is turned back to back to the mother, a method frequently practised among the beggars of *North-Britain*, particularly in the *Highlands* of *Scotland*.

a they will not grant for a bunch of coral and ribband, or a glass toy. Here, as well as in some other countries we have described, the woman avoids the caresses of her husband, for three years after child bearing; a custom founded upon their great affection for their children, who they imagine contract distempers from their mother's milk, contaminated by the nuptial embrace; however, their natural desires are in general too strong for their regard to their children, and it is the husband's fault if they do not shorten the period assigned by custom for this penance.

THE customs observed upon the death of any person are the same we have related in our account of the *Gold Coast*; the whole village being immediately apprised of the loss, by the cries and distracted lamentations of the family; the *marbut*, instead of the *feticheers*, carefully washing the body; and then covering it with the same cloaths the person usually wore; the relations coming one after another to propose ridiculous questions to the deceased; such as whether he was unwilling to live with them? what could put it into his head to die? whether he complained of the narrowness of his fortune? whether he had too few handsome women? or whether any of the relations had offended him, that he should take this cruel method of punishing them? On the other hand, the *guirots*, a species of musicians, play and sing the praises of the deceased, and a *folgan*, or ball, is given to all the attendants, in memory of the defunct. Slaves are sold to purchase brandy; and, after the entertainment, the cover is removed from the grave in which the body is to be deposited (B). Four of the nearest relations sustain a cloth, by way of pall, which is spread over the corpse, while the *marbut* whispers certain inarticulate sounds in its ear. After this it is immediately covered with dust, the tomb-stone laid upon it, and over that a piece of cloth of any colour the relations chuse. At the head stands a jar of water, and some plates of *kuskus*; and near this a pole, on which are suspended the bows, arrows, darts, and sword of the deceased. In some countries they draw a deep ditch round the grave, to prevent its being dug up by wild beasts, as frequently happens where this precaution is omitted. If the deceased be a boy, the women and girls of the village chant a funeral service, while the boys run about the streets, making a dismal noise with their harsh instruments, and the clattering of arms, with which they are provided for this occasion, committing all possible extravagancies^k.

WHEN a king dies, a certain time is fixed for the public mourning, which consists of a full chorus of howling over the grave; and hundreds of negroes, who detested the deceased as a tyrant while living, now tearing their hair, beating their breasts, and pouring forth ceremonious and unfelt lamentations for his death. All the rich subjects, from every quarter of his dominions, send presents of fowls, sheep, rice, and millet, for the maintenance of the mourners, and open table is kept round the grave for several days, where nothing but mirth and riot reigns, except at the hours destined to grief. Some writers tell us, that their complaints begin at sun-rising, and continue till the evening, when the tragic farce is laid aside, and succeeded by dancing, singing, jollity, and debauchery of the most extravagant nature. Moore gives us a full account of the funeral obsequies of a captain of a village; but this was only an epitome of the ceremonies observed at the burial of a great king or *damel*^l.

e If the king have no demands upon the estate of a deceased negro, the brothers, sisters, and other relations, enter into possession of his effects, little regard being paid to the claims of the children, unless they happen to be of an age to dispute their rights; but of the laws concerning inheritance, as well as of all other civil and positive laws, almost all the writers upon this subject have been so short, as if they imagined a true idea of a people is to be acquired, not from these, but from the general customs that prevail among them. They enlarge greatly upon their dancing, music, and exercises, while they touch slightly upon whatever characterizes the intellect, chusing rather to amuse than instruct.

^k LABAT, t. iv. c. 1. etiam t. ii. p. 303.

^l MOORE, p. 129, & seq.

(B) The *Folgan* is conducted in the following manner: all the young people of the village assemble in a large area, in the middle of which they light a great fire. The spectators form an oblong square at both ends, of which the dancers are ranged in opposite lines, the men on one side, and the women on the other. Two tabors regulate the dance, and as soon as they beat, the performers begin a song, which is chorussed by the whole assembly; at the same time a dancer stepping forth from each line, advances towards the opposite person he is fondest of, to the distance of two or three feet, and presently draws back in cadence, till the tabor gives the signal for them to come close, and to strike their thighs against each other; the partners being always of different sexes. This done they draw back again, and advance with different move-

ments, accommodated to the time of music, till at length they return to their places. After every person in each line has done the same, then they all meet, and dance in chorus, with much the same movements as they did singly, if not still more lascivious and immodest. The negroes never foot it, yet is every member and joint of the body in motion, even the head and the muscles of the face playing in the most ridiculous grimace; and in this variety of distortions consists the excellency of the dancer, as it shews activity, but very little grace, or what we call a genteel air (1). Such is the method in which the negroes celebrate the last honours to a departed friend; and such are the whimsical customs of different nations; what produceth grief and melancholy in one, shall be the subject of mirth, joy, and wantonness, in another.

(1) Labat, *relat. de l'Afrique occidentale*, t. iv. part 4. c. 1.

As to the musical instruments of this country, it would be difficult to convey by words ^a an exact notion of them; we shall mention, however, some of the most peculiar and curious. Every village has its *tontong*, a kind of large drum, which is beat upon the approach of the enemy, and gives the alarm on all extraordinary occasions; and this it effectually does, as it is distinctly heard at the distance of seven miles. *Jobson* describes a kind of stringed instrument he had seen near the river *Gambia*, which we take, from his account, to be a kind of harp. He says, it is the only instrument upon which the negroes play with their fingers; though we are at a loss to imagine how they could otherways touch the *balafó* or *ballard*, as he calls it, which, from the description of all writers, though they differ in certain circumstances, appears to be a kind of spinette, with keys and strings of various lengths and sizes. *Barbot* and *Le Maire* are persuaded, that, in the hands of a master, this instru- ^b ment would be very harmonious, though in the hands of the negroes it is very imperfect, but not disagreeable. *Moore* speaks of an instrument, to which he gives the name *bulafo*, which they strike with quills or bits of reed, in the manner of a dulcimer; but he has probably misapplied the name, and confounded two different instruments. As to their musicians, voyagers tell us, that they are, to a man, the worst that are to be met with in any part of the universe, and, imperfect as their instruments are, their execution disgraces them. We have frequently mentioned their *guirots*, a term which is rendered by all our *English* voyagers by *fidler*, though *Nyandael*, in describing the *Grain Coast*, speaks of those *guirots* as a species of bards and buffoons, of which the king and nobility retain a great number as domestics: it is possible, that both professions may be united in one, as music and poetry ^c are sister arts, and wit is always nearly allied to poetry. The *European* factors are never visited by any of the princes or nobility of the country, but they are regaled by the *guirots* or *juddies*, as *Jobson* calls them, who, like the *Irish* harpers, seat themselves at some distance from the company, and begin a sort of recitative, which they accompany with their instruments, the subject being generally extempore, and suited to the occasion, by the fertile invention of the performer; but if nothing particular offers, they then turn their songs to a panegyric, upon the antiquity, nobility, courage, generosity, and wealth of their patron, in which they are equally fulsome, flat, and insipid, as the bards of *Europe*, though they sometimes rise to the sublime in poetry, and a cadence not inharmonious. It is generally observed, that they succeed well in description, rather from a happy imagination than energy of diction; ^d for their language, if we may judge from the vocabularies we have seen, seems to be rather soft and harmonious, than expressive and strong, which indeed is the case with most of the negro languages, that have any thing in them at all articulate.

Now that we have touched upon this subject, we shall add a few observations before we quit it; and the first that occurs is, that we have not yet acquired a sufficiently clear geographical notion of this division of *Africa*, and of the several nations who inhabit it, to be able to distinguish their different languages, and ascertain the boundaries where one language ends and another begins; whether they all are not different dialects of the same root, and whether this might not be discovered in travelling through different nations, by which a curious ear might, perhaps, observe the language gradually softening into another form of ^e speech, till it acquires a totally different sound, is what we cannot determine. It is acknowledged, that only three different languages are spoken in all the variety of nations within this division; and these are, the *Jalofian*, *Foulian*, and *Mandingan*; which have likewise a very near analogy in the manner of forming their words, though we cannot say how frequently the very same words may express the same things, with the alteration of a few letters, as no voyagers have given us the same vocabulary of words to each language. *Barbot* believes the *Jalofian* to be the same as *Zanguayan*, or more properly the *Sangayan*, which *Leo Africanus* affirms is the common language of the interior countries of *Guiney*, *Tombuto*, *Melli*, and *Gago*; and imagines he proves it, by telling us, that *Sangay* was the name of the then reigning family of *Barfalli*; though later writers acquaint us, that it is *Il'Jai*. *Moore* says, that ^f the common language spoken on both sides the *Gambia* is the *Mandingan*, with which you may bargain and perform every part of trade, from the mouth of the river, to the country of the *Jonkos*, or merchants (C), which is a voyage of at least six weeks from *James Fort*; but a kind of corrupt *Portuguese*, which our author calls *Creolian*, is what is most commonly spoken by the vulgar natives, who trade with the *Europeans*; a circumstance which we think extraordinary, as the vulgar almost in all nations preserve longest the primitive language, uncorrupted by refinements, and the introduction of foreign words ^m.

It is this *Portuguese*, no more understood in *Lisbon* than *Arabic*, that is used by all the negro interpreters, when they explain any thing to the *Europeans*; but in many countries they are unnecessary, as there is hardly a person in the nation but speaks it. Most of the ^g

^m LABAT, MOORE, BARBOT, ubi supra.

(C) *Europeans* have given this people the name of merchants, called *Jonkos*, on account of the vast number of slaves they every year dispose of.

a Foulis of the Mohammedan religion, inhabiting the river Gambia, speak a pure Arabic; tho' this is rather a learned language, it not being primitive in any one country, in a line from Cape Blanco to the great country of Nubia, bordering on the Red Sea. As there cannot perhaps be a surer method of mounting to the origin of a people, and discovering the relations between several nations, than researches into their language, we shall give in our margin a catalogue of words, in the Mandingan, Foulisan, and Jaloffian tongues, which we believe will not be unacceptable to some of our curious readers (D).

AFTER

(D) English.	Oualofian.	English.	Foulisan.
Iron	Win	A gun	Loffoul fetel
A box	Ovachande	A boy	Soukagorgo
A cow	Nagul	A glutton	Haderoro
The mouth	Guemin	A man	Gerkomahodo
The arm	Smallou	A house	Sanddo
A sheep	Sedre	Millet	Shangle
A cat	Guanopo	The sea	Gueek
A goat	Baye	Miltres of the house	Mado dans
A dog	Kraaf	The skin	Arbay illan
A horse	Faarf	Lead	Chaye
A key	Donovachande	Feathers	Donguo
A rope	Bouma	Rain	Tob
A knife	Pakba	A fish	Linghno
A crocodile	Guefik	A pot or pan	Fabando
To dance	Faike	A fowl	Guartogal
Elephants teeth	Guay neguay	An ape	Ovandon
The devil	Guincy	Tobacco	Taba
God	Thala	The earth	Latudi
The teeth	Sonabenatia	A cow	Kandi
The fingers	Sinaharam	The wind	Hendoun
A fat woman	Digin gobir	The belly	Rhedo
A whore	Ghelorbi	Cloth	Chomcon
Feathers	Dangue	A table	Gamgou
Rain	Toubo	Thunder	Demadeno

English.	Familiar Phrases.	Oualofian.	Foulisan.
How do you do	Quara quaiho		Casse semba
Very well	Guam de boar		Sambo mido
Whence come you	Culay		Argay
Give me some drink	Mamaman		Loca hi arde
The wind is high	Galigon harena		Hendon hevvy
It rains	Datta ou		
It thunders	Demadeno		Dhirry
'Tis hot			Onarm beaud
'Tis cold	Luina		Giangel
I see you	Gurfnala		Made Hyma
Hold your tongue	Noppil		De you
Tis a fine morning	Leligentel		Soubake allou
A good evening to you	Fon anguiam famba		Nichollay
I would be with your daughter			Medo leleby
Let me enter	Nangrettery		
Put it in the fire	Guinguela manguiou		Ovanguielle cassade

From this specimen, and the number of vowels which frequently follow each other, it is obvious, that these languages cannot be strong, on account of the great number of elisions and interruptions of the voice.

Before we proceed to the Mandingan vocabulary, we shall give a specimen of the numerals of the above languages.

English.	Jaloff.	Fouli.
One	Ben	Gou
Two	Yare	Didy
Three	Yet	Taty
Four	Yanet	Naye
Five	Guerom	Guieve
Six	Guerom ben	Gui gou
Seven	Guerom yare	Gui didy
Eight	Guerom yet	Gui taty
Nine	Guerom yanet	Gui naye
Ten	Fuk	Sapo
Eleven	Fuk ak ben (2)	Sapo gou
Twelve	Fuk ak yare	Sapo didy
Twenty	Nitte	Sopou
Twenty one	Nitte ak ben	Sopou gou
Thirty	Fomanir	Famoair

Thus you proceed to 20, which in both languages stands.

(2) Ak in the Jaloffian is a copulative, corresponding to our and; as thus, ten and one, or eleven.

Arts and manufactures.

AFTER the idea we have given of the general indolence of these negroes, it cannot be expected that they should have made any great progress in trade, manufacture, or the arts; in fact, they have no mechanics, but such as are absolutely necessary, and of these, smiths and cutlers are the principal; for by these, the implements of war, husbandry, and fishing, are made; indeed they comprehend under the general name of *ferraro*, all the workers in metals. Next in esteem to the *ferraro* is another artist, called *sepatero*, whose employment consists in making *grisgris*, or cases for those charms which the *marbuts* communicate to the

English.					Fouli.			Jaloff.
Forty	—	—	—	—	Yanet fuk	—	—	Naggass
Fifty	—	—	—	—	Gucrom fuk	}	—	The Fouliau is lost.
Sixty	—	—	—	—	Gucrom ben fuk			
Seventy	—	—	—	—	Guerom yare fuk			
Eighty	—	—	—	—	Guerom yet fuk			
Ninety	—	—	—	—	Guerom yanet fuk	}	—	
Hundred	—	—	—	—	Temere			
Hundred and one	—	—	—	—	Temere ak ben			Temedere
Two hundred	—	—	—	—	Yare temere			Temedere gou
Three hundred	—	—	—	—	Yet temere			Temedere didy
Thousand	—	—	—	—	Gune	—	—	Temedere taty
								Temedere sopo

Thus we easily perceive, that the formation of both languages are similar, particularly in the method of combining the numerals.

Mandingan Vocabulary.

The head	—	—	Kang	A wolf	—	—	Sillon
Silver	—	—	Kodey	A horse	—	—	Fon
Beer	—	—	Toolo	A merchant	—	—	Janko
Beautiful	—	—	Necmen	A married woman	—	—	Monfa
The mouth	—	—	Dau	A mother	—	—	Bau
A bow	—	—	Kalla	A liar	—	—	Munbetty
A camelion	—	—	Minire	A grandmother	—	—	Moofe bau
A duck	—	—	Bru	Death	—	—	Sata
Heat	—	—	Kandree	Night	—	—	Fin
A dog	—	—	Oulve	A nut	—	—	Teab
A great dog	—	—	Oulve bau	A door	—	—	Taub
A cock	—	—	Doontong, or fouscki	A parent	—	—	Narita
A crocodile	—	—	Bambo	A father	—	—	Fau
An elephant's teeth	—	—	Sama ning	A grandfather	—	—	Kca sau
A doe	—	—	Tonkong	A king	—	—	Kanne ken
God	—	—	Alla	A forcerer	—	—	Kaa
The devil	—	—	Bua	The sun	—	—	Tillo
A slave	—	—	Tonk	Thunder	—	—	Koram Ala
Fire	—	—	Jeucl	A cow	—	—	Nisa Moofa
An arrow	—	—	Beuna	A vessel	—	—	Toboulou kalore
A man	—	—	Kea	Bread	—	—	Mongo
A serpent	—	—	Mamoune	Wind	—	—	Funnio
A river	—	—	Bato	A tornado or hurricane	—	—	Sau
Salt	—	—	Kee	A thief	—	—	Sunear
Milk	—	—	Nanna	A drunkard	—	—	Serreta
A lion	—	—	Jatta	A coward	—	—	Yaniri.

Mandingan Numerals.

One	—	—	Killin	Sixteen	—	—	Tongning oro
Two	—	—	Foula	Seventeen	—	—	Tongning oronglo
Three	—	—	Sabba	Eighteen	—	—	Tongning sye
Four	—	—	Nani	Nineteen	—	—	Tongning mouante
Five	—	—	Lonlou	Twenty	—	—	Noau
Six	—	—	Oro	Thirty	—	—	Noauning tong
Seven	—	—	Oronglo	Forty	—	—	Noau foula
Eight	—	—	Sye	Fifty	—	—	Noau foulaning tong
Nine	—	—	Mouante	Sixty	—	—	Noau sabba
Ten	—	—	Tong	Seventy	—	—	Noau sabbaning tong
Eleven	—	—	Tongning killin (3)	Eighty	—	—	Noau nani
Twelve	—	—	Tongning foula	Ninety	—	—	Noau nanining tong
Thirteen	—	—	Tongning sabba	One hundred	—	—	Kamy
Fourteen	—	—	Tongning nani	One thousand	—	—	Wooly or wouly.
Fifteen	—	—	Tongning lonlou				

Hence we see that directly the same rules prevail in forming the numerals of the *Mandingan*, *Fouliau*, and *Oualofian* or *Jalofian* languages, each connecting the decimals by a copulative and repetition of the units; and had authors favoured us with vocabularies of the same words, it is probable, that even from a very few words we might be able to trace the mother language from which all the others have sprung as different dialects; but through time so varied as scarce to bear any resemblance to the original root. It is the observation of *Moore*, that the *Mandingans* use the word *nisa* as a

generical term to express animals in general, and of all kinds, as cows, sheep, lions, elephants, and deer, to which they add the species and genders, as *nisa mopfa*, a cow. What deserves notice is, that neither of the three languages we have mentioned use any other particle than the copulative *ak* and *ning*, which, we have observed, correspond with our *and*; the disjunctive is wholly unknown, if we may credit voyagers, who, we fear, are not extremely critical in their remarks; and the gender is determined, not by an article, but the last syllable, or termination.

(3) In the *Mandingan*, they use the copulative *ning*, as *ten* and *one*.

people.

- a people. This is a very profitable business, the price of labour having no other standard than the superstition of the employer, who would look upon it as the highest impiety to dispute the price of a *grisgris*, which would imply a contempt of the religion contained in this charm. The third mechanical employment is, that of a mason or potter, for here they are all the same, their plasterers being in truth their masons, as the whole building consists of a kind of loam mixed with lime, and likewise their potters, as all earthen ware is made by them. This artist, *Labat* places next in rank to the *ferraro*: and he likewise reckons in this class, all the women and girls employed in spinning and weaving cotton cloths, though we must own we cannot perceive the affinity between the employments. The artists in this last way have made but little progress in the trade, being confined
- b intirely to three colours, and incapable of giving their pieces of cotton above two yards in length, and six inches in breadth; which, however, they have the art of joining neatly together, to form a piece of any size, that appears to be one intire web^a; but it would be unnecessary to be particular on this head, as we have already described their looms in a former volume.

As to the articles of trade arising from their manufactures, they are but few, and bought intirely among themselves, except a few mats, pieces of cotton, some earthen ware, and other trifles, which the *Europeans* purchase for the use of the negroes of the *Grain, Ivory, Gold, and Slave Coasts*, as well as for those of *Congo, Angola, &c.* which they sometimes barter with the *Portuguese* traders of those kingdoms. The mats are manufactured by the women,

c and as they constitute the most essential household furniture of a negro, who eats, drinks, sleeps, and indeed dwells upon his mat, so it is the principal commodity of the country, at least a manufactured commodity. We may judge of the importance of the trade carried on by the negroes with each other, from what *Jobson* relates, viz. that he had seen negroes go ten miles to market with a piece of bar iron not a foot long, or a yard or two of cotton cloth, not really worth six-pence; yet some of them deal more deeply, and carry gold dust, gold rings, and other trinkets of value, to market.

THE negro towns and houses bear evident marks of the laziness, and ignorance of the people; no architecture, no attempts to beauty, order, elegance, or conveniency, are there seen; nor does one generation profit by the faults of a former, but pass on quietly in the

d beaten tract of their ancestors, as if science, taste, and the arts, had already arrived at their highest pitch of perfection among them. A negro hut is not to be equalled in the poverty and meanness of aspect, nor a town in wretchedness. The former is no more than a little conical cabin, with no other light than what enters by the door, which is so low, that they are forced to crawl in; after which, a man of ordinary stature cannot walk round with any degree of ease, or without hitting his head against the walls. Here they lie, fathers, mothers, sisters, brothers, servants, and slaves, promiscuously, without regard to modesty, decency, or cleanliness, forming as strong a group of misery as can well be contained in so narrow a compass. These huts are formed of a kind of wicker work, plastered over

e with earth, and joined to each other by colonades, by which means persons of better fashion have distinct and separate apartments for the different parts of their families; and besides a hut to smoke and receive strangers in. We need not describe a town formed by a collection of so magnificent buildings; sufficient it is, that they always build their towns of a circular form, with spiral streets, as if they wanted to perplex their understandings, already abundantly obscure: hence it is, that, in a village not half a mile in diameter, you must frequently walk two or three miles to visit an acquaintance, when, by an intersecting street, the distance might be reduced to an hundred paces. After all, there is something extremely striking in this manner of building, viewed from an eminence, where several miles of a street filled with inhabitants appear all alive, like an ant hill, within so small a circle. This, however, we do not relate as the general method of building, or the most

f common plan of a town; inconvenient as it is, it were better if it were become more fashionable, and took place instead of that other form of building, without any design at all, and as if the houses had been jumbled together by accident, without genius, without labour, or a vestige of the human intellect^o.

THE palace of the *damel* or king of *Kayor* is, indeed, an exception to the general rule the negroes seem to have established in building, with as little regard to conveniency, ornament, and the common dictates of reason as possible; for this in comparison is really magnificent. The palace is surrounded by a wall, opposite to the first gate of which is a spacious court, for exercising the king's horses, with stables all round. At the further end is another gate, on each side of which stand the departments of the different officers of the court; and from thence you are led through a fine long arbour of fruit trees, to the royal

g apartments, on each side of which are the seraglios, or lodgings of his women, with pro-

^a JOBSON, p. 129. LE MAIRE, p. 157. LABAT, t. ii. p. 188. BAREOT, p. 41.

^o LE MAIRE, p. 43.

per offices and apartments for their slaves and servants. His majesty has a private colonade a leading to each apartment; so that it is never known with which of his women he spends the night; a method which he imagines equally secures his person against all plots and contrivances, and prevents jealousy and murmuring among the women. *Jobson* describes the palace of the king of *Kassan* as little inferior in splendor to the foregoing. It is situated in the midst of the capital, and, with the seraglio and offices, composes at least half the city. You enter it by a court surrounded with guards, and pass to a large open hall, where always stands the chair of state, with a drum slung over the back. This, the author informs us, is the only musical instrument he saw in the country, and it serves equally to inspire joy and grief, at funerals or weddings ^p.

NEGROES of noble extraction, or great wealth, imitate in their buildings the magnificence of the royal palaces, and sometimes surpass them; especially those descended from the *Portuguese* or *Moors*, who build intirely in the *European* taste, but without the least notion of the principles of architecture. A late *French* author observes, that the *Mandingoes*, or *Sofes*, as they call themselves, build in a more commodious manner than the rest. The walls are made of a fat binding clay, that looks smooth and hard as porcelain, thatched with straw, which hangs down to another little wall breast high; and this makes a small gallery round the hut, where they are sheltered from the burning rays of the sun. Mr. *Adamson* had seen a village, that was burnt down a little before his arrival, where the walls that withstood the violence of the flames, were partly of a beautiful red, and hardly vitrified by the intense heat of the fire: at a distance, the whole seemed to be done over with a bright enamel, and equalled the finest *China* porcelain ^q.

In some parts of the coast they build in the following manner. A kind of dove or ice house is erected, by means of reeds fastened close together, and supported by stakes driven fast into the ground. These stakes are from five to six feet high, and have a round covering of straw of the same height, terminating in a point: thus each hut has only a ground floor, of ten, twelve, or fifteen feet in diameter, the only entry being a square hole, about four feet high, but part of that space taken up with a high threshold, raised at least a foot above ground; so that in going in they must incline their bodies and raise one leg; an attitude not only disagreeable but ridiculous ^r.

THE furniture is exactly suitable to the magnificence of the house; for it consists wholly d of a few earthen pots, called *conaris*, a few calabashes, or gourd bottles, with wooden bowls, dishes, plates, and such-like utensils; for as to chairs, tables, and beds, their mats supply them all, except one bed for the master of the family. This consists of a kind of hurdle, laid upon cross pieces of wood, and supported by forkillas, or small forks, a foot above the ground; over this they throw a mat, which serves them for a *pailasse* or mattress, and generally for sheets and cloathing; as to pillows they have none.

THE last mentioned *French* writer gives the following account of the buildings in the island of *Senegal*. Here, says he, all the huts belonging to the same person are inclosed with a wall or palisade of reeds six feet high, to which they give the name of *tapade*. Tho' the negroes observe very little symmetry in the situation of their houses, yet the *French* of e the island of *Senegal* have taught them to observe a certain uniformity in the dimensions of the *tapades*, which they have regulated in such a manner, as to form a small town, with several streets drawn in a direct line. These streets are indeed not paved; and luckily there is little occasion for it, since they would be greatly at a loss to find the smallest pebbles, for thirty leagues all round. The inhabitants find a greater conveniency in their sandy soil; for as it is very deep and soft, it is their usual seat; it is also their sofa, their couch, and their bed. Besides they congratulate themselves upon another quality it has, namely, that there is no danger in falling; and it is always clean, even after the heaviest rains, because it imbibes the water with such facility, that there needs only an hour of fine weather to dry it. *Adamson* subjoins to the above account, that this negro town is by much the f handsomest in the whole district, between the rivers *Gambia* and *Senegal*, as well as the largest and most regular, containing upwards of 3000 inhabitants; a prodigious number for a negro town in this part of *Africa* ^s.

Agriculture.

WE shall quit this subject, to make a few observations on the agriculture of the negroes, which is an employment common to all ranks, the king only and the captains of towns excepted. Their only instrument for tilling the ground is a kind of spade, but more resembling a shovel, with a handle three feet long. Round *Gambia*, rice is almost the only grain that is sown in the lands, overflown in the rainy season. These fields the negroes cut with small causeways, which withhold the water in such a manner, that their rice is always moistened; and after the crop is got in, the rice fields resemble a sort of drained morasses, g on which grow a few wild herbs. But the fertility of the soil, and the labour of the hus-

^p LABAT, t. ii. p. 311. ^q MOORE, p. 76, 109. ^r VOYAGE aux Senegal, p. 163. ^s ADAMSON, *ibid.* LE MAIRE, p. 101.

a. bandmen, are frequently destroyed by locusts, which here appear in clouds so large, as to darken the sky, and obscure the rays of the sun. Our author relates, that, when he lay in the mouth of the *Gambia*, in *February* 1750, a thick cloud was seen over the ships, which wrought such a change in the sky, as amazed the whole ship's crew, as it is seldom overcast in that season of the year. It was soon perceived to be owing to a swarm of locusts, raised twenty or thirty fathom above the ground, and covering an extent of several leagues, upon which it poured a shower of these insects, which fell a devouring the herbage, while they rested themselves, and then resumed their flight. These little animals, from their number, spread terror and desolation wherever they appear; after devouring the corn, herbage, leaves, and fruits, they even attack the bark of trees, and the very reeds with which b. the negro huts are frequently thatched. Our author, who took a great number, describes them of the breadth and length of a man's finger, of a brown colour, their heads armed with two strong jaws, dented like a saw, and their wings longer than those described by other naturalists. It would be little imagined, that so shocking an insect as this should ever be food for man; but the negroes seem to retaliate upon them, and revenge themselves for the loss of their corn and fruit, by eating the destroyers. They have a variety of different methods of dressing locusts; some pound them and boil them with milk; others only broil them; but all think them excellent eating¹. There is indeed no disputing tastes; nor the truth of the proverb, "*What is meat to one man is poison to another.*" *Negroes eat locusts.*

As to the diversions used by the negroes, at seed and reaping time, they differ but little c. from what we have before described in our account of the agriculture of *Whidah*, *Ardrah*, and the *Gold Coast*; we shall now only observe, that the kings, being absolute proprietors of all the lands in their dominions, every family must address themselves to them or their *alkades*, to petition that a portion of land may be assigned them for their maintenance; and this the son is obliged to repeat, notwithstanding the estate has been solemnly and formally granted to the father; so that the tenure of all estates is immediately from the crown; a law that exposes the subject to the most grievous extortion and oppression from the *alkades*, their mediators with the throne, and by whom no subject, under the rank of the captain of a town, or some rich merchant, has access to the king. This oppression contributes not a little to increase the natural indolence of those unhappy negroes; for they are at little pains d. to cultivate and improve lands, which they hold by so precarious a tenure; nay they hardly till enough to supply their wants, but make up the deficiency by roots, fruits, and herbage; and hence we may perceive the reason, why they are afflicted with such frequent dearths and famine, of which the *Europeans* beheld a dismal, but to them a profitable instance, in the year 1675, when fathers sold themselves, their wives, children, and connections, only for a little pittance of food, to relieve the immediate cravings of hunger. It merits a pause in our narrative to relate the cause of this dreadful want.

Two or three years before the famine, the negroes had suffered themselves to be seduced by the specious promises of one of their *marbuts*, of the tribe of *Azougue*, who, under the veil of religion, became master of all the dominions of the *sratick* and *damel*. This impostor had found means to persuade them into a belief of his having been commissioned by heaven to revenge the tyranny of their princes; and he promised to perform miracles in confirmation of his authority: but what made the deepest impression on the minds of those lazy barbarians, was the assurance he gave, that every season should produce an abundant crop, without the labour and toil of their hands. So flattering an offer was too powerful to be resisted by a people of their indolent disposition; they ranged themselves under the banner of the *marbut*, threw off their allegiance to the *sratick* and *damel*, neglected their fields, and patiently waited for two years the performance of the holy impostor's liberal promises: the consequence was the most calamitous famine that had ever been felt by any e. people; they not only sold but eat their nearest relations, and the strongest, like wild beasts, preyed upon the weaker. At length their eyes were opened, the *marbuts* were driven out of the country, but soon after recalled, by the intrigues and machinations of the fraternity, in which they fall nothing short of their brethren in iniquity, the society of *Jesuits* in *Europe*². *A terrible famine.*

We have already sufficiently described the arms of the negroes; to which we shall add, that, in general, they use a kind of shield or target of an oval form, and covered with the skin of an elephant, tyger, or lion, which they call *danfa*, extremely burthensome, but useful to ward off their poisoned darts and arrows. Every soldier carries his provision in a bag or knapsack slung behind, the army being incommoded with no convoys of ammunition and provision, as in other parts of the world: indeed, the shortness of their marches g. and expeditions renders a large stock of these intirely unnecessary, as they are seldom exposed to any great difficulties or hardships. Negro armies, in these countries, are com-

¹ ADAMSON, *ibid.*² Auct. citat. *ibid.*

The extraordinary
feats of
horsemen.

posed of horse and foot, with very little difference in the nature of their arms, or manner ^a of fighting; the cavalry as well as infantry being often forced to fight on foot, and join close in battle; though in general they are used for expedition to surprize the enemy, and make sudden attacks on their wings and rear. Their horses are bought from the *Moors*, their neighbours; they are small, but full of fire and spirit, greatly resembling the horses of *Barbary* and *Arabia*, of which they are probably descended. They frequently sell for ten or twelve slaves, near an hundred pounds sterling; and a *Portuguese* mulatto lady at *Rufisco* had a barb, which *Labat*, on the testimony of *De Brue*, affirms, was valued at forty slaves, or four hundred pounds. This horse she afterwards presented to the monarch of *Kayor*. It is incredible, what feats of activity they will perform on horseback; one we shall relate, on the authority of *Moore*, which may the more readily be believed, as ^b it falls infinitely short of what we are told of the *Arabs*, by that excellent philosopher and physician *Prosper Alpinus*, and several other historians. He once saw the *kondi*, or lieutenant-general of *Kayor*, gallop at full speed on a swift barb, standing upright in his stirrups, and throwing his lance with an incredible force, at any object that presented itself, which he afterwards took up in his course with the utmost facility. What is most remarkable is, that he could hit an apple, at the distance of fifty paces. He likewise saw him stoop at full speed and take up his lance from the ground, with all the elegance and ease of the most natural motion. It is a common practice among negro cavaliers to ride at a full gallop, standing on the horse's back, to vault into their seat, to raise themselves strait up again, to throw themselves with one hand on the ground, and again to recover the saddle, without ^c the least pain or danger^w. They are very expert in making saddles, which they finely embroider with various colours: among these, their charmed *grisgris* and *kowris* make no small part of the ornaments. Notwithstanding what authors assert, it is probable, that they purchase the saddles with the horses from the *Moors*, as their ingenuity greatly exceeds every other branch of negro manufacture. Yet after all, with these advantages of fine horses, arms, caparisons, and expert riders, the negroes are but poor warriors, and seem to lose all that address, dexterity, and presence of mind in the field, which is the admiration of all who behold them in the ring, or on the parade.

Religion of the
negroes.

THE religion of those nations on both sides the river *Senegal*, and stretching east and south into the interior countries, is *Mohammedism*, brought among them by the *Moors*, and ^d spreading with that rapidity peculiar to false doctrines. All the other negroes, from the river *Gambia* to the western extremity of *Guinea Proper*, or *Cape Tagrin*, are idolaters; except, says *Labat*, the *Sereres*, who may be reckoned a species of savages, without any idea at all of religion, either true or false. *Le Maire* affirms, that many of the inhabitants of *Sierra Leona* profess no religion, have no gods or object of worship; while others sacrifice to the devil, to stones, stocks, toads, and serpents; being in this respect similar to the *Whidans*. A cow is the sacrifice they usually offer to the devil: and though they believe in the transmigration of the animative principle of brutes, yet they eat the flesh^{*}. Many negroes will not suffer the lizards, which crawl in heaps round the house, to be killed; for in them they firmly believe the soul of a father, mother, brother, or sister, may reside, and now ^e comes to keep *folgan*, or to rejoice with them. The *Mohammedism* professed by the negroes is imperfect, both from the ignorance of the teachers, as well as the licentiousness of the proselytes, and consists intirely in a belief of the unity of the Godhead, in the observance of the *ramadan*, *biram*, circumcision, and a few other ceremonies. *Jobson* tells us, that the nations on both sides the *Gambia* adore one god, whose image they will not suffer to be stained, painted, carved, or in any way represented, believing his idea to be incomprehensible, which they signify, according to this writer, by his name *Allab*. They believe in the mission of *Mohammed*; but never invoke or pray to him. They reckon the year by the rainy seasons, have names for every particular day of the week, making *Friday* their *Sunday*, which they observe with so little superstition, that the ordinary employment of ^f week days is never interrupted, and they go on in the same regular course of business, as if the day was not enjoined to be kept holy^y.

THESE negroes have some confused notions of *Jesus*, acknowledging, like the *Mohammedans*, that he was a great prophet, but denying his divinity, and allowing him to be deservedly famous on account of the miracles he wrought; but holding it blasphemy to call him the son of God, because, say they, it is impossible that God should become visible, nay corporeal to men. They call him *Nale*, and his mother *Mary*, affirming, that he was an holy, just, pious, and wise man, which qualities he had in a transcendent degree, as a man; but far, infinitely far short of the divinity. But they are above all shocked at the doctrine of the incarnation, which they deem abominable, and an implication that the Almighty ^g had carnal knowlege of a woman.

^w MOORE, p. 121.

^{*} Ubi supra.

^y LABAT, t. ii. p. 271. LE MAIRE, p. 90. JOBSON, p. 67.

THEY

a THEY believe in predestination, and place all their misfortunes, crosses, and losses, to the account of Providence. Does one negro assassinate another? God they imagine is the author of the murder; notwithstanding which, they seize the murderer, and sell him as a slave. With regard to the devotions and form of worship of the negroes, *Le Maire* says, that the common people have no regular course of practice, that can be called religious worship; but persons of rank affect more zeal, and are never without their *marbut*, who who has great influence over their secret thoughts and practice. They have neither temples, mosques, or churches; but assemble to publish acts of devotion in the open air, under the shade of a large tree, in imitation of a strange *marbut*, that had once been seen in the country, who prayed with no other canopy than the sky, washed in the river *Gambia*, and departed (E).

b THE *Turks* and rigid *Mohammedans* pray or perform their *sala* five times every day and night through the week, and seven times on their sabbath; but the negro *Mohammedans* content themselves with performing that exercise twice in a week-day, and thrice on the sabbath. Every village has its *marbut* or parson, who assembles them to their devotion, and after he has given absolution from the *koran*, they range themselves behind him, in order the better to imitate his movements, gestures, and grimaces, with their faces turned to the east; but when they are tired of this posture, they squat down on their hams, and turn to the west. The *marbut* extending his arms, repeats some words, so slow and loud, as to be distinctly heard and repeated after him by the audience, who fall on their knees, c kisses the earth three times, and exactly copy him in all his actions. The *marbut* then falls a fourth time on his knees, and prays for a quarter of an hour in silence; after which he rises, and drawing with his finger a circle round him, he marks within it a number of characters, which he kisses with profound reverence, leaning his head upon his hands, and fixing his eyes on the earth, in the attitude of deep meditation. In the end, taking a handful of sand or dust, he throws it about his face and head, and begins to pray aloud, and to touch the earth with his finger, raising it afterwards up to his head; during the performance of all which ceremonies, he repeats three times the words *salati malek*; then rising off his knees, he is followed by the audience, and they all retire. We have been more minute in describing the ceremonies used in prayer, as they differ considerably from those observed by the two d great sects of *Mohammedans*; and indeed, are a kind of mixed mode of religion, formed by the fancy of the priest, and no way constant or uniform in the *minutiae* of external duties. They perform ablution with earth, which they rub over their bodies instead of water. *De Brue* had the curiosity to interrogate the *marbuts* concerning the reasons upon which all these ceremonies were founded; and their answer was, that they worshipped one true God, before whom they prostrated themselves; and that this humiliation was a confession of their dependence on the will of the Supreme Being, without whom they were nothing; that their prayers were offered to petition the forgiveness of their sins, and the use of all those conveniences of life of which they stood in need, such as beautiful women, children, plentiful crops, victory over their enemies, a good fish season, health, and security against every kind of e danger².

f THE negro *Mohammedans*, who inhabit round *Senegal*, have their *ramadan* fixed to the month of *September*; though among the *Moors* it is a moveable feast; for they salute the first appearance of the harvest moon, as we call it, by lifting their hands and eyes up to heaven, turning their head round with as much velocity as if it were fixed on a pivot, and repeating that motion three times; but this is all the regard they pay to the moon, with which they neither begin nor end their *ramadan*, though they otherwise observe it with great austerity of devotion. They neither eat or drink till after sun set: devotees will not even swallow their spittle, and cover their mouths, to prevent any thing from entering into them; nay they even deny themselves the use of a pipe, notwithstanding their extreme passion for smoking; but when night comes, they solace themselves with a joy proportioned to the rigour of the day's abstemiousness; and they eat, drink, smoke, dance, and sing, till the return of the sun. The great and the rich pass the whole day in sleep, and the night in pleasure².

JANEQUIN expresses his surprize, how nature can support the abstinence of the day, and the fatigue, debauchery, and want of rest of the night; but habit inures them to it; even the common people, who hardly shut their eyes in the day, are punished for the smallest transgression with the bastinado. Towards the close of the *ramadan* they proclaim the

² Auct. citat. ibid. JANEQUIN, p. 110.

² BARBOT, p. 53. JANEQUIN, ubi supra. FROGER, p. 20.

(E) *De Brue* affirms, that the negroes have neither mosques, churches, or appointed days for religious duties; but *Le Maire*, on the contrary, confirms the relation of *Johson*, as to their *Sunday*; and adds, that

though the people neglect building mosques, yet the grandees and people of fashion have an apartment in their houses set aside for that purpose.

tabasket, the greatest festival observed by *Mohammedan* negroes, and the same with that the *Turks* and *Persians* call *biram*; of this, *De Brue*, who saw it celebrated, gives the following description. A little before sun-set six *marbuts*, cloathed in loose white robes or surplices, appear, marching in solemn procession, with long darts in their hands, and preceded by five large bullocks, covered over with a cotton cloth, crowned with leaves or garlands, and led each by two negroes. The five chiefs of the villages, that compose the town of *Buckson*, followed the priests in a line, dressed in their richest apparel, and armed with darts, swords, and bucklers. They were again followed by all the inhabitants of the villages, their subjects drawn up in five lines. As soon as the procession reached the borders of the river, the oxen were tied to stakes, and the oldest *marbut* pronounced the words *sala malek*, with a loud distinct voice; upon which laying his dart on the ground, he turned his face to the east, the other priests following his example, and all set up a prayer in concert; after which they rose and resumed their weapons. The negroes are then ordered to throw down the oxen on their backs, and to fix their horns in the ground, which is done in an instant, and then the priests cut their throats, and throw dust in their eyes to prevent their seeing the blood while it flows, which is deemed an inauspicious omen. After the sacrifice is concluded, and the blood all run out, the cattle are cut down, and each village carries off the pieces belonging to its own ox. On their return to the town, the *folgan* begins, the women and girls first presenting themselves, divided into four bands, each attended by *guirots* of the same sex, who sing certain verses suited to the occasion, to which the bands eccho a chorus, and then begin dancing round a great fire, lighted in the middle of the area, and the ceremony proceeds in the manner we have lately described. Such is their passion for these diversions, that a negro, who is spent with the labour of the day, comes to refresh himself with five or six hours violent dancing at night, and this festival continues for three days.

CIRCUMCISION is a practice rigorously observed by the negroes, the operation being performed on males of the age of four or five years. The operation is here performed upon a great number of children assembled together, when the children of the king, or any man of quality, have arrived at the proper age. It is necessary that all their subjects and dependents bring their children on this occasion; for the grandeur of the festival consists in the number of operations; and the great rival each other, who shall produce the most brilliant assembly. One good consequence flows from this practice; for, at the circumcision feast, the young people contract such solid alliances, as to continue firm for the remainder of their lives. It would be unnecessary to repeat the ceremonies attending this operation, as the reader will find a full account of it in *De Brue*, for it differs in little from the *ramadan*, the same sacrifices, prayers, and *folgan*, being observed. *Janequin* affirms, that, for several months after this feast, the young people may take what liberties they please with the girls, and indeed we doubt not but they are permitted to do this at all times during that age, without danger of ravishment, which is the only restriction upon them, according to that writer. If there be any truth in this relation, it is probable, that all children are not circumcised so young as we are made to believe; and this seems to be confirmed by the observation of *De Brue*, that they affect gaiety and mirth during the operation, and are emulous who shall sustain the pain with the greatest fortitude; and *Moore* in once place says, that, a little before the rainy season, they circumcise a number of boys about fourteen years old.

Superstitions.

THE *Mandingoes* believe that eclipses of the moon are occasioned by the interposition of a large cat, who puts her paw between the moon and the earth; and during these occasions, they spend their time in dancing and singing in honour of their prophet *Mohammed*. In general, the negroes of this country are no less addicted to superstitions than those of the *Guiney Coast*. They never intend any expedition but they sacrifice a pullet; and the observations made on the entrails determine them either to pursue or drop it. They are rivetted in their notion of lucky and unlucky days, and nothing will prevail upon them to undertake an affair of importance on the latter. *Moore* relates, that when he was in the country, which happened to be an unhealthy season, the people firmly believed that the air was infected by the black arts of forcerers; no death happening, but what was laid to the charge of those enemies of mankind; except one person, who died so miserably, that they placed his death to the account of the devil, for having falsified his vow, and broken a solemn engagement. The custom of making vows, and of wearing large bracelets to remind them of what they swore, is extremely frequent. One vows he will make a present of such a slave, and that he may not sell him through forgetfulness, he wears a bracelet on his arm, till it is convenient to fulfil his engagement; and to fail in this particular, will, they believe, be followed by some immediate judgment from heaven. But of all their superstitions, the most general and remarkable are their *grisgris*, which, *Le Maire* says, are certain *Arabic* characters, mixed with necromantic figures, drawn by the *marbuts* on paper. *Labat* affirms, that they are nothing more than scraps of the *Alcoran* in *Arabic*; but this *Barbot* denies, and confirms his opinion

• Idem ibid. LABAT, ubi supra.

- a by positive proof; for having brought over to *Europe* one of these *grisgris*, and shewn it to a number of persons deeply skilled in the oriental learning, none of them could find the least trace of any character they understood; yet after all, this might be owing to the badness of the hand writing, and the words are probably *Mandingo*, though the characters are an attempt to imitate the *Arabic*. The poorest negro never goes to war without his *grisgris*, as a charm against wounds; and if it prove ineffectual, the *marbut* transfers the blame on the immorality of his conduct. Those cheats invent *grisgris* against all kinds of dangers, and in favour of all desires and appetites; by virtue of which, the possessors may obtain or avoid whatever they like or dislike. They defend them from storms, enemies, diseases, pains, and misfortunes; and preserve health, long life, wealth, honour, and merit, if we credit the *marbuts*: certain it is, that those priests find all the benefit of the boasted virtues of their *grisgris*, no clergy in the globe being more revered, honoured, or wealthy, according to the ideas of wealth they entertain here; and no wonder, as they impoverish the people by the exorbitant price they exact for their knavish charms, a *grisgris* being frequently valued at three slaves, and four or five oxen^c.

- SUCH of these pious ornaments as are intended for the head, are made in form of a cross, reaching from the forehead to the neck behind, and from ear to ear; nor are the arms and shoulders neglected. Sometimes they are planted in their bonnets in the form of horns; at other times they are made like serpents, lizards, or some other animal, cut out of a kind of pasteboard: in a word, they are of forms as various as the purposes for which they are intended. There are not wanting *Europeans*, and otherwise intelligent seamen and merchants, who are in some degree infected with this weakness of the country, and believe that the negro forcerers have an actual communication with the devil, and that they are filled by the malignant influence of the evil spirit, when they see them distort their features and muscles, make horrid grimaces, and at last imitate all the appearance of epileptics: a notion not confined to the negroes of *Africa*, but thoroughly believed about the beginning of last century, by several of the learned of *Europe*, and borrowed by them from the ancients, who believed that persons afflicted with this terrible malady were possessed with a *τι θειον*, a *quid divinum*, or spirit. Here, indeed, it is counterfeited, but so artfully, that it is next to impossible to detect them, and hence they gain great credit with the natives. To these charms and necromantic arts, they add another bug-bear, which they call *mumbo jumbo*, and is intended by the *Mandingoes* to keep their women in obedience and submission. This is no other than a large idol, which the women are simple enough to believe, or cunning enough to pretend, they take for a human savage, who watches all their actions, and can even penetrate into their most secret thoughts. The husband gets behind this statue in the night, and makes a dreadful bellowing, which they suppose issues from the idol; and of this some of them make a very artful use; for, persuading their husbands that they firmly believe in the attributes given to the *mumbo jumbo*, their conduct is intirely committed to his care, the husband takes his pleasure abroad, and the women enjoy the society of their gallants, free from all alarms and discoveries. Some of them are, however, simple enough to credit what their husbands assert, and then they try to bribe over the idol to favour them. *Moore* relates, that this part is acted by a negro, and commonly by the favourite slave of his master; hence he acquires an absolute dominion in the family over the women, in consequence of his function, and over the master, from an apprehension that ill usage will make him reveal the secret of so much consequence to the support of the husband's authority, and preservation of the womens honour^d.

- IN the year 1727, the king of *Yagra* had a woman, whose curiosity could only be equalled by his weak fondness, in discovering to her the whole mystery of the *mumbo jumbo*, for which she had long eagerly solicited; but with the indiscretion usual in her sex, says our author, she was scarcely in possession, when she hastened to reveal it to all the other women. The report soon came to the ears of the chief negro lords, who were before but ill affected to the king's person, and now shocked with a weakness of such consequence to them all. They therefore assembled to deliberate upon the necessary measures, in an affair so critical; and not doubting but their women would throw off their allegiance, and live in a perpetual state of rebellion and infidelity, if the terror of the *mumbo jumbo* was once removed, they determined upon a very bold step, which they executed with equal resolution. They assumed that air of authority, peculiar to persons who take upon them a religious office, or act in a religious cause; and going to the palace, ordered the king to come before the idol or *mumbo jumbo*. The weak prince, not daring to refuse the summons, obeyed, and after being severely censured by the bug-bear, he was ordered to produce all his women. No sooner had they made their appearance, than they were immediately assassinated by order of

^c LABAT, ubi sup.^d LE MAIRE, p. 64. MOORE, p. 116. LE MAIRE, p. 93.

the *mumbo jumbo*; and thus this almost fatal discovery was suppressed, before it made its way out of the king's family. a

SUCH as are initiated in the mystery of the *mumbo jumbo*, take a solemn oath not to reveal it to the women, or any other negroes who are not of the society^c. They cannot be admitted before a certain age; the people swear by that idol, and no oath is observed with more solemnity and respect: in a word, every village has its lodge, or *mumbo jumbo*, which we can compare to nothing so aptly as the respectable fraternity of *Free Masons*, so well known in *Great Britain, France, Germany*, and several other parts of *Europe*.

Account of the
marbuts.

WE come now to speak of the *marbuts*, that numerous ecclesiastical body, once driven out of the *Siratick*, but now restored, with additional immunities, more than sufficient to wipe off their disgrace. In their habit they differ but little from the laity on common occasions, though altogether another people as to other circumstances. *Jobson* observes, that in their private œconomy, and the general conduct of life, they have nothing in common with the rest of the world, all being formal, affected, stiff, and designing, and a regular series of the most refined hypocrisy and priestly cunning: a character which we fear may be applied to too great a number of the priests of all nations. Here they are ambitious, in order the better to gratify their avarice and pride; the passion being altogether sordid, and partaking not a particle of that noble elevation of soul that grasps at power, the better to serve the public, and struggles for exaltation, only to shine with the greater splendor and utility. The *marbuts* have towns, and even whole provinces, sequestered from the state for their maintenance, into which they admit no other negroes but their slaves, employed in tilling the lands, and cultivating their grain, fruits, roots, and all the other necessities of life. They marry intirely among themselves, never making any alliances with the rest of the people, and all their male children are born priests, and bred to the mysteries of the function; particular care being taken in instructing them in the principles of the *Levitical* law, upon which many of their ceremonies are founded, and to which, next to the *Koran*, they pay the highest respect. With regard to other regulations of marriage among the *marbuts*, authors talk but vaguely, observing in general that polygamy is permitted, and every thing else that is customary with the laity; though, if we may credit their oldest and best historian^f, their usages are kept a profound secret from the vulgar. In many respects, however, their conduct deserves the greatest encomiums: they strictly observe those laws of the *Koran* relating to abstinence and temperance, carefully avoiding every excess in eating, or at all touching wine and spirituous liquors; they cherish commerce, are honest and fair in their dealings with each other, as if they would by this atone for the frauds they commit on the people. Charity is a virtue which they never violate among each other, though it never extends to that universal benevolence which alone renders it valuable; and they will never permit any of their society to be sent into slavery: if he has offended against the laws, they punish him agreeable to the institutions, or, as we may call them, the canons of their church. c

THESE good qualities, though blended with strong vices, are the cement which firmly binds the fabric of this institution, and procures the respect of kings as well as of the vulgar (G). If a *marbut* is met on the road by persons of the first distinction, they form a circle round him, fall upon their knees in prayer, and receive his benediction; which custom is observed even in the palaces of kings when a priest enters. *Labat* says, that the negroes in general, especially those of *Senegal*, entertain the highest regard and deference to their clergy; believing, that all who offend them cannot live above three days after^e. The *Mandingo marbuts* spend a great part of their time in the instruction of their children; and *Jobson* relates, that he had seen schools and seminaries which contained some hundreds of youth, where they are taught to read, write, to expound the *Koran*, the principles of the *Levitical* law, the nature of the *marbut* society, how it is connected with the body politic, and yet a separate community, with such other knowledge as is fashionable among them. But what they instill with their first milk, is an inviolable regard and attachment to the interests of the society, profound secrecy, gravity, and a reserved conversation and conduct, together with sobriety, temperance, and the principles of morals, at least as far as it regards the good order of the fraternity, and commands the respect of the laity. f

^c MOORE, *ibid.*

^f LEO AFRICAN. p. 23.

^e T. iii. p. 353.

(G). *Jobson* relates, that he contracted an acquaintance with a *marbut*, whose excellent qualities soon engaged him in the strictest friendship. He was pious, temperate, sensible, honest, and sincere in his attach-

ments, insomuch that our author regarded him with little less veneration than the most superstitious of the natives (4).

(4) *Jobson*, p. 74. *Leo African.* p. 23.

- a THEIR children are taught to read and write, upon a little book formed of a smooth hard wood; the latter by drawing the characters themselves, and the former by reading certain characters resembling *Arabic*, wrote down by their tutors. They use a kind of black ink, formed from the bark of a tree, and a pen resembling a pencil, or rather the *Στύλος*, *Stylus*, or pen of the ancients, with which they wrote upon their waxed tables. Some authors allege, that their characters resemble the *Hebrew* more than the *Arabic*; which is a plain indication of their being ignorant of both; for it is impossible they could bear any affinity to characters so extremely different: but all agree, that their laws are written in a language totally different from the vulgar, which the lay-negroes of every degree are ignorant of, and is supposed by authors to be a corrupt *Hebrew* or *Arabic*. We are told
- b from the same authority, that the great volume of the *marbut* laws or institutions, regarding the society, is a manuscript, of which they take copies for their private use. If we may credit *Jobson*, it is not in their own schools, and to their own children only, that the *marbuts* communicate their knowledge, but to whole provinces, and without distinction to every youth they meet. They travel, according to him, with books and families from province to province, teaching wisdom and religion wherever they pass, and enforcing their doctrine equally by precept and example (H). Every town is open to them, and the *marbut* travels whole kingdoms unmolested in the heat of the bloodiest wars. Writers differ with respect to their manner of travelling, some affirming, that, like *Mendicants*, they live upon the public, and alms which they receive from every family; while others are no less positive, that they
- c support themselves by trade and the sale of *grisgris*, asking no other alms than scraps of paper, which they convert into solid food and raiment by virtue of those mysterious characters with which they impress them. Certain it is, that they carry on the richest commerce of the country, especially the *marbuts* of *Setiko*, who trade deeply in gold, slaves, and *grisgris*: and this may be one end of their progresses through different kingdoms, as well as the instructing the ignorant, and the performance of their apostolical function. Their chief branch of trade is gold, which they draw from the interior countries of *Nigritia*, and the extremities of *Libya* and *Barbary*, in exchange for their *grisgris*; and such is their avarice, that they hoard up large treasures, deep hidden in the ground, and to be buried with them, under the pretext of religion, reserving in public only what is sufficient to answer the purposes of nature, the gratification of their ambition or pride, and the purchasing of the *Portuguese* a kind of blue stone, which their women wear round their waists, as a preservative against hæmorrhages, to which they are very subject; or from the other *Europeans* such articles of luxury as may be wanted to keep up the esteem and veneration of the people. To conclude this section, and our account of this extraordinary society, it may be sufficient to observe, that they throw all the obstructions they are able, and cross by every possible means the endeavours of the *Europeans* to penetrate to the source of the river *Gambia*; apprehensive, that their success might lessen their trade, and render them less necessary. They represented to *Jobson* the hazards and difficulties of such an enterprize, with so much zeal and warmth, that, with all his partiality to them, he could not help attributing their excessive friendship to selfish views^f,

^f Vide auct. citat. ibid.

(H) The reader may observe, that the relation of *Jobson* is to be received with some allowance for his prejudice in favour of the *marbuts*; he had contracted an intimacy with one worthy person of the community, and from thence seems to have formed his idea of the whole; but the true character of a society is to be gained

not from the manners of an individual, or the partial portraits of historians, but from facts, and the general system of conduct and policy. We have given sufficient instances to justify our opinion of this sect, and the reader, who would inquire more minutely, may consult *Marmol*, *Smith*, and *Prewett*.

S E C T. XII.

Containing a geographical view of the great river Gambia, and the frequent attempts made to discover its source; the trade which the Europeans carry on with the kingdoms situated along its banks; a description of the English and other European forts and settlements established thereon; and an account of their wars, and various changes and revolutions, and the endeavours used by each to maintain or improve their commerce; with a narrative of the settlement on the island of Goree, &c. &c.

Of the names
of the river
Gambia.

THE vast river *Gambia* was formerly known by the name of *Gambro*; an appellation ^a still retained by the *French*. *Cada Mosto*, the first writer who speaks of it, always gives it this name. *Marmol* says, that by the negroes it is called *Gambu*; but he sometimes writes it *Gambra*, and at other times *Gamboa*. *Jobson* prefers the former; but affirms, that the negroes always call it *Gee*, or *Ji*, that is, *the river*, by way of pre-eminence; for which reason likewise the *Portuguese* gave it the name of *Rio Grande*, in common with another river more to the southward^a. However, as it is commonly known to *Englishmen* by the name *Gambia*, which in fact is a corruption of *Gambra*, this we shall retain, and avoid all disputes concerning the etymon, which, after all our labour, would still remain doubtful.

Its course.

AUTHORS are no less divided concerning its source than name, some affirming it to be a branch of the *Niger*, while others, with more probability, assert, that it can possibly have no ^b communication with it, as it certainly runs through the lake *Sapor* and the kingdom of *Yo* or *Eyo*, bordering on *Dabomay*, a prodigious course of near 2000 miles. *Marmol* calls it the same river which *Ptolemy* lays down under the name of *Esiachiris*, in which tract it must be divided from the *Niger* by a prodigious ridge of hills running north and south; and so indeed it is laid down by that accurate geographer Mr. *Bolton*, in his correction of *D'Anville*. *Labat* has spent several pages upon this subject, which he drops after having thoroughly perplexed and bewildered his readers; and, to avoid falling into the same error, we shall here take our leave of it, as offering conjectures might afford opportunities for displaying our genius, but very little improvement to our readers, all the attempts towards this discovery having hitherto been abortive, and the interior parts of *Africa* too little known to determine ^c any thing from the situation of the country: we shall proceed therefore to a description of this river, as far as it has been navigated by *Europeans*; for as to the accounts of the natives they merit little regard^b.

Situation,
breadth, depth,
and navigable
length.

THE river *Gambia*, or *Gamby*, discharges itself in the ocean between *Cape Verd* and *Cape Roxo*; or, to speak with more precision, between *Cape Saint Mary* on the south, and *Bird* or *Broken Island* on the north; the distance between these being six leagues; but as the river is divided by a great number of islands and sand banks, its broadest chanel does not exceed three leagues; and *Barbot* reduces it to as many miles. At *Jear*, fifty leagues up the river, it is a mile broad, and easily accessible to a ship of three or four hundred tons, or to a forty gun ship, as *Labat* expresses it; and even at *Barakkonda*, 500 miles, or 250 leagues, accord- ^d ing to *Labat*, from the sea, it is navigable for ships of 150 tons burden. The season for making this voyage is from *December* to the month of *June*, during which time the river flows in a smooth, equal, and not rapid course; but for the rest of the year is difficult, if not impossible, on account of the prodigious swell, occasioned by the rains that fall with such violence in these countries; and this is one great advantage which the river *Senegal* has over the *Gambia*.

FREQUENT attempts have been made to penetrate to the source of the *Gambia*, and by means of these voyages its navigation came to be so well known, and some little acquaint- ^e ance made with the states more immediately bordering upon its banks, which however are too inconsiderable to merit a place in history.

It is well known that the *Gambia* forms a number of curvatures and windings between the sea and the kingdom of *Kantor*, 400 miles above *Barakkonda*, where it is supposed to pass through a stagnated lake, inaccessible to shipping, on account of the reeds, leaves, and herbage, that float so thick upon its surface as to give it the appearance of dry land. This however is no more than the account of the natives; for no *Europeans* ever penetrated so far. The *English* have made frequent attempts to discover its source, all of them unsuccessful, as they never went farther than *Barakkonda*, at least with any certainty or advantage. It is possible that they were stopt by cataracts, shoals, or other obstructions, as they affirm, and were told by the *marbuts*; though many of the more intelligent deny that there are any

^a Tom. ii. apud init. LABAT, t. iv. c. 18. MARMOL hist. de l'Afrique lib. ix.

^b Ibid.

impediments

- a impediments for some hundred miles farther. First captain *Thompson*, and after him *Jobson*, in the year 1618, went an hundred leagues in boats beyond the cataract of *Barakkonda*; but, having neglected to take the soundings and other particulars, their labour was attended with little advantage, serving only to gratify their curiosity (A). *Vermayden* and some other seamen penetrated as far in the reign of *Charles* the Second; but to much the same effect. In 1713 the royal *African* company, desirous of obtaining all possible certainty on this head, employed a number of small vessels on the discovery, under the direction of Mr. *Thomas Harrison*, their chief agent at *James Fort*. This gentleman pursued his course to *Fatadenda*, after which he committed the care of the expedition to *John Peach*, giving him a small vessel to proceed on the voyage, and returning himself to *James Fort*, where *Moore* saw him. His deputy likewise, after having gone within twenty miles of *Barakkonda*, was forced to return for want of provisions, or perhaps of resolution to prosecute the design ^c.

From *James Island*, near the mouth of the river, to *Barakkonda*, the soundings are never less than four fathoms and a half water in the shallowest parts of the true chanel, and generally from five to eleven. The river is enriched with a number of beautiful islands, some of them covered with wood, and filled with animals, which frequently render it extremely narrow, but ballance that inconveniency by adding to the depth, the water being there confined within narrower limits. Yet with all this depth of water, *Labat* says, that it is necessary to keep always sounding, especially near the entrance, as the river is filled with shoals and sand banks, frequently dangerous without this precaution (B).

- c As the *English* carry on the chief traffick with the natives of *Gambia*, we shall begin with describing their settlements upon this river, tho' the time cannot well be determined when they first began to frequent it, nor who the first *Europeans* were that established this commerce. *Labat* is positive, that the merchants of *Dieppe* and *Roan* were not only acquainted with, but considerable traders on, the *Gambia*, before the *Portuguese* began their discoveries in *Asia* and *Africa*. However, as the *Normans* found it less advantageous than the traffick with the coast of *Guiney*, which made great returns to *France* in gold and ivory, they always pursued it with less zeal, and at last totally abandoned it for their establishments on the southern coast of *Africa*. At that time the slave trade was not opened, nor the merchants of *Mandingo* and the interior countries accustomed to bring their merchandize of gold, ivory, &c. to the very mouth of the river. First establishment of the European trade.

- d In course of time the *Portuguese*, eager in pursuit of discoveries, and whatever could contribute to the advancement of trade, occupied those places abandoned by the *Normans*, and established factories, not only along the coasts, but in the interior kingdoms, and along the banks of the *Gambia*, as high as the *English* trade at present: an assertion that is proved by the ruins of many forts in different places; which is more than the *French* can urge in support of their claim, though it might be difficult to prove a negative. Notwithstanding the confusion introduced into their affairs, by a perpetual state of hostilities and wars with the other *European* nations, and the loss of a number of valuable factories, they still retain a considerable commerce with the interior countries, *Bintam*, *Cacho*, and *Bissao*, where they trade with the *French*, *English*, and *Dutch*, as natives, getting the produce of the country in return for *European* merchandize; but this progeny of the ancient *Portuguese* is now so blended as hardly to be distinguished from the original inhabitants.

- e At length the *English* succeeded the *Portuguese* in the trade of the river *Gambia*, seizing upon a number of advantageous posts which they had relinquished; and have, for a series of years, fortified themselves on a small island between *Albreda* and *Gilfrai*, situated at the distance of four leagues, according to *Labat*, or six miles, by *Moore's* calculation, from the mouth of the river. Here they have built a fort, which might be rendered extremely strong, could they secure their magazines and water against bombs; the want of which precaution occasioned its being taken, pillaged, demolished, and rased to the ground, by the *French*, and afterwards by pirates, or the *Forbears*: a loss which the company could never Settlement of the English company.

^c MOORE, p. 293. LABAT, t. iv. c. 18.

(A) It may be proper to observe, that all the *French* translators of this paragraph of *Jobson's* relation, *Prevost*, *Labat*, and *Marmol*, seem to have copied from each other the mistake of the first translator, who rendered the *English* preposition *above* by the *French* *au dessus*, instead of *au dessus*, a blunder which greatly alters the sense of the author.

(B) *Labat* lays down a number of directions for navigating this river with safety, some of which, as they may prove useful, we shall extract. He observes, that

below *Fort James* both sides of the river are filled with sand banks; and advises mariners to keep near the north, on which side the chanel is smoothest, deepest, and safest: an opinion which he supports by a number of reasons and facts, which we shall omit, as unnecessary. Another precaution is, to keep directly in the middle of the chanel in passing *Dog Island*, in order to avoid a stony point, covered by the water, that projects a quarter of a league across the river (5).

(5) *Labat relat. Afrique occ. tom. iv. p. 266.*

recover without the aid of parliament, and the public countenance offered them. We shall a speak of this transaction after having described the fort, and enumerated the other settlements on this great river.

THE next establishment of the *English* company is on the river *Kabata*, falling into the *Gambia* almost opposite to *James Island*, on the north side of the kingdom of *Kambo*, and south side of the river: but here the trade is inconsiderable, the chief purpose of the factory being to furnish *James Fort* with provisions. On the north side the river, opposite to *James Island*, stands the *English* factory *Jilfray*, or *Gillefree*, a little east of the *French* house at *Albreda*. This place is pleasantly situated, and supplies *James Fort* with all kinds of vegetables. Here it is that the monarch of *Barra* exacts a duty upon all shipping that pass up the river, to which the *English*, though naturally haughty, says *Labat*, have been forced to b submit (C). The fourth *English* factory is at *Vintain*, or *Bintam*, upon a river of the same name, falling into the *Gambia* about six miles above *James Fort*. The chief commerce of this little factory, within the jurisdiction of the king of *Pouia*, consists in wax, ivory, and hides. Eight miles farther up the river we meet with the fifth factory, called *Jereja*, situated in a kingdom of the same name. A place affording little trade besides wax, of which there is great abundance, but indifferent in the quality. In the year 1731, the *English* company established a factory at *Kalaor*, on a river of the same name, in the dominions of the king of *Barra*; but, perceiving the trade to fall short of their expectations, they relinquished it two years afterwards. The same year as the former, a house was settled at *Tankeoval*, in the kingdom of *Caën*, on the south side of the river *Gambia*; the principal object of which c is the wax trade. Something higher up the river we meet with the factory of *Joar*, situated three miles up the country, in the territory of the king of *Barfalli*. There is not on the whole river a more flourishing trade than is carried on by this town and factory, as the *Mandingo* merchants, going and returning to and from *Galam* and *Tombuto*, take this place in their way: and on the opposite or north side of the river stands *Taui*, or *Taui Marow*, another factory belonging to the *African* company: but here they have no more than a little house and one negro agent to supply *James Fort* with corn. Higher up, in the little kingdom of *Femarrow*, stands the company's factory of *Brako*, built in 1732, burnt by accident, rebuilt in the same year, and relinquished in 1735. The company's eleventh settlement is at *Mattejor*, a mile from the river on the north side, in the kingdom of *Upper Taui*. It d being overturned by a swelling of the river in the year 1725, the company ordered the factory to be removed to *Sami*, where it now remains, the situation being a little removed since, but the name preserved. Still higher up, in the kingdom of *Tomani*, south of *Gambia*, stands the thirteenth factory, called *Xamyakonda*; destroyed by a flooding of the river in 1733, but since rebuilt by order of the company. Its trade consists in slaves and ivory, of which it sends great quantities to *James Fort*. The last settlement of the company is *Fatadenda*; at which place, situated at least 484 miles from the sea, the river is as broad, says *Moore*, as the *Thames* at *Tilbury Fort*, and proportionably deep. Here the *Gambia* with its beautiful windings, forms a most delightful prospect, to be equalled only by the verdure of the trees and fertility of the adjacent country of *Kanter*, several provinces of which are e surrounded on three sides by those delightful curvatures of the river^d (D).

As none of these factories are considerable enough to merit a particular description, we shall return to *Fort James*, commonly called *James Fort*, and lay before the reader all we can learn of this head-settlement, either from writers or private intelligence. This fort is situated in a small island of the same name, standing in the middle of the *Gambia*, the whole breadth of the river being here about seven miles. The island is the property of the company; but subject to a small tribute to the king of *Barra*. In circuit the island is about three quarters of a mile, the fort regular, and defended by four batteries, each mounting seven pieces of cannon, which commands the river on every side. Under the walls of the fort, facing the water on all hands, are erected two batteries, mounted with four f twenty-four pounders each, and between both are planted smaller guns for salutes: the

^d MOORE, LABAT, ubi sup. PREVOST, tom. iv. lib. ii. c. 2.

(C) The same author adds, that, inslent to all other nations, they have been humbled by negroes, and forced to salute this prince with their cannon as they pass; and yet his dominions do not extend above eighteen leagues along the river. All ships of whatever nation that approach a certain tuft of trees, called The royal standard of *Barra*, are forced to pay it this compliment, and a small duty to the king, on pain of being prohibited

to trade, and subjected to all the injuries the monarch can do them (6).

(D) Authors relate, that the company relinquished this settlement, upon some severe usage their factors had met with from the king of *Tomani*; but we have it from the best private authority, that before now it is probably re-established.

(6) *Labat relat. de l'Afrique occident*, part iv. p. 266.

- a whole artillery of the fort amounting to 45 pieces of cannon. Within the walls are contained a number of very commodious apartments for the governor, chief merchants, factor, writers, and military officer; the lower apartments being employed in magazines and store-houses. The garrison ought to be composed of one officer, one serjeant, two corporals, a gunner, his deputy, and thirty soldiers; but the diseases attributed by authors to the pernicious habit of drinking spirits to excess, greatly diminish the complement, and reduce the men to the most deplorable situation. This is a fact asserted by all writers, *English, French, and Dutch*. The soldiers, artificers, servants, and slaves of the fort, are lodged in barracks without the walls, but built with stone and lime, equally convenient and strong as the fort itself; and the whole surrounded by pallisadoes, the river and canals drawn from it. Underneath the servants apartments are magazines, and the slaves are lodged below the soldiers barracks. Centinels are placed at proper posts, relieved every two hours, and the garrison kept in constant duty and security, a patrol being sent round at certain hours to examine into the situation of the fort, and make report to the governor. In a word, in point of military discipline, no garrison can be more regular and diligent^c; but the factors, and even the governor, find it their interest to wink at the excess in drinking of the soldiers, by a means too obvious to be pointed out.

*The disorderly
lives of the
soldiers.*

- It was in 1664 that *James Island* was fortified by commodore *Holmes*, for the protection of the *English* trade in this river, and had its name in honour of the duke of *York*. At first it had but eight pieces of cannon; but *Barbot* speaks of it as a regular fortification, completed and mounted in the manner we have described (E) in the year 1690. *James Fort* was taken for the first time by the *French*, under M. de *Gênes*, in 1695, who commanded a small squadron of four ships of war and two bomb ketches; of which enterprize we have a particular account by *Froger*, who served in the expedition. M. de *Gênes*, then at *Gorée*, receiving advice by an *English* deserter of the miserable condition of the garrison, labouring under diseases, and pinched with want, set sail for *Gambia*, and immediately surrounded the fort with the boats, to cut off all communication with the continent. Next day an officer, M. de *la Rogue* was sent to summon the governor to surrender: his barge was met at some distance by the *English* officer, who conducted him to the fort, where he was handsomely entertained, and sent back attended by three gentlemen of the garrison, who demanded of the admiral a few days to deliberate upon the answer they should make, as the governor was absent, and the command devolved upon a deputy. *De Gênes* would grant only till six o'clock the following morning, and then the deputy sent him word to begin his operations, for he was resolved to defend the place to the last extremity; a resolution that would probably have been executed with equal spirit, had not Mr. *Hambury*, the governor, found means to enter the fort, and take upon him the command, of which he was undeserving. Two bombs had only been thrown in by the enemy, and the boats disposed in their proper stations for giving the general assault against the next tide, when he sent a barge to the admiral, with proposals for a capitulation, and to demand the exchange of hostages. The terms were accepted, and the admiral, out of compliment to the bravery of the deputy-governor, as was plainly expressed in the articles, permitted the garrison to march out with all the honours of war, their arms, baggage, and effects, and each officer and gentleman a slave to attend him. Among other articles of less importance was the following. "That all the factors of the company along the banks of the *Gambia*; all the stores, effects, and merchandize, belonging to the company, should be included under the present capitulation; and, in a word, the *French* put in full possession of the navigation and trade of this great river." Here the *French* got, with little trouble, a prize of 500 quintals of ivory, 300 quintals of wax, 300 male and 40 female slaves, besides 50 more at *Jilfray*, together with *European* merchandize, to the value of 8000 crowns, all the cannon, stores, and provisions of the fort^f.

*Taken by the
French.*

- A FEW days after, M. de *Gênes* sent to the king of *Barra* to demand the *English* effects in the factory at *Jilfray*; but that prince returned for answer, that if the factory was surrendered, the effects belonged to him: finding however that the admiral intended to use force, he resolved not to contest the affair, and suffered him quietly to take possession. Afterwards a council was called, to deliberate, whether *Fort James* should be preserved or demolished; and the latter opinion prevailing, the bastions were blown up, the cannon that could not be carried on board were nailed and rendered useless, and the *English* garrison embarked for *England*; upon which *De Gênes* with the squadron sailed for the *Brasils*. It would appear that this resolution of the council was not agreeable to the *French* company; for they soon sent directions

^c MOORE, p. 14.

^f FROGER'S VOY. à la mer de Ind. p. 2. 6. 21.

(E) *Barbot* says, it mounted sixty pieces of cannon; but in other respects agrees with *Moore*; it is probable therefore, that some of the small cannon have been sent to the other factories, or carried off by the *French* when they took it.

to their officers at *Fort St. Louis* to take possession of *Fort James*, and seemed seriously to think of rebuilding the fort, when it was delivered up to the *English* by the treaty of *Ryswick*.^a While the *English* company were employed in executing a plan which would have rendered *James Fort* a complete fortification, the war in 1702 broke out, and again put the *French* in possession, by the conduct of the same admiral who had before taken it, and was now killed in the attack; but the fort was ransomed at that time for 10,000*l.* after the *French* had carried off a booty of 250 slaves, and a considerable quantity of merchandize^b. A third time it fell into the hands of the same nation in 1709, and was restored at the general peace of *Utrecht*; after which it was twice pillaged by *English* pirates, who infested the coast of *Guiney*, in 1720. The first of these enterprizes was executed by *Harvel Davis*, with such circumstances as merit a particular relation. *Davis*, believing he could expect no success from an open attempt, resolved to have recourse to stratagem, which had the desired success, as neither courage, cunning, or the most desperate villainy, were wanting in him or his crew. When he came within sight of the island, he concealed all his men under the hatches, except five or six, employed in working the ship, and in the dress of sailors. With such a force he knew he could raise no suspicion in the garrison, and in consequence came close to the shore, went on board his boat, with the pilot and surgeon, and rowed directly to the fort, where he was received by a file of musqueteers, who conducted him to the governor's apartments. Here he told a plausible story, that he belonged to *Liverpool*, and was bound for *Senegal*, to take in a cargo of ivory and gum, but was pursued and forced out of his course by two *French* men of war. His cargo he told the governor consisted of iron, and some other commodities proper for the *African* market; upon which that gentleman agreed to purchase it in exchange for slaves; and asked, whether *Davis* had any liquors on board? To this he replied, that he had none for sale; however, that he could oblige the governor with some bottles of excellent rum: upon which he was invited with his attendants to dinner. During the preparations the governor was making to receive him handsomely, *Davis* returned alone on board, under pretence of bringing the spirits, having first made all the necessary observations. Presently he returned, attended by six stout fellows, and was admitted without any questions, as the men were loaded with bottles, but at the same time secretly armed with pistols and daggers, and directed to stay in the guard room, till on the discharge of a pistol they were to seize upon the arms of the guard. Every particular of his orders was punctually obeyed, and he became master of the fort, money, stores, and all the merchandize, by a treacherous breach of hospitality, that deserves to be stigmatized with infamy to the latest posterity. The wealth which the factors had accumulated amounted in ingots of gold to upwards of 2000*l.* besides goods of ten times that sum, which he carried on board; and then demolished the fort, putting the governor, factors, and such of the soldiers as would not embark in his desperate fortune, on board a large vessel he found in the river^c, to steer what course they thought fit (F).^d

To avoid breaking the chain of narration, we have omitted some important particulars relative to this settlement and the trade of the *Gambia*; to understand which properly, it is necessary we resume the subject as far back as the treaty of *Ryswick*. After restitution of the fort, the parliament, desirous of establishing the trade without any expence to the public, set the commerce of the river free, upon the sole condition, that each ship should pay ten *per cent.* to the company on her arrival in *Africa*, or twenty on her return to *England*. It is incredible what a number of adventurers immediately embarked in this trade upon its being

History of the
trade of the
Gambia.

^a LABAT, t. iv. p. 293.
JOHNSTON, p. 130, & seq.

^b Gazette de Paris, onze d'Avril, 1703.

^c Hist. of Pirates, by

(F) The royal *African* company, receiving advice of this unhappy affair, determined to guard for the future against such accidents, by keeping so strong a garrison as might defy all the power and stratagems of pirates: but they were extremely unlucky in the officers they made choice of. Major *Maffey* was sent in one of their ships, as commander of the troops; and he being disgusted at the reception he met with from colonel *Whitney*, then governor, and the factors, entered into a conspiracy with one *Lorutber*, second mate of the ship, by whose assistance, and the party he had formed among the soldiers and sailors, he found means to seize the ship and rob the fort; after which he set sail and turned pirate. This life, though attended with all possible success, soon however became irksome to *Maffey*, who would seem to have some sparks of conscience remaining; he determined therefore to break off from the association; and accordingly went to *Yamaica*, where he surrendered himself to Sir *Nicholas Law*, who received him kindly, as a proselyte, and furnished him with money to carry him over to *England*.

On his arrival in *London*, he wrote to the directors of the company a full confession of his crime, which he attributed to his resentment of the hard usage he had met with; acknowledging, however, that he deserved death; but requesting, that it might be such a one as was worthy of a soldier. The answer was, that he deserved no better fate than a gibbet; notwithstanding which he not only did not conceal himself, but took lodgings in a public part of the town, and addressed himself to the officers of justice, to issue an order for seizing captain *Maffey*, a pirate. Upon the officers informing him, that they knew no such person, he told them, that he was the person, and gave them his direction. Accordingly he was arrested a few days after, upon his own information, carried before a justice, and committed to prison, upon no other evidence than his own. At length captain *Russel* and colonel *Whitney's* sons being summoned as evidence against him, *Maffey* was tried, condemned, and hanged, for facts which would never have appeared against him, had he not determined to receive the punishment he merited.

laid

a laid open, and what confusion and ruin it had almost produced. Every captain endeavoured to anticipate another; the *French* took advantage of this rivalry; and the negroes, perceiving the folly of the *English*, raised the price of slaves higher than had ever been known, or than the trade would bear: in consequence of which our colonies were badly supplied, the expence of planting very great, and the profits of the merchants so small, that, all things included, it might well be deemed a losing trade. At length, the *French* themselves were involved in the difficulties of the *English*; for the *Mandingo* merchants, observing the great price given for slaves by the former, would sell none to the latter, and thus the agents of both companies were soon reduced to a state of idleness, to watch when the rage of adventuring would subside, and commerce once more be put on a solid and rational foundation ^k.

b THIS situation of affairs soon opened the eyes of the company, who became sensible that they had better trade without the aid of parliament, than accept of such a grant as would infallibly destroy the whole trade, and ruin the *British* colonies in *America*. They therefore began diligently to apply themselves to the trade, to ruin the *French*; and cut out the interlopers. Mr. *Corker*, their chief agent, established factories for this purpose at *Javal* (G) and *Portodali*: he sent some of the factors to the king or *Damel* of *Kayor*, with suitable merchandize, to be sold him at an under price, and accompanied with rich presents; but all these liberalities had so little effect, through the address of *De Brue*, the *French* director, that the *Damel*, having led the factors a dance after him from town to town, sent them back at last, without paying for the goods, and glad to escape at any rate out of his hands. *Corker* went farther: he sold the company's goods at the price of interlopers, taking slaves at the same high rate. He employed force to exclude the *French* from the navigation of the river; burnt their ships, under pretext of their having no passports; and, in a word, says *Labat*, testified the most malignant enmity to this nation (H).

AT length he perceived his error; and in the chagrin of disappointment, says *Labat*, wrote to his constituents, that they had better renounce the ten per cent. exacted from the *French*, repair *James Fort* at their own expence, and live upon a good understanding with the *French* company, than expose themselves to the necessity of totally relinquishing the trade. On the other hand, he made some proposals to M. *de Brue*, by which the price of merchandize should be settled between the two companies, and an unanimous resolution taken to exclude all interlopers, of whatever nation. For this purpose he sent one of the factors to *Fort St. Lewis*, in the year 1699, with his compliments, and the following article of accommodation, to M. *de Brue*. “1st. That the *French* company shall enjoy the same privileges they held before the war; that is, the right of maintaining factories at *Albreda* and *Jereja*; and that the agents of both companies shall live in the same friendly footing as before. 2d. That the *English* company having, previous to the war, settled factories at *Jaal* and *Portodali*, they shall continue in the full exertion of the same privilege. 3d. That the vessel of the *Sieur Desnos*, the only one seized by the *English*, shall be restored at the pleasure of M. *de Brue* (I). 4th. That as it would not be possible, on account of the number of *English* ships, to settle a tariff for the slave-trade, this article shall be deferred till the *English* government received instructions from the company. 5th. That, as the private traders were licensed by parliament, the company had not power absolutely to restrain them; the *French* governor therefore would excuse it, if, as countrymen, they sometimes afforded them relief when distressed.” To these proposals *De Brue* returned the following answer by the same messenger. “1st. That by the treaty of *Ryswick* it was stipulated, that all conquests should mutually be given up, and things restored, upon the same footing as they had been before the war. That before the war the privileges of the *French* company extended, by letters patent, from *Cape Blanco* to the river *Sierra Leona*, with the same right of navigating the river *Gambia* as the *English*, as was apparent from the factories they had always maintained at *Albreda* and *Jereja*. That it was assuredly the interest of both companies to join in a free commerce, and establish a tariff, to which the negroes should be compelled to submit; the want of which had given such a handle to interlopers, almost ruined the trade of

Articles of accommodation proposed to the French by the English.

The answer of the French director.

^k LABAT, t. iv. p. 302, & seq.

(G) This place is likewise called *Jaal*, *Juali*, or *Joch*.

(H) This is the account of *Labat*, extracted from *De Brue's Journal*, to which we are forced to accede, as we have no regular detail of this affair from any *English* writer. It must be acknowledged, that the *English* have ever been scandalously negligent in preserving the annals of trade, and this is the reason why we are so frequently subjected to national reflections, as we have

no facts upon record to oppose to those heavy charges, so frequently brought against our companies and private traders.

(I) To this article Mr. *Corker* subjoined a kind of apology; affirming, that his reason for seizing this ship was, *Desnos* carrying on an illicit trade, under pretence of paying some debts at *Guikan*, and his having threatened to destroy the *English* fort, upon his having been checked for those practices (7).

(7) *Labat*, t. iv. p. 303, 304.

both

“ both companies, and increased the insolence of the natives, who had taken advantage of
 “ the rupture between both nations. 2dly. That, as the *English* company was limited to the
 “ river *Gambia*, it was no ways reasonable they should establish themselves at *Joal* and *Porto-*
 “ *dali*, which was an infringement of the privileges of the *French*. 3dly. That the *Sieur De*
 “ *Brue* expected from the equity of governor *Corker*, that he would restore to the *Sieur*
 “ *Marchand*, storekeeper of the *French* factory at *Albreda*, the vessel, with all the goods,
 “ that had been seized, according to the inventory delivered. That with respect to *Desnos*,
 “ the *Sieur De Brue* had given to the *English* governor all the satisfaction which a proper
 “ regard to his character would admit of, or the utmost delicacy in the *English* governor
 “ could require. That *Desnos* was already recalled, to give an account of his conduct; the
 “ *English* governor was therefore requested to avoid all violent measures, which terminate only
 “ in enlarging the breach between the companies. 4thly. That he earnestly wished the *English*
 “ governor would represent to his constituents the necessity of regulating the price of slaves
 “ by a tariff, common to both, and strictly to be performed by the agents of each nation.
 “ 5thly. That, with all due deference to the parliament of *England*, he could not but observe,
 “ it was the highest injustice to give liberty of trade to private merchants, in prejudice of the
 “ rights both of the *English* and *French* companies, whose interests in this particular were neces-
 “ sarily one.” Concluding his answer with an earnest exhortation that governor *Corker* would
 use all his influence with his constituents, to prevail on them to take the proper measures for
 suppressing interlopers; and promising on his own part, that it should be represented to the
 king and parliament of *England* by the *French* ambassador.

So earnest was *De Brue* in fixing a tariff with the *English* company, that he determined
 upon a voyage from *Senegal* to *Gambia*, where he arrived on the 10th of *February* 1700,
 and was kindly received by Mr. *Corker* at *Fort James*. Here a conference ensued, at which
 were present all the captains of ships in the road; but the instructions of the *English* being
 very confined, it ended in nothing but mutual civilities. *De Brue* perceiving, however, that
 Mr. *Corker* was secretly of his opinion, flattered himself that he would use all his interest with
 the *English* company to establish the proposed regulations: but *Corker* was recalled, and
 the *Sieur De Brue* proceeded on his intended visit to the *French* factories on the river
Gambia (K).

Endeavours of
 the *English* and
French gover-
 nors to effect a
 coalition.

Soon after the arrival of the new governor, the company reinforced the garrison of *James*
Fort with a company of grenadiers, and sent a number of masons, carpenters, and other artists,
 for the reparation of the fort, which still bore the marks of the *Sieur Gènes*'s expedition. *De*

(K) Although it is no part of our present design, yet we cannot omit some entertaining particulars related by *De Brue*, in this little excursion. At *Bintam* he found a great number of *Portuguese* settled, who carried on a considerable trade. Their chief made *De Brue* a visit, dressed in his robes, which consisted of a long black cloak, a long sword by his side, a hanger before, a flapped hat, like a *Quaker*'s, long mustachios, and a bead-roll in his left hand, that hung down over the pommel of his sword to the knee, in the manner of a sword knot. His ceremonious and stiff gravity of compliment was no less ridiculous than his garb and figure, at which *De Brue*, with difficulty, restrained laughing. His visit was however returned by the polite *Frenchman*; who likewise paid his compliments to a rich mulatto lately married to an *English* captain. This lady, whose name was *Agis*, having an intrigue with the *alkade* during the absence of the captain, was delivered of a black child, soon after his return, which so enraged the husband that he beat the child in a mortar, and gave the cruel hatchis to be devoured by the dogs. He was however reconciled to the lady before *De Brue*'s arrival. At *Jereja* he visited the king, whom he describes as a little man, of an agreeable figure, lively eyes, cheerful countenance, and white teeth. He was invited by the monarch to dinner, and placed between him and his queen, no other servants than females attending at table. The entertainment was good, the conversation cheerful, in which her majesty supported her part with great spirit and politeness. *De Brue* made them some presents, particularly a case of pistols to the king, who was the greatest warrior of those parts, and extremely feared and respected by all his neighbours; nor are his subjects less warlike than their prince. What deserves admiration is the prudence of the women; who, to avoid

loquacity, which would only divert their attention from necessary employments, fill their mouths with small pebbles, or water.

On quitting *Jereja*, he passed through a country inhabited by a nation called *Flups*, or *Flopps*, according to *Moore*; lying between the river *Gambia* and *Cachao*. Those who are subjects of the king of *Jereja* and the *Portuguese* are tolerably civilized: but the rest, bordering upon the river *Kasamanfa*, are the most barbarous and savage people upon earth, at perpetual war with the rest of mankind, and conducting it with a cruelty to their prisoners too shocking to be mentioned without horror.

From hence he proceeded along the river to a *Portuguese* settlement, the name of which he omits. Here they drive a prodigious trade in wax. Leaving this he went to *Cachao*, a *Portuguese* town and colony, seated on the *Rio San Domingo*, on the southern bank. It is the chief establishment the *Portuguese* have in all this country; though the bulk of the inhabitants, called *Papel negroes*, bear them a mortal aversion. The *Portuguese* have omitted nothing to fortify this place on the land side, the river being its security on the other. It has a rampart well pallisaded, a great number of cannon, and a garrison of thirty white men, generally composed of criminals banished from *Portugal*, and were commanded by a captain major, who assumes the title of governor, a lieutenant, an ensign, and an adjutant-major. The garrison is relieved every two years; a period they ardently long for, as the soldiers are so badly paid as to subsist chiefly on what they steal by night. These particulars we had no opportunity of weaving with the texture of the work; yet we thought it might merit the reader's perusal (8).

(8) Vide *Labat*, t. v. p. 57, & seq.

- a *Brue* was not wanting in the necessary respect to the new governor, to whom he sent compliments of congratulation on his promotion, and to Mr. *Corker*, on his felicity in being recalled from so unhealthy a climate, to enjoy those riches in his native country which he had with so much honour acquired in *Africa*. In return, the new governor sent the chief factor, chaplain, and the captain of a ship, to acknowledge and thank the politeness of *De Brue*, to request his friendship, and take every possible measure for an accommodation of all differences, the establishing a perfect harmony between the companies, and every other measure that could contribute to their mutual felicity. In a word, they drew up a plan to this purpose, which they were to use all their influence to have ratified at the courts of *London* and *Versailles*; and at the same time the *English* governor communicated to *De Brue* a memorial, presented to
- b the parliament by the royal *African* company, from which, and the influence of the *English* and *French* ambassadors, he doubted not but every thing would be settled upon a proper footing. After many efforts, all their negotiations terminated in nothing; the influence of private traders, whose interests were directly opposite to those of the companies, throwing insurmountable difficulties in the way. They even obtained, by their credit or liberality to the government, the escort of a man of war for the protection of their trade. Thus new causes of complaint daily arising, the differences became so high, that, in 1702, *De Gènes* attacked and destroyed *James Fort*, as we have mentioned; after which the affairs of the *English* company were fallen so low as to oblige them to propose a treaty of neutrality, which we have reason to believe was accepted, though we can find no other authority for our opinion than the reasonableness
- c of the propositions, the success of the allies, the low estate to which *France* had been reduced during the war, the cessions made at the treaty of *Utrecht*, and the silence of all the *French* writers on this head¹.

A treaty of
neutrality.

- THE royal *African* company, trying every means to establish their trade, came to a resolution, in 1732, not farther to molest private traders; but to give all possible encouragement to their own agents to serve them with fidelity. With this view they cheapened provisions at *James Fort*, and, giving a great extent to their trade, they thought it proper to deal in those commodities which hitherto they had deemed useless, such as gums, bark, skins, and dying woods, chiefly with intention to make the employments of the factors the more profitable. They moreover offered a premium of twenty *per cent.* to any one who should discover a new article of trade; and the prices of the staple commodities were adjusted. The factors had always been appointed by the court of directors; or, if they ever employed in that function the writers of *James Fort*, it was with the precaution, that two responsible persons should be bound in a bond of two thousand pounds for their good behaviour, and likewise the individual employed for the same sum: yet, in spite of these ties, the company had frequently sustained considerable losses from the infidelity of their agents; and whenever they were prosecuted, such was the indulgence of the court of chancery, the company could never recover damages, the evidence being such as would not be admitted, that is, the oath of a negro infidel.

New efforts of
the English
company to re-
vive the trade.

- PRIVATE traders pay the king of *Barca* a duty, which greatly enhances the price of merchandise, particularly of slaves, a prime article of commerce here: and those who sail higher up the river are forced to pay another duty for the liberty of taking in wood and water. *Moore* is persuaded, that it would be equally advantageous to the company and to private traders, if the great mart of exchange was settled at *James Fort*; that is, if the company would keep a sufficient stock of slaves at the fort, to furnish ships with a whole cargo, and to be supplied, as often as it is bought off, from the out-factories. This would make it a repository both for *European* and *African* commodities, bring the company in a considerable revenue, arising from warehouse-duties, and yet supply the trader at an easier rate and less danger than he can complete a cargo at present. The private merchants could afford to give a higher price at *James Fort* than up the river, and yet be gainers by coming to this emporium;
- f since it cuts off the delay, accidents, intemperature of the climate, and the exactions of petty negro princes, who are ever rapacious, ever poor, fleecing the fair trader and laborious subject, in proportion as they are squeezed by their superiors. All this would be avoided by purchasing a cargo at once: and the company would have this farther conveniency from such an establishment, that they might then buy goods as they pleased: whereas now they cannot, without loss, buy dry goods, unless by taking a quantity of slaves with them. If therefore they sold the slaves to private traders, they might assort their warehouses with the *European* goods from them, and hence monopolize all the dry goods in the river, in spite of all the efforts of the *French* and *Portuguese*. In a word, with due care, they might procure a sufficient quantity of dry goods to load the company's ships homeward bound, without the necessity of making trading voyages along the coast; none of which ever turn out to any considerable advantage^m.

Scheme proposed
by Moore.

¹ LABAT. t. iv. p. 163. MOORE'S VOY. p. 102

^m MOORE, p. 83.

Trade of the
English com-
pany on the ri-
ver Gambia.

THE *English African* company maintain a commerce with several of the neighbouring a places to *Gambia*. To *St. Jago* and other of the *Cape de Verd* islands they send all sorts of grain, in return for which they take salt; a commodity quickly bought up in the river *Gambia*. With *Cachao*, or *Cutcheo*, a *Portuguese* settlement, they deal in bees-wax; but with little profit, it being sometimes so impure and foul, that there will be twenty or thirty *per cent.* loss upon it. The chief articles of trade on this river are gold, slaves, ivory, and wax; for as to the gum trade, it is not hitherto brought to any degree of perfection. Some years the factors buy up above 2000 slaves; the greater part of which are prisoners of war, persons kidnapped from neighbouring countries, or criminals; though some are the children of those who are born slaves, and bred by the *Portuguese*, who make a kind of commodity or article of trade. As the number of those stolen is considerable, the factors have directions not to b purchase any slaves without informing the *alkade*, or chief of the place, that he may enquire into the circumstances of their servitude. Since the slave-trade became so profitable to the negroe princes, the course of justice has taken a more rigorous turn, and every crime, even misdemeanors of a venial nature, are punished with slavery. Thus murder, theft, robbery, and adultery, are confounded with the slightest faults, and all punished in the same barbarous manner. *Moore* relates, that a native of *Mayer*, shooting his arrows at a tiger, who had killed his goat, unfortunately slew a man. The king, though he was apprized of the circumstances, inhumanly sold the offender, his wife, children, and effects, among the other slaves, for whom he had bargained with the *English*.

IVORY, which makes the third article of commerce, is brought sometimes to the factories c in large quantities from *Mandingo*. The negroes procure it either by hunting the elephant, and slaying it with swords, arrows, and darts; or in the woods, from such of these animals as have died a natural death: for *Moore* doubts their notion of their shedding their teeth. He has seen a tooth weigh 300 lb. and the price proportionably raised, without any great regard to the colour. The third commodity is bees-wax, of which prodigious heaps are produced in all the kingdoms along the river *Gambia*; their method of cultivating bees being but little different from that practised in *Europe*. Besides the gum-trade, which as yet is brought to no height, there are several other articles of some consequence, though greatly inferior to this, were it diligently improved, considering the number of silk manufactures established in this kingdomⁿ. At present the *French* in a manner monopolize this traffick d at *Senegal* (L).

French and
Portuguese
trade on the
Gambia, &c.

BEFORE we quit this subject, it is necessary we give the reader an idea of the trade carried on here by the *French* and *Portuguese*. The factory at *Albreda*, belonging to the former, enjoys a considerable traffick; but, according to *Moore*, might be greatly improved, if their factors had not entered into an agreement with the *English*, to keep down the price of slaves. In 1735 the great demand for slaves for *Mississippi* occasioned an infraction of this convention, and raised the price as much too high as before it was too low; the private traders taking an advantage on the one hand, and the *American* colonies being oppressed on the other. By a convention between the governors of *James Fort* and *Goree*, the *French* were permitted in 1724 to establish a factory a little higher up the river than *James Island*; e and as an equivalent the *English* were allowed to trade to *Jossly* and *Portodalli*, two places of considerable importance in commerce near *Goree*. Although the factory at *Albreda* be scarce within reach of the cannon of *James Fort*, yet the *French* factors are forced to have permission from the *English* governor to wood and water, and lay in provisions, and even to cross the river. This liberty is seldom denied; but a soldier from the fort is always sent in the *French* boat, to watch their actions, and prevent an irregular trade, which is not allowed to extend above *Elephant Island*, thirty miles (leagues, says *Labat*), higher than *James Fort*°. As to the *Portuguese*, they have established themselves in almost all the considerable towns along the *Gambia*, and carry on a very profitable trade, particularly at *Vintain*, or *Bintam*, *Jerejab* (M), and *Tankroval*. At the latter Signior *Antonio Voss*, a black *Portuguese*, famed f for his wealth and ostentation, has taken up his residence. This gentleman trades largely with the private merchants, retains a great number of domestic slaves, makes a trade of breeding them, carries on by their means, and a number of canoes, a traffick with all the ports up the river, and is by much the most respectable subject round *Gambia*, or perhaps in any part of *Africa*; such at least he was in the year 1737. As we have elsewhere delineated these *Portuguese* mulattoes, we shall proceed to a description of the island and fort of *Goree*, the only *European* settlement between the rivers *Senegal* and *Gambia*. But the great emporium

Account of the
island and fort
of Goree.

ⁿ LABAT, ubi sup.

° MOORE, ibid.

(L) We have no account what alterations the capture of that settlement by the *English* may have in this branch; though we may venture to pronounce, that, if

it be kept, the gum will ever be a chief article of trade in *Africa*.

(M) *Moore* calls this place *Garegia*; but we meet with the other orthography in almost all other writers.

a of the trade of this country is at *Goree*; which, next to *Fort Lewis*, is the most important settlement the *French* maintain in *Africa*, and perhaps more so than *Fort Lewis* itself, as the situation is stronger, and yet access to it much easier for shipping, at the same time that it enjoys almost all the other advantages of situation. This island, fort, and settlement we shall endeavour to describe with all possible minuteness, that the reader may have a clear idea of the importance of our late successes on that part of the coast of *Africa*.

b THE name by which the natives call this island is *Barfaguiche*, if we may credit *Barbot*; the *Dutch* who were the first *European* possessors, giving it the appellation of *Goree*, from a town of that name in *Holland*; and *Reynold*, in his Voyage, speaks of it as a place of considerable trade, under the name of *Barfaguiche*^p. In length it is about 420 toises, and in breadth
 c not exceeding 124 toises, the whole circumference, according to a late mensuration, being about two *English* miles, if one includes a point that projects into the sea on the eastern end of the island. *Goree* stands south-south-west of *Cape Verd*, within a cannon-shot of the shore, extending itself north-north-east and south-south-west, and consists of a low narrow piece of land, and a small but steep mountain. Notwithstanding its confined dimensions, the situation renders it a very agreeable place: towards the south you enjoy a prospect, terminated only by the sea; northward you discover *Cape Verd*, and all the other neighbouring capes and promontories. Though it stands in the third torrid zone, as *Adamson* expresses it, yet the inhabitants breathe a cool and temperate air all the year round, owing to the equality of days and nights, and its banks continually refreshed by alternate breezes from the
 d land and sea. Besides the multitude of surrounding rocks, that render it almost inaccessible, except at two particular bays, the late director *M. de St Jean* has embellished the fort with several new buildings, as well as fortified it by works, which render it a place of great strength, though not impregnable, as experience has shewn; though *French* writers have boasted of it as such. By the diligence of this gentleman, several fresh springs, so much wanted, have been discovered in the island; the gardens have been planted with excellent fruit-trees; legumes and all kinds of vegetables have been made to grow in great abundance, and from a small, barren, and despicable island, he has made it one of the safest, pleasantest, and most important settlements in all *Africa*^q. How different was it in *Barbot*'s time, who speaks of it in terms of contempt; the soil a red sand, which produces neither grass, trees, water, or any other thing
 e besides reeds or rushes, the residence of a great number of wild pigeons^r.

GORÉE was ceded to the *Dutch*, in the year 1617, by *Biram* king of *Cape Verd*, and they immediately secured it by a fort, built on a rock to the north-west, to which they gave the name of *Nassau Fort*; but finding that this situation did not command the harbour, they erected another fortification called *Orange Fort*, somewhat nearer the shore. This establishment they kept till they were driven out by admiral *Holmes* in 1663, who placed an *English* garrison in it. Two years after it was retaken by *De Ruyter*, and Mr. *Abercromy* the governor, and garrison, forced to surrender prisoners of war (N). Upon this the *Dutch* augmented the fortifications, and the island enjoyed a perfect tranquility till the year 1677, when a
 f *French* squadron, commanded by the count d'Estrees, arrived off the harbour on the 30th of October, to disturb their happy repose and flourishing commerce. Next day *Hapsar*, the *Dutch* governor, was summoned to surrender, and, on his refusal, the count made preparations to bombard *Orange Fort*, which obliged the garrison to evacuate it and retire to *Fort Nassau*, where they expected to capitulate upon honourable terms, though they were soon forced to surrender at discretion. *D'Estrees* found the island in good condition, the lower fort mounting forty pieces of heavy cannon, and the works kept in excellent repair: but, having no instructions to garrison them, he dismantled this and intirely demolished *Nassau Fort*. Soon after *M. du Casse* arrived at *Goree*, with a forty gun ship, and solemnly took possession of the island, in the name of the *Senegal* company, and concluded a treaty with the king and negroes of *Rufisco*, *Joal*, and *Portodalli*, on the same conditions the *Dutch* enjoyed while they possessed the island. As this measure, which he had taken voluntarily, was approved on his return by the court, he was sent back the following year, in quality of governor, with presents to the negroe kings; and the same year this conquest was secured to the company by the treaty of *Nimeguen*.

No sooner were the *French* in full possession, than they set to work, in repairing and adding new works to both the forts, calling the lower fort *Vermandois*, and the higher *St. Michael*. Before the year 1681 several unsuccessful attempts were made by the *Dutch* to recover a place of such importance to trade; but all of them abortive, through the diligence of

^p MOORE, p. 87.^q ADAMSON, p. 104.^r BARBOT, p. 20. LABAT, t. i. p. 166.(N) This gentleman *Labat* calls *Abercrom*, a name never heard of in *England*; and is one instance of the address of *French* writers in corrupting names.

Du Casse, who, after gentle remonstrances to the *Dutch* commodore, at last seized two of his ships, and sent them to *Elmina*. In 1667 the *Sieur De Brue*, one of the most diligent and sensible officers ever employed by the company, was sent in quality of director-general, and he put the island in the state of defence in which it remained till the arrival of *M. St. Jean*, about the year 1750, who improved it in the manner we have related.

THE department or division of the trade belonging to *Goree* comprehends the commerce of the kingdoms of *Kayor*, *Sin*, and *Salem*, which is indeed extensive. The first of these, called the kingdom of *Damel*, or *Kayor*, stands at a great distance from the lake of that name, which is situated in the desert of *Zaarab*, or *Sarab*, north of the river *Senegal*. This trade produces annually upwards of 300 slaves, 20,000 undressed skins or hides, sometimes 80,000, and 250 quintals of ivory; but the oppression of the *Damel* has diminished the trade, particularly the skin-trade, and almost ruined the inhabitants. The company's trade with *Sin* is confined to two ports, *Joal* and *Fakika*, both within the department of *Goree*: of these the principal is *Joal*, because the anchorage is more safe, and the landing or shipping of goods easier. The town is large and populous: and, though the inhabitants are of a brutish and insolent disposition, yet they love commerce, which may be carried on to great advantage with them, after their customs and peculiarities are studied and known. Two reasons contributed to the establishment of a factory at *Joal*; and the first was, the assurance the *French* company had of procuring about 200 slaves, above 3000 skins, 1200 or 1500 quintals of ivory, 500 quintals of yellow bees-wax, with some other commodities, upon the same tariff they had settled with the *Damel* of *Kayor*. Hence they would have their magazines always well stored, would monopolize the trade, and cut off interlopers from any communication with the kingdom of *Sin*. The next was, the necessity there was for keeping the *Damel* in awe, by shewing him that the whole trade did not depend upon his caprice: a measure dictated by experience, and the insolence of that monarch, who would not fail to oppress them, in proportion to the dependence he imagined they had on him. The *Bur* or king of *Sin* was at perpetual war with the *Damel* and *Tin*, his two most potent neighbours: a contention and rivalry which it was not difficult for the company to turn to their own advantage, by holding the scale in an equal poise, and making their terms with one or other of the parties, as circumstances required. But, besides the merchandize we have mentioned, *Joal* is capable of supplying *Goree*, and all the shipping that frequents it, with every kind of provisions they can possibly stand in need of. Cattle, fowls, rice, maize, and all vegetables, are the natural product of the kingdom of *Sin*, equally cheap and excellent; and salt, with the necessaries of preserving beef for sea, are obtained in abundance from the *Cape de Verd* islands and *Fakika*, where it is sold at three livres per barrel (O).

FROM *Joal* to the river *Palmeria* is about seven leagues, which is the whole length of the maritime coast of *Sin*. On which side it seems to terminate in a point, the rest of the kingdom being some hundreds of miles in dimension, and extremely fruitful, except on the frontiers, where it is exposed to the incursions of the enemy, and the robberies and desolations committed by the *Tin* and *Damel*. To guard themselves against the tumults which frequently happen among the inhabitants of *Joal*, and to keep this fierce people in subjection, the company found it necessary to build a strong stone factory, well supplied with small arms and ammunition, together with a considerable number of *European* servants, not however in quality of soldiers, though defence and security be the principal objects of maintaining them at so great an expence.

THE chief commerce with the kingdom of *Salem* is carried on by means of *Kabone*, a village where the river *Salem* rises from the river *Gambia*, according to *French* writers; though *Moore* and other *English* voyagers assert, that these two rivers have no sort of connection. It is surprising that the company have not established a more considerable factory in a place so well calculated for commerce as *Kabone*; for here all the *Mandingo* merchants stop in their way to *Tilipay* and *Albreda*, with the gold, ivory, and slaves they bring from the kingdoms of *Tombuto*, *Bambara*, *Kona*, and other countries of the east. Certain it is, they would be happy to find a good market here, in order to save six days journey farther west, and could afford to sell

(O) We cannot omit in this place a piece of artifice used by the inhabitants of a town near *Joal*, to prevent a royal visitation, which is always attended with great expence to the people. They pretend, that no horse can live within the town; and so deep root has this political superstition taken, that even many of the more intelligent *French* and *English* gave credit to it, till the fraud was detected by *De Brue*, who rode several times through the streets without any accident befalling his

horse. To keep up the belief of this notion, the inhabitants are extremely expert in poisoning those animals, and so secret in it, that they have hardly ever been detected; nor had *De Brue's* escape any other effect, than persuading the king and majority of the people, that the *Frenchman* was protected by some very powerful *grisgris* and enchantment, which it would not be possible for them to obtain (9).

- a their merchandize cheaper in proportion as the journey is shorter, especially as they would then be freed from the exorbitant duties which they pay to the king of *Barra*. To render the trade of *Goree* flourishing in the kingdom of *Salem*, *De Brue* lays down the following maxims as infallible means of procuring that end. 1st. To keep the forts and garrisons within the department of *Goree* in such a condition, as to have nothing to fear from the enemies of the state in time of war, or from pirates and the natives in peace. 2d. To have their warehouses constantly stored with *European* merchandize. 3d. Never to be without some armed vessels, to keep off interlopers. And, 4thly, to be always in a condition to keep the negroes in awe, and within the limits of their treaties, the full execution of which should always be exacted. To these maxims might be added another, of no less consequence; that is, to foment the differences between the *Damel*, *Bur*, and *Tin*, and carefully to guard against the union of any two off these crowns upon the same head: for, in keeping these powers in a just poise, the company have it always in their power to give the law to them all; or, at least, to prevent their laying new restrictions and clogs upon trade, by increasing the duties, already too high. Hence they will likewise be able to prevent their raising the price of provisions, or retrenching the privilege of wooding and watering in their dominions, as they have frequently done, out of caprice, to the great detriment and inconvenience of the factories¹.

WITH these kingdoms, or rather according to some authorities, with the kingdom of *Kayor* alone, the company have settled three tariffs, for the better regulation of trade, one with the king, another with the nobles, and a third with the people; all three proposed and carried into execution by *De Brue*. The chief, which regards the king, is confined to slaves, and requires, that all the prisoners of war, or their slaves, delivered by his majesty to the company, shall not be over or under a certain age; that is, from forty to ten years; and that they be found in all their limbs and organs, without which they may be returned after due examination. This precaution was the more necessary, as numberless frauds have been committed in the slave-trade with the king, and all of them supported with force, and maintained with an insolent authority, under the pretext of justice. By the royal tariff it was agreed, that two children shall pass in bargains for one man; whereas before this the company had often been compelled to take one infant in the room of a full grown man. In the management of these articles it is that the address of the factors appears.

- d As to the chief articles of trade and exchange, they are distinguished by names seemingly of the negroe extraction, such as the *makaton*, *mortand*, *bujis*, and *rata-ton*, all of them signifying certain assortments and classes of merchandize, which it would be tedious and unnecessary to enumerate. Sufficient it is that the commerce of *Goree* is so considerable, that the loss of it will be one of the most sensible strokes the trade of *France* can receive; as from thence and fort *Lewis* their *West India* colonies were supplied with slaves, great exports being made by their means from *France*, while gums, mohair, skins, sal armoniac, ambergrise, gold, ivory, and ostriches feathers, together with dying woods, and several other valuable articles, were imported¹.

- c THE island of *Arguim*, which we have enumerated among the *French* settlements, though we are told it is now totally abandoned, stands at the bottom of a gulph of the same name, formed by *Cape Blanco*; from which it is distant about sixteen miles, under 20 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, and about 360 degrees of longitude. Although it is scarce two miles in length, yet has it been for centuries past a bone of contention among the *European* powers, the *Portuguese*, *Dutch*, *English*, and *French*, into whose hands it has passed successively, by a vicissitude of fortune; a short account of which will probably not be unpleasing to the reader, as it naturally falls in with our design of giving a complete modern history. Island of Arguim, an account of the wars concerning it among the Europeans.

- f THE *Portuguese* were the discoverers of *Arguim*, in the reign of *Alphonso*, that great prince, who first led the way to distant countries, and exerted the true spirit of trade and navigation. This happened in the year 1444, when a fleet, bound for the east, touched on *Arguim*, and from some little trade carried on with the natives, gave the *Portuguese* room to imagine that it might one day turn out to considerable advantage. In consequence of this opinion, they began the following year to fortify the place, but the works were not finished till the reign of *John* the second, *Alphonso's* successor. From this time, till the year 1638, the *Portuguese* enjoyed the peaceable and exclusive commerce of *Arguim*, when three *Dutch* ships received a minute account of the condition of the island, from a *Moorish* vessel they had taken off *Cape Blanco*; upon which they resolved to attack the *Portuguese* fort, and accordingly landed without molestation from the garrison, which was too weak to oppose them, and had besides disobliged the *Moors* by the insolence of their carriage, who were by no means inclinable to take up arms in their defence. They however defended the fort with great intrepidity, obliging the *Dutch* to make regular approaches, and even large breaches in the walls, before they surrendered, which they at length did upon honourable terms, in *February* 1638.

¹ LAEAT, *ibid.* PEEVOST, t. iii. ubi sup.

¹ Vide Auct. citat. *ibid.*

No sooner were the *Dutch* masters of *Arguim*, than they went to work in erecting fortifications on a regular plan, omitting nothing that could insure them in the property of a place where they intended to found their *African* commerce. They were making vast strides towards this end, and augmenting greatly the trade established by the *Portuguese*, when the fort was attacked in 1665, by an *English* squadron, with such vigour as reduced it in less than ten days to an heap of rubbish; upon which it was surrendered the 28th of *June* the same year. As the works were almost totally destroyed by bombs, and a slender garrison only left in it, a *Dutch* squadron found no difficulty in retaking it the year following, and reducing it again under the power of the *States General*. They now redoubled their diligence in strengthening the island, and extending their trade, by entering into treaties with the *Moorish* chiefs; procuring a number of families to settle under protection of the cannon of the fort, and giving extravagant prices for gums, in order to monopolize that trade, and more firmly to engage the interest and affections of the natives. This practice it was, that set the *Senegal* company of *France* upon fitting out a squadron to reduce *Arguim*, which had nearly ruined their gum trade. In consequence of this equipment, the island fell into the hands of the *French*, and was fully ceded to them by a secret article in the treaty of *Nimeguen*, between *Lewis* and the *States General*. Things remained in this situation till the year 1685, at which time the *Hollanders* finding a cessation of this commerce extremely prejudicial to their trade, endeavoured to resume it by indirect methods. As they could not effect an establishment in their own name, without an infraction of the treaty of *Nimeguen*, they endeavoured, under the colours of *Brandenburgh*, to settle themselves, with the consent of the neighbouring *Moorish* princes; but the vessel sent with this intention was seized by order of the *French* governor, and the intention frustrated for that time; but, after the peace of *Ryswick*, resumed again with more success; for now they rebuilt one of the forts which had lain long in ruins. As they were sensible they were taking possession of the property of another nation, whom they were persuaded would sooner or later attempt to recover it, they spared no expence to put themselves in such a condition, as they believed would secure their usurpation, and baffle all the force that *France* could send out to expel them. A circumstance extremely favourable to the *Dutch* was, that they had begun to enter upon their design before the treaty of *Ryswick* was ratified; and tho' the *Senegal* company had entered protests, and drawn up remonstrances against their conduct, yet they were presented too late to prevent the final resolutions of all the courts to confirm the treaty. Thus the pretended subjects of the elector of *Brandenburgh* remained in possession of a strong fort at *Arguim*, in spite of the endeavours of the *French* company, who did all in their power to prevail on the elector, at that time king of *Prussia*, to withdraw his protection. Numberless were the memorials, protests, rescripts, and other writings, passed before the year 1701, when a fresh war put a stop to them: the *Dutch* indeed found it no difficult matter to support a literary war, and thought several reams of written paper a cheap equivalent for so valuable a settlement as that at *Arguim*.

AFTER the peace of *Utrecht*, the *Senegal* company, which had suffered so much by a long war, believed it would be more for their interest to repair their losses by diligence in trade than by entering upon fresh disputes with the *Dutch* about their possessions. They therefore dropt the affair of *Arguim*, giving only general instructions to their ships, to seize on all vessels carrying on an illicit trade, without respect to nations. But the new company, erected upon a more extensive plan in 1717, did not bear so patiently with those infractions of treaties; for, perceiving that all their remonstrances to the elector of *Brandenburgh* had produced no effect, they determined to expel the *Dutch* by force of arms, and for this purpose fitted out a squadron at *Havre de Grace*, with a considerable body of land forces on board, under the conduct of *Sieur Perier*. It was the 26th of *February* 1721 before this armament arrived at *Arguim*, and begun their operations; and near the middle of *April* before the *Sieur Perier* could complete the reduction of the *Dutch*, who maintained their post with an obstinacy proportioned to the importance of the object, and with an intrepidity and conduct that had almost baffled all the attempts of the *French* admiral, and would have certainly obliged him to raise the siege, had he not found means to draw off a *Moorish* chief from his allegiance to the *Dutch*. In consequence of this advantage, the *Dutch* were forced to evacuate *Arguim*, and retire to *Portendic*, where they fortified themselves, determining to watch the favourable moment for re-establishing the settlement. Nor was this long wanting, by means of the weakness and pride of the *French* director, *Duval*, who imprudently quarrelled with the *Moors*, and the feebleness of the garrison left for its defence by the *Sieur Perier*. On the 16th of *October* the same year, *Duval*, with a party of men, were surprised, defeated, and put to the sword by a body of *Moors*, who attacked them as they were viewing the *Dutch* works at *Portendic*; and this misfortune paved the way for still greater, and the intire loss of *Arguim*, which was surprised and taken by the *Dutch* general and *Moors* on the 11th of *January* following.

NEXT year the *French* company, still persisting in their project to regain the possession of *Arguim*, equipped another squadron, to drive out by fire and sword the *Dutch*, whose obstinacy and

- a and perseverance were only to be overcome by force. This armament failed from port *L'Orient* on the 8th of *December* 1722, and landed the troops on the island of *Arguim*, on the 17th of *February* 1723, when they immediately summoned the governor to surrender, and on his refusal began to batter the fort by sea, to cover their approaches by land. After a variety of operations, and a vigorous fire from several batteries they had erected, the *French* at last gained possession of the cisterns which contained the water of the besieged; but such were the efforts of the garrison to recover them, that the troops were forced to raise the siege with precipitation, and return to their ships, to the utter disgrace of the *Sieur Rigaudiere*, who conducted the siege, and boasted that the fort could not hold out one day. The *Sieur De Brue*, who acted in the capacity of commissary, made several strong remonstrances against this measure;
- b but they were ineffectual; the despair of the besieged having inspired them with such courage, as it was supposed terrified *Rigaudiere*, and made him glad of quitting the island upon any terms.

AFTER this the squadron gave up all thoughts of the recovery of *Arguim*, and the *French*, changing situations with the *Dutch*, established themselves at *Portendic*, where they rebuilt the fort; nor have we any farther account of their transactions on the island of *Arguim*, than that, after some abortive attempts of the *Sieur De Brue* to recover it, *Du Casse* at length demolished the fort, which has never since been rebuilt by any *European* nation. This transaction happened in the year 1725, but is so variously related, that we cannot pretend to give the particulars.

- c WE shall conclude this section with a short account of the situation of the island and fort, and the time the latter was destroyed. As to the former it is accessible only to small boats, except at the bay, at the bottom of which stood the fort, upon a rugged point of a rock, about four toises in extent on this side. The walls were of strong brick, about 30 feet high, and proportionably thick. That side facing the island was divided into two strong towns, united by a curtain, all of them well mounted with cannon; and the gate in the middle of the curtain defended by a battery, ditch, and draw bridge. With regard to the strength of the garrison, there can be no certain judgment given, though the *French* believed from the brisk fire they made, that it must have been considerable.

^a LABAT, t. i. c. x, xi. xiii, xiv.

S E C T. XIII.

Containing an account of the navigation of the river *Senegal*; its trade; the different factories established upon it; a description of the island of *Senegal*, and fort *St. Lewis*; of the privileges of the *French* company; with a particular account of the gum trade, &c.

- d **W**E come now to the great river *Senegal*, the source of which is no less disputed, and no better known, than that of *Gambia*. Some geographers are of opinion, that it rises out of the great lake *Mabeira*, and passes through a course of 1500 miles, before it discharges itself into the ocean^a, while others no less obstinately assert it to be a continuation of the *Niger*, though neither opinions can be otherwise supported than by conjecture^b. As this is a point of but little consequence to the reader, till the voyagers have pushed their discoveries farther, we shall decline entering upon the merits of the dispute, which cannot possibly be decided by what we have to offer; though it may be proper to observe, that one insurmountable difficulty attends the latter opinion: it is that prodigious ridge of mountains that separates the lakes *Mabeira* and *Nigris*, the *Senegal* running through or from the former, and the *Niger* emptying itself in the latter, or passing along westward through it (A).

- e **N**OR is the etymology of the name given this river a point less warmly disputed than its source. By all the *Europeans* it is called the *Senegal*, *Senega*, *Zanega*, or *Zenega*; but whence this name is derived, is a question frequently agitated by writers, who have left it just as obscure as they found it. If we may credit *Sanutus*, it was known to the ancients under the name of *Asana*, or *Asanaga*, a sound not very remote from *Zanega*. *Labat* however offers another

Account of the river Senegal, its trade, and different factories established upon it.

^a BOLTON's maps in Poflethwayte's Com. Dict. t. i.

^b LABAT, t. i. c. 8.

(A) In this manner that excellent geographer, Mr. Bolton, has corrected *D'Auvill's* map of *Africa*; and yet the concurring opinions of *Leo Africanus*, *Marmol*, *Labat*, *Prewost*, and many other moderns, seem to make no dispute, that the *Senegal* and *Niger* are undoubtedly

the same; or at least, that the former is a branch of the latter. However, if Mr. Bolton has rightly laid down the situation of the above mountains, the opinion of those authors must be absurd.

solution of the difficulty, from what he relates as a fact. When the *Europeans* first arrived a at the mouth of this river, they met with some fishermen, of whom they asked its name; one of the natives imagining they enquired after his own name, replied *Zenega*, which appellation, though by mistake, the *Europeans* have ever since applied to the river, with only a very small alteration of sound. Without waiting to examine into the credibility of this report, or how the native should have so nearly understood the meaning of an *European* language he had never heard, we shall pass to a description of this river as far as known, that being a subject of more utility and certainty c.

THE river *Senegal* is doubtless one of the largest rivers of *Africa*; for, without ascending higher than the lake *Benin*, (the farthest that *Europeans* have penetrated, at least upon unquestionable authority) it is 800 leagues to the island of *Senegal*, near the mouth of the river. b So cruel, so savage, and so barbarous are the inhabitants, that few people's curiosity is sufficient to carry them through the dangers and fatigues which would necessarily attend such a pursuit; and perhaps the farther discovery is left to those zealous and indefatigable missionaries, to whom the learned already owe so many obligations for the patience, perseverance, and obstinate courage, with which they have prosecuted the interests of science, in different parts of the world. Within two leagues of the sea, the river in its course takes a sudden turn to the south, and for the remainder of its passage is divided from the sea only by a natural ridge of sand, sometimes not an hundred toises over from the sea. By this curve which it forms, it prolongs its course for twenty-five leagues farther from north to south, till at length it discharges itself in the ocean, in fifteen degrees fifty minutes north latitude. This great river c it is that separates the country of the negroes from the *Moors* of *Zara*, or the desert, stretching by a number of windings to a prodigious length, from east to west; that is, from the cataracts of *Galam*, beyond which the *French* have made no discoveries, to its entrance at *Biyurt*, or *Rieurt*, a short way below the island *Senegal*.

THIS vast river is extremely rapid, which is attributed to the space passed through by so large a body of water, confined within so narrow a chanel; the mouth of the river being no more than half a league over, and that choaked up with sand, called a bar, which makes the passage extremely difficult and dangerous; it requiring, as we have lately seen, the address of the most experienced pilots to surmount it, even with small ships. *Labat* affirms, indeed, that it is not practicable to cross the bar with a vessel drawing above six feet water; but this d opinion, if we are not mistaken, has been contradicted by late experience. This bar is doubly dangerous, on account not only of the shallowness of the water at all times, but of the shifting of the bar, and the change of its situation after floods and heavy rains, by which the chanel is lost, and new soundings requisite to discover them; indeed, the *Senegal* would be quite shut up, but for one chanel of 200 toises in breadth, and two fathoms depth, which has long kept its situation immovable, amidst the floods and overflowings of the river. *Labat* indeed says, that the bar is sometimes four, sometimes only two, miles below *Fort St. Lewis* on the island of *Senegal*; if so, it is difficult to conceive how this chanel should retain constantly the same depth and breadth, amidst the frequent shiftings of the bank. It is this alone e that prevents ships of five or six hundred tons from entering the river, and mooring under the fort; an inconvenience that obliged the *French* company to keep a vessel constantly at anchor in the chanel, for no other purpose than to keep an account of the soundings. This vessel is manned by free negroes, called *laptots*, employed in the service of the company chiefly for their address in swimming. Yet, in spite of their skill and courage, both the vessel and them are frequently lost.

BUT although the bar be attended with this inconvenience, it is not without nearly equivalent advantages, since to it the fort owes its chief strength and security. It is this, says *Labat*, that renders *Fort St. Lewis* impregnable to shipping, and indeed to enemies of every kind, by sea or land; for as this bar changes its situation yearly, sometimes oftner, without being f possibly perceived from the sea, it requires constant practice to discover the chanel, the soundings, and the proper occasions and seasons for passing, nothing of which can be expected from strangers. Yet after all, however true these facts may be, certain it is, that *Fort St. Lewis* is now in the hands of the *English*. The most commodious time of the year for crossing the bar is, from the month of *January* till *August*, the winds being then variable, the river smooth, and the bar fixed till the ensuing rainy season; when the prodigious swell of the river, and south-west winds, opposed to its rapid course, raise waves of so prodigious a height at the bar, that their clashing resembles the shock of mountains, and so furious, as to dash in pieces the stoutest ship. *Labat* says, that the worst season is in *November* and *September*, the winds then blowing northerly, and absolutely excluding all navigation, even of the smallest boats.

AFTER crossing the bar, you find yourself in a beautiful smooth and gently gliding river, g at four fathoms depth, equal to what any part of the world affords. In advancing a league

c Vid. *Med. Univer. Hist.* vol. v. ad. fin.

higher,

- a higher, you see the country on the south side, clothed with a beautiful verdure, the trees in perpetual bloom, the flocks skipping round you every where, with all that wantonness inspired by plenty, and a certain cheerfulness in every countenance, the result of the felicity and security they enjoy, than which nothing can form a more agreeable contrast to the dry, sandy, and barren points of land, that first present themselves to shipping. All around lie a great number of islands, all of them pleasantly stocked with trees, fruits, herbage, and birds, but appropriated to no use by the *French* company (B), except the island of *Senegal*, on which stands *Fort St. Lewis*, in the latitude of 16 degrees 5 minutes north, according to *Labat*, though we take it to be somewhat less. It is situated in the very middle of the river, two, three, or four miles from its entrance, according as the bar happens to shift. *Froger*, who measured it in 1705, reckons it about 1150 toises in length, from north to south. An engineer who took its dimensions in 1714, agrees with the former mensuration as to the length, and says, that its breadth at that end towards the bar is no more than 90 toises, at the opposite extremity 180 toises, and 130 in that part where the fort stands. The eastern branch of the river is 380 toises broad, and the western 210, the island itself being only a dry, sandy desert, and barren spot of ground, of no value, but for the very purpose used by the *French*, who were led to prefer it to the other islands on account of its size. One half of the year it is destitute of water, having neither springs or wells, and the water of the river being too salt for use. At present there remain of the ancient *Fort of St. Lewis* but four round towers, which do not stand in a line, but form a kind of obtuse angle, of which the two middle towers are not distant more than four toises and a half. They are exceedingly well built, in the old taste, and covered with tiles. Formerly they were joined by a curtain, strengthened by pallisadoes, and a covered way and ravelin, beneath which were magazines, and behind some ill-judged bastions; but the greatest security of the fort is its natural situation. The cannon of the fort consisted of thirty pieces of artillery, distributed on different batteries; and the arsenal was well supplied with stores and small arms, but as the company employ no more than 200 men in the six settlements they have on this coast, the garrison cannot be very numerous, and yet no men are more inconveniently lodged. The *sieur De Brue*, on his taking possession of his office, was astonished to find all the company's servants lodged without the fort; he immediately made some remonstrances on this head, obtained some satisfaction, but not the execution of a plan he drew out, that would have made the fort equally strong and commodious at a small expence. Besides this, the *French* have no other fort upon the river but *Fort St. Joseph*, about ten leagues below the cataract at *Govina*, though there are a few factories dispersed up and down in different parts. At *Podor*, indeed, there is a kind of fort.

Description of the island of Senegal and Fort St. Lewis.

- To conclude our account of the *Coast of Guiney* (for so it is called from *Cape Blanco*, to the *Rio Formosa* or *Benin*), the privileges of the *French* company extend from *Cape Blanco*, and the island of *Arguim*, to the *Sierra Leona*; that is, from 20 degrees 30 minutes, to 9 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, comprehending within this district six forts, besides a few little unfortified factories. These are, *Arguim*, on an island of that name, situated in a bay formed by *Cape Blanco*; to which may be subjoined the harbour and factory of *Portendic*, in the territory of *Alichandora*, the son of *Addi*, chief of the *Moors* of the tribe of *Eterarza*, three miles farther south than *Portendic*. The next is *Fort St. Lewis*, in the island of *Senegal*. The third is *Fort St. Joseph*, above 300 miles up the river *Senegal*, upon which depends another little fort, called *St. Peter's Fort*, standing a few miles farther east, and both in the kingdom of *Galam*. The fourth is *Goree*, in the island of that name, a few leagues nearer the continent than the *Cape de Verds*; which, for the excellency of its harbour, the strength of the fort, and the extent of its commerce, may well be reputed the head settlement of the *French* company in *Africa*, although the residence of the director general was usually at *Fort St. Lewis*. *Joual* is the fifth, and stands on the coast between *Goree* and the river *Gambia*. *Labat* thinks, that this factory well deserves the expence of fortifying it, as its advantageous situation and extensive traffick would well support the charges of a garrison. The sixth settlement is that at *Albreda*, in the vicinage of *James Fort* in the river *Gambia*^a. To these we may add the little factories of *Jereja* and *Bissao*, the first standing on a river of the same name, that falls into the *Gambia* near *Albreda*, and the other on the island of *Bissao*, both of them capable of great improvement, but at present unfortified and of little consequence.

Privileges of the French company.

VARIOUS have been the revolutions of the fort of *Portendic* and *Arguim*, which have been alternately in the hands of the *French*, *English*, *Dutch*, and *Moors*, and at length abandoned and destroyed, notwithstanding the great trade carried on by them in gum, ambergris,

^a LABAT, de l'Afrique occid. t. i. c. 5.

(B) It is so short a time since the command of this river fell into the hands of the *English*, that we speak of it as it stood while the *French* possessed it; for it is

probable, the only change it has yet undergone is of its masters.

An account of the gum trade. ostriches feathers, and other commodities. As the gum trade now carried on by the river *Senegal* is, perhaps, the most considerable branch of the *French* commerce in *Africa*, it will not be disagreeable to the reader to have a particular account of this commodity. Although no country could be less inviting than all that tract, from *Cape Blanco* to the kingdom of *Morocco*, no coast more inhospitable, desert, sandy, and poor, than that round *Arguim* and *Portendic*; yet was it the occasion of infinite contentions among the *European* nations, who all endeavoured to establish themselves here as the only mart, besides *Senegal*, of the gum trade, to which the *Moors* and other *Africans* all resorted with that commodity. This in itself would appear but a trifling branch of trade, though two reasons have contributed to raise its value, and render it very considerable. It is sold by the *Moors* at a very reasonable price, in proportion to the value it bears in *Europe*, which circumstance alone would make the trade beneficial, were it not greatly augmented by the extravagant demand for it on account of the silk and other manufactures. This it is, that has excited the emulation of *European* states, and made the *French* nation, whose manufactures in this way are perhaps the most considerable, so extremely jealous of the gum trade, and vigilant to monopolize it. Hence it was, that all commercial nations struggled for the possession of such a treasure; that the *Dutch* expended so large sums in the support of their fort at *Arguim*; and that after they were chased from thence, they endeavoured to establish themselves to as much advantage at *Portendic*, and drive this commerce with the three *Moorish* nations, of which we shall give a short account at the conclusion of this section.

THE gum imported to *Europe* by the *French* company, or the interlopers, is called *Gum Senega*, *Senegal*, *Zanega*, or *Arabic*. The latter name it has, because, before the institution of the company, all the gum used in *Europe* was imported under the name of *Gum Arabic*; but after they had opened this commerce, the price of the commodity sunk in proportion to the quantity imported, and the gum came to be universally known by the appellation of *Gum Senegal* (C). Voyagers attribute a number of medicinal virtues to this substance, founding their opinion upon the extraordinary cures the negroes perform with it; but as these have not been consonant to the experience of the best *European* practitioners, we shall beg leave to omit them. As to its utility in arts and manufactures, every one, who knows how necessary it is to the limner, silk weaver, dyer, and many other artificers, may judge of the importance of the gum trade, and of the policy of our neighbours in monopolizing it.

LABAT describes the tree producing this gum, as a species of *acacia*, small, prickly, full of branches, and clothed with leaves moderately long, extremely narrow, and of a perpetual verdure. It bears a white flower, composed of five leaves forming a kind of cup, but according to other naturalists, of one infundibuliform leaf, and the flowers collected in clusters or little heads. The pistil rises from the bottom of the flower, and at length becomes a pod of three or four inches long, filled with small, round, hard, and black grains, which serve to propagate the species (D). Of this species of gum tree there are three forests, between the north side of the *Niger* or *Senegal*, and *Arguim* or *Cape Blanco* (E). The first the natives call *Sabel*, the second, which is the most considerable, is called *Lebian*, and the third, *Afatack*; all of them situated in the desert north of the river, and at nearly equal distances from it; that is, about thirty miles from *Fort St. Lewis*; being separated from each other by a barren space of about ten leagues. Every year produces two crops, if we may so express ourselves, of gum; the first, which is the best, in the month of *December*, and the other in *March*. The first tears, drops, or exsudations, are the largest, purest, and driest, with every other advantage required in this drug; the other more soft, glutinous, and impure, for reasons extremely obvious.

* MOORE, passim. LABAT, ubi sup. ADAMSON, p. 56.

(C) The bodies which go under the general name of gums, are extremely numerous, and many of them improperly classed under that head, as they appear, upon examination, to be true resinous substances. Most writers still make a difference between the *Senegal* and *Arabic* gums, the latter being by them supposed of higher value, but scarce ever found in the shops. It is a concrete substance, exsuding from the *Egyptian acacia* tree, and imported from *Turkey* in small irregular masses or strings, of a pale yellowish colour. The truth however is, that both gums issue from the same tree, and are of directly similar virtues, notwithstanding the *Senegal* is in larger and less pure masses. The single drops are frequently of the bigness of an egg; the surface rough or wrinkled, and less bright than the interior parts. The negroes dissolve it in milk, and in that state make it a principal ingredient in many of their

most delicious dishes, and often indeed, feed on it alone. As for us, we are neither perfectly acquainted with the tree that produces it, nor with its medicinal virtues, if it has any, for it is rarely used in the shops; and even the gum *Arabic* but little prescribed by the best practitioners, the chief consumption being among dyers and other artificers.

(D) If we mistake not, this species of *acacia* ought to be classed with the polyandria of *Linnaeus*, so highly prized for their flowers by the *Chinese*, which they use in dying that beautiful yellow, that we find bears washing in their silks and stuffs; but this we submit to more experienced naturalists.

(E) It is remarkable, that *Barbot* describes the gum tree as extremely large, and greatly resembling that *American* tree which the natives call *Malput*, and to which our naturalists have given no name (1).

(1) *Barbot's description de la Guinée*, p. 46.

- a The *December* crop is gathered after the rains have ceased, and the moisture of the earth has rendered the sap more abundant in the trees, which the sun has perfectly concreted and digested, without exhaling the virtues; whereas that in *March* is procured by making incisions in the trees, they having too little vigour of themselves to produce a crop.

GATHERING the gum in these large forests, is the employment of three different tribes of *Moors*, the principal of which is called in the *Arabic*, the tribe of *Eterarza*, whose chief is *Alichandora*, who superintends his people at work, and confines them to the forest of *Sabel*. *Chem* is the head of the next tribe, called the tribe of *Anlad-El-Hagi*, who confine their rights of gathering gum to the forest of *Lebian* or *Hebian*; and the chief of the third tribe, or that of *Abraguena*, is called *Baccar*, his privileges extending all over the forest of *Alfatack*, and no farther. We shall speak of these different tribes more particularly in the margin. The first of these princes exacted a high duty from the *Dutch*, while they were in possession of a fort at *Arguim*; and the *French* still pay customs for the liberty of trading, though it will be difficult to ascertain their amounts, from the long list of articles mentioned in the tariff settled by *De Brue* in the year 1715 (F). What chiefly regards the reader, is an account of the inhabitants of that vast space lying between the river *Senegal* and the empire of *Morocco*, concerning whom we shall endeavour to give him some satisfaction^f.

^f Auſt. ult. citat. ibid.

(F) *Labat* gives us a striking picture of the chiefs of these tribes, all of which, he says, are *marbuts*, or preachers and teachers of the law of *Mohammed*. To judge by their modest and sedate exterior, by their discourse, which always begins and ends with an invocation to the Supreme Being and his prophets, and by their public conduct, one would set them down for rigid believers and observers of the doctrine they teach, as they are austere and scrupulous in the self denial of even the most trivial enjoyments of life. But, says he, when we remove the veil, and penetrate into their private conduct and real sentiments, all is found to be outside and mere hypocrisy, dissimulation, avarice, cruelty, ingratitude, superstition, and ignorance. In vain do you look for any of the moral virtues among them; faith, honour, and a regard to their engagements, they have no idea of. They are a set of *Mohammedan* pharisees, who look upon external virtue as the means and ne-

cessary instrument of secret fraud, drunkenness, and every other vice that can fill the human heart. They have taken infinite pains in making converts to their faith, and their success has been answerable to their diligence, which is not exceeded by the catholic missionaries themselves; and perhaps with similar views, as appears from the new erected monarchy of the jesuits in *Paraguay*. One thing however, is extraordinary, that few of the negroes who have once embraced the *Mohammedan* religion, ever again depart from it, notwithstanding the slavish dependence in which they are held by the *marbuts*.

They all acknowledge the supremacy of the emperor of *Morocco*, in temporals, and many of them acknowledge him as their *Khalif*, and head in spirituals; tho' they never go so far as to pay him tribute. But of this we shall have occasion to speak more minutely in the following sections (2).

(2) *Labat*, t. i. c. 20.

S E C T. XIV.

Containing an account of the desert of *Zaara* or *Sarah*, and the country of *Biledulgerid*; of the *Moorish* nations that inhabit those countries, and of their manners and trade; with a description of the island of *Biffao*, its government, religion, and manners of the natives of the people called *Balontes*; and of the *Bassagoe* islands.

- c THE country north of *Senegal*, called *Zaara*, *Sarah*, or the *Desert* (A), is inhabited, according to *Leo Africanus*, by six different *Moorish* nations or tribes, the *Sanagas*, *Sonensigas*, *Fuergas*, *Lamptions*, *Bardoas*, and *Levatas*, situated along the ocean on the east, in the order in which we have enumerated them. *Sarah* or the *Desert*, and *Biledulgerid*, extend from the *Atlantic* ocean to the east, as far as *Ethiopia* superior; are supposed to run along parallel to *Nigritia*, and to lie between the 20th and 28th degrees of north latitude, being bounded by the territories of the empire of *Morocco* and *Barbary* on the north, by *Ethiopia* on the east, on the south by *Nigritia* or *Negroland*, and by the *Atlantic* ocean on the west. The northern part of this tract, called *Biledulgerid* in our best maps, is denominated in the charts of voyagers by the name of *Gualata*; and the southern part, called *Zaara* or *Sarah* by most geographers, is by mariners called the country of *Arguim*, and frequently the country of *Zanaga* or *Senegal*: 'tis by this variety of names, that such confusion is introduced into the works of the greater number of modern writers and geographers^a.

^a Vid. *BOLTON's* maps.

(A) According to most geographers, this country is laid down under the general name of the *Desert* of *Barbary*; *D'Anville* and *Bolton* call it the country of *Zanaga* (1).

(1) See *Bolton's* maps, annexed to vol. i. of *Pagethwayte's* *Com. Dict.*

THESE nations, though sprung from the same origin as the *Moors* of *Barbary*, are however a distinguished by these as different, and they again consider the merchants of *Barbary*, that come among them to trade, as quite another people. Notwithstanding this, all *European* writers confound them, and *Labat* in particular is guilty of this error, as often as he speaks of them. *Spain* was conquered by the *Arabians*, and in progress of time was wrested from them by the *Moors* of *Fez* and *Morocco*; yet do few of the *Spanish* writers distinguish these two conquests, implying indifferently the terms of *Moor* and *Arab* to denominate either people; while others, with still more confusion, call all the followers of *Mohammed* in *Africa* by the general name of *Moors*. The more ancient moderns, however, as well as the *Arabic* authors, make use of both names to express the different nations, and hardly ever confound them; as may fully be seen in the history of the *Saracens*, translated by *Erpenius*, from the *Arabic* of *Elmacimes*, son of *Abuljassers Elamid* ^b; and in *Gramaye's* history of *Africa* ^c, as well as in *Leo Africanus* ^d; which is a remark we thought worthy of the attention of the reader, as we believe it may have escaped us in our history of the *Arabians*. In a word, the *Arabs* of *Barbary*, who are numerous and distinct from the rest of the inhabitants, have likewise been confounded with them, under the general appellation of *Moors*, by the greater number of modern writers, who seem to think that there are no *Arab* nations out of the boundaries of *Arabia Proper*. But not to dwell on this circumstance, perhaps not very important, we shall observe, that the religion of the *Moors* of *Sarab* and *Biledulgerid* is *Mohammedism*, tho' they have neither mosques or any other fixed place of worship. They pray in their tents, and perform their devotions wherever they happen to be, at stated times, after washing themselves with water, or, if that is wanting, rubbing over their bodies with sand, which they look upon as a kind of ablution. Their passion for gain is still however stronger than their devotion; they refuse no fatigue or danger in quest of wealth, but all the fervor of religion cannot oblige the *Arabs* of the district of *Arguim* to undertake the long pilgrimage to *Mecca*, although they often go to *Tombuto*, *Gago*, and *Galam*, on the business of commerce, from whence they bring prodigious returns of gold. This expedition they undertake in large caravans, loaded in going with salt, cloths, and iron instruments, which they exchange for gold, ivory, musk, bezoar, and slaves; making prize of whatever falls in their way, and slaves of friends or foes, who encounter them on the road, provided it be not to trade; like those vessels which exercise at the same time trade and piracy. Sometimes indeed, when they can do it secretly, they seize on the negroes, who come to trade with them, and sell them afterwards to the *Europeans*, or the *Moors* of *Fez* and *Morocco* ^e.

Three Moorish nations that inhabit these countries, an account of their manners and trade.

BETWEEN *Cape Blanco* and the river *Senegal* there are chiefly three *Moorish* nations, who acknowledge the sovereignty of no princes, each canton being governed by a kind of chief chosen out of their own number, but generally the most wealthy and considerable person of the tribe. Thus the government is a kind of mixed constitution, but favouring more of republican principles, nothing being done without the advice and approbation of a council, and indeed of the whole tribe; while the whole body is governed by the joint councils of the three nations, in the same manner as *Holland*, where each province has its peculiar laws, independent of the will of the *States General*. These chiefs are commonly *marbuts*, who are entertained with great respect and veneration by the people, rather from an apprehension of the power of their enchantments and *grisgris*, than from any sentiments of religion. ^c

AMONG the *Arabs*, are some of the most beautiful horses on earth; the true breed of *Barbary*, greatly improved by a mixture of blood with the *Arabian* kind, which are bought at an extravagant price. They likewise rear a great number of camels, cows, oxen, sheep and goats; yet, except on festivals and particular occasions, they seldom kill these animals for the use of their tables, eating in their stead ostriches, antelopes, deer, apes, and sometimes lions, which they kill in the chace. Their oxen and camels are used in transporting their baggage, when the want of forage obliges them to remove their quarters, or they go trading journeys to the kingdoms of *Galam*, *Fez*, or *Morocco*. ^f

THE arms employed by them in their wars, which frequently happen among themselves, and in their hunting parties, are the sabre and dart, which last they throw with great dexterity, seldom missing the object aimed at. They have also a kind of musquets, and holsters or capestols, which they buy from the *Dutch* and *French*, soon rendered useless by rust, contracted from the nitrous quality of the atmosphere ^g. As their workmen are incapable of cleaning and repairing them, their fire arms are but little valued, except as curiosities, and generally neglected for their ancient arms; a circumstance of great advantage to the *Europeans*, who might find it difficult otherwise to defend themselves against so warlike, roving, and predatory a people (B). BOTH

^b Lib. ii. c. 5.

^c Lib. iv. c. i.

^d Lib. i. c. 21.

^e LEO AFRICAN. Fol. dup. 52.

^f LABAT,

l. ii. c. 5. t. i.

(B) *Labat*, in speaking of the people that inhabit the country between *Cape Blanco* and *Senegal*, calls them indifferently *Moors* and *Arabians*, not knowing which of these names to fix upon, as they are descended from the

- a BOTH *Moors* and *Arabs* round *Arguim* and *Senegal* are inviolably attached to the customs and manners of their ancestors, if we except a few, who pitch their tents and cabins under the walls of *Portendic*, either nearer or farther from the sea, as the season and their affairs require. These in many particulars have fallen into the *European* manners, and are for that reason heartily despised by the rest of their countrymen. The tents and cabins of this people are all of a conical form, the former being made of the hides of animals, so exactly seamed, as to admit no water in the most rainy season. *Labat* tells us, their tents are made of a kind of manufactured wool and hair, which is the proper and almost sole employment of their women. But other authors inform us, that all domestic cares are left to them, even that of looking after the camels, laying in wood and water, making bread, and providing victuals for the family; yet notwithstanding this subjection in which they are held, they are beloved, and in other respects tenderly treated, by their husbands (C). However, if the woman be deficient in any essential duty to her husband, she is driven forth out of the house, and her father, brothers, and other relations, all take part in her quarrel, and resent the indignity done their family, tho' at the same time they receive her but coldly, for having by her imprudence occasioned such a breach among friends. In general, the men look upon it as doing honour to themselves, to cloath their wives genteelly, sparing no expence in making them appear with a lustre becoming their rank; and the profits of trade are usually applied to this purpose; the gold that remains unfold being converted into female ornaments and trinkets.

- c THEIR women never appear without a long veil, which covers their face and arms; nor are the *Europeans* ever upon so familiar a footing as to see them uncovered, except by accident. Both men and women are in general well proportioned, of a middling stature, extreme fine features, with a beautiful symmetry of face. As the men are much exposed to the sun, their complexion is tawny, but delicate, and it is probable that the women are more fair and beautiful. However this may be, *Labat* assures us, that they amply compensate any deficiency in complexion by their prudence, oeconomy, and strict fidelity to their nuptial engagements; gallantry being an enjoyment they are intire strangers to; perhaps because the occasions for practising it rarely offer. They not only live alone, but a man turns away his head when he chances to meet a woman, even his own wife, except at the time appointed for the marriage freedoms. They mutually assist each other in watching the conduct of their wives and daughters, and preventing every man besides the husband from entering their tents. One who is too poor to have separate tents for the women, transacts all business, and receives visits at the door in the open air; nor are his nearest friends permitted to sit or converse with his wives in the tent. This is a privilege reserved for their horses, or rather mares, which are preferred on account of their beauty, the advantages of breeding, their tameness, and docility. They lie down in their tents mixed promiscuously with the women and children, their little foals being the playfellows of infants, without ever any accidents ensuing.

- e THE dress both of the *Moors* and *Arabs* in this country is extremely simple; consisting chiefly of a robe or *castan* of serge, some woollen stuffs, or blue and white cotton; and sometimes of silk, but rarely. This is no other than a large cassock, without buttons, tied round the neck, so wide as to fold two or three times about the body, and bound round the waist by a kind of sash, in a manner of the *Turks*, to which is suspended a long knife like a bayonet, and sometimes two. Mr. *Adamson* says, that the dress both of men and women consists in a large shirt, commonly of black linnen, and a *paan*, with which the women cover their heads and shoulders; the men sometimes rolling it about their heads in imitation of a turban, and sometimes round their middle like a waist-band. Some of the women wear their hair long and flowing, others again tie it up in a knot, but the men in general are negligent of it, suffering it to hang about their ears, strait or curled as nature intended^a. All of them wear purses or pouches of cotton, silk, or fine leather, neatly bordered and ornamented by the women. They wear sandals or rather socks of *Morocco* leather, which mount to the small of the leg, f and their heads are covered with a red bonnet or cap, bordered with white cotton. Above all their cloaths they frequently wear a kind of long loose robe, of white or striped cotton, or rather woollen stuff, which they call *baik*, and is extremely becoming and genteel. This robe is adorned with a long pointed hood, that hangs down behind, to the extremity of which hangs a tuft or tossel, by a long string. Many of the poorer sort are however cloathed after the

^a ADAMSON, p. 67.

the latter, and by residence mixed with the former. One general characteristic is however sufficient, since they may be called *Moors* from their religion, which is the *Mohammedan*.

(C) A late *French* traveller describes the *Moorish* tents, of a conical form, covered with a thick stuff, made

of goats and camels hair, impenetrable to the rain. They were ranged in a circular form, each supported by a pole in the middle, and fixed all round with thongs of ox skins, fastened to stakes, about a foot from the ground, something in the manner of our military tents in *Europe* (2).

(2) *Adamson*, p. 66.

manner of the negroes, that is, with a bit of cloth wrapped round the waist for decency, the rest of their bodies, arms, and legs, being naked. a

As to the women, they dress differently; a long cotton shift, with long and wide sleeves, large drawers, and a piece of linnen or callico, that covers them from head to foot, flowing in an easy manner behind, forms their principal dress. They all wear pendants and ear-rings, rich in proportion to their station and ability; besides which their fingers are loaded with rings, their arms with bracelets, and their legs with chains of brass or copper.

WHEN a number of tents or cabins stand together, so as to form a town or village, in which whole tribes dwell, they call it *Adouar*, which is generally of a circular form, the tents standing exceeding thick, and in the center an empty space, by way of fold for their cattle. Every side of this encampment is watched by centinels, to guard against surprizes from robbers or wild beasts. On the smallest danger, the centinels give the alarm, which is soon spread over the camp by the barking of dogs and the noise of different animals, upon which every man able to bear arms stands on his defence, each before his own tent. These *Adouars* are easily transported from place to place, as neither the *Moors* or *Arabs* incumber themselves with a variety of household furniture; nay, indeed, so little, that all the domestic implements of a family are contained in one leathern bag or sack, which is hardly the burthen of an ox, or small horse, and easily transported, tent and all, to any distance, on the back of a camel. b

THEIR common drink is water or milk and whey, and their only bread is cakes made of millet; not that nature has denied them the use wheat and barley, which grow to great perfection in several parts of the country, but their continual motion from one country to another, and their dislike to a fixed residence, destroys all taste for agriculture. Were they to sow wheat, other nations might reap it; for no inducement could engage these fickle rovers to continue a whole season in one place, which they would look upon as a highly culpable inactivity, however useless and unnecessary their rambling excursions may be. c

WHEN they chance to have a stock of grain, either barley or wheat, they lay it up in deep pits cut out of a rock, so dry that no granary can exceed them for preserving the corn. They call them *matamors*, and contrive them with abundance of art, the form being such as to cause a constant suction and draught of fresh air through the whole cavern, narrow at the entrance, and gradually enlarging itself as you enter, in proportion to its length, which sometimes is upwards of thirty feet. Certain it is, that the grain will keep sound for several years in these subterraneous storehouses, the mouths of which they stop up with wood and sand, after the corn is sufficiently dry. d

THE *Moors* have a kind of portable mills, with which they grind their corn in such quantities as they have occasion for; and these they always carry about with them wherever they go. Authors do not particularly describe the form of these mills, but from circumstances we have reason to believe they are no other than two rough flat stones, which by a circular motion of the uppermost grinds the corn lodged between them; a kind of mill stones, extremely common in the *Hebrides*, and many of the western parts of *Scotland*; and, indeed, among all nations ignorant of the arts. They eat always with their right hand, the left being wholly appropriated to less honourable offices; and instead of knives, spoons, and forks, they use their fingers, with which they form their food in balls, chucking these with great address into their mouths. If a fowl is dressed with rice, they cut it in quarters before it comes to table, to save the necessity of using knives. At their meals they squat themselves down on their hams, sitting cross legged round a covering of *Morocco* leather, or mat of palm leaves spread upon the ground, upon which their dishes and plates of copper or ivory are laid; and it is a rule with them never to drink till they are just quitting the table to go and wash, a ceremony that cannot be omitted without the greatest indecency. Two meals a day are the most they ever allow themselves, one in the morning, and another at night; but the women are never permitted to eat with them. Their repasts are short and silent, not a syllable passing till they have washed and returned to the pipe and bottle, or rather coffee, when conversation begins. Although their religion forbids the use of wine and spirits, yet in private they freely quaff brandy, which they have from the *Europeans*, and the juice of the grape, or wines made from palms and other trees, so abundant in many parts of *Africa*; nay, their very *marbuts* dispense with the rigour of the law in this respect, when they can do it secretly, and without a breach of decorum; for they regard little more than appearances. e

THIS temperance in meals it probably is that renders the *Moors* and *Arabs* of *Sarab* and *Biledulgerid* absolute strangers to physic and medicine, so much cultivated by their predecessors. The only distempers to which they are subject are pleurisies and dysenteries, both which they are said to cure by the application of simples internally and externally. As for the gout, gravel, stone, and a number of other diseases acute and chronical, the effects of luxury and idleness, they are utter strangers to them. *Barbot* indeed says, that such is the wholesomeness of the climate of *Sarab* and *Biledulgerid*, that the inhabitants live to a great age, without knowing what sickness is, seldom dying before the course of life is consumed with years, and the vital heat g

a heat extinguished from a rigidity of the solids, and diminution of the circulating fluids. With them a man at sixty is in the prime of life, marries and begets children, with all the vigour of an *European* at thirty; and experience has shewn, that the less they are connected with foreigners, and the more strictly they adhere to their primitive manners, the fewer are the maladies and diseases with which they are afflicted. In a word, while they maintain the simplicity of their original frugality and rigid oeconomy, no people on earth are blessed with so uninterrupted a flow of health and spirits¹.

b THE passionate fondness which mothers express for their children, would be extremely commendable, were it not carried to a degree of weakness, superstition, and absurdity. They diligently watch to prevent every thing that can possibly injure them, and are so ridiculous in their tenderness, as to imagine, that envious, malignant, or what they call an evil eye, can bring diseases and misfortunes upon them: a notion not peculiar to *Moors* and *Arabs*, for we find it prevalent among the vulgar in *Spain*, *Portugal*, and even the northern kingdoms, where they use amulets and other preservatives against the effects of a malicious glance. As for the *Moors*, they know no other charm against an evil eye than their *grisgris*, or certain mysterious passage transcribed by their *marbut* from the *Alcoran*. Boys are circumcised at the age of fourteen years, after which they are at liberty to marry as soon as they can maintain a wife, and, indeed, to purchase her; for here fathers make an estate of a large family of daughters, every one who addresses them making presents to the parents of horses, camels, and horned cattle. The affection of the husband is estimated by his liberality, and the young lady is never delivered over c to him, till he has satisfied the parents of his merit, by the extravagance of his presents. If, upon her coming home, he should find his expectations of her beauty and chastity disappointed, he is at liberty to send her back; but then he must forfeit the presents he has made.

d WITH regard to their funerals, they greatly resemble the ceremonies observed by the negroes on these occasions. No sooner a *Moor* has breathed his last, than one of his women, or some relation, puts their head in at the door of the tent, and bursts out in a horrible cry; upon which signal, all the women of the *Adouar* set up a lamentable shriek and dismal yelling, which they utter with all their might, so as to alarm the whole village or camp, upon which all the people assembled round the tent of the deceased, some deploring his loss in moans, and others e singing his praises in melancholy strains suited to the occasion. From the lively and natural representation of grief they counterfeit, from their assumed melancholy, feigned tears, and unfelt sighs, one would imagine they were all the friends and kindred of the dead corpse that bewailed their loss, and did honour to his memory; yet here it is all mere form, that touches not the heart, and is bestowed on all men without distinction of merit. Afterwards the body is washed, properly dressed, and placed on a rising ground to be viewed by all till the grave is dug, after which it is interred with the head elevated a little, the face turned to the east, and the grave covered with large stones, to prevent the corpse from being dug up by wild beasts.

e AS to the knowlege of the *Moors* and *Arabs* of the deserts, it is extremely limited, and indeed so scanty, that the *marbuts* alone are able to read *Arabic* or any other language, and their learning confined wholly to the *Koran* and law of *Mohammed*: the people are, indeed, plunged into the most deplorable and gross ignorance; the more to be pitied, as they seem possessed of a quickness of apprehension, and those talents which rendered their ancestors famous in science. Some of them, however, have a tolerable notion of astronomy, and talk reasonably, nay with the precision of an *European* scholar, upon the stars, their number, situation, and division into constellations. The clear serene sky in which they live has greatly assisted their observations; an advantage they have improved by a warm imagination and happy memory: however, it must be acknowledged that their system of astronomy is so replete with fable and absurdity, that it is difficult in general to comprehend their meaning. But the knowlege they excel in is, f that of their interest, in which particular they are out-done by no people in the universe; for this they will lie, swear, cheat, steal, rob, and sacrifice every human virtue. Yet with all their ignorance and vices, they seem by nature to be formed with liberal sentiments, and a taste for the more polite arts, as their essays in poetry and music, which are by no means contemptible, seem to indicate. Those who are acquainted with the genius of the oriental tongues, from which theirs is derived, or rather a dialect of the *Arabic*, have been highly delighted with their songs, accompanied in recitative by a kind of guittar, the instrument in which they take the greatest pleasure. From the description of travellers, it would appear rather to be a true lute, an instrument the best calculated of any, perhaps, to touch the heart, and move the softer passions, by a delicacy of strain and melody not to be imitated, or indeed equalled, in many of its movements.

g ONE would imagine, from the softness and effeminacy of their musick, that this people cannot be extremely warlike, or at least that the general observation on the analogy between

¹ LEO & LABAT, ubi supra.

the military virtues and the turn for harmony in most people must here fail; and indeed, the *Europeans* remark, that they have neither made any proficiency in the art of war, or shew any great eagerness to put their skill and courage to the test. However, if we may judge from some of their maxims, they are by no means pusillanimous or cowardly. Can any thing, say they, be more dastardly, than to kill a man before you approach him near enough to be distinguished? In consequence of this opinion, they never attack till they come within the length of their lances, after which they retire to a proper distance, and throw their darts, their lances, or shoot their arrows, with an amazing dexterity. This, however, we mean of their single combats with each other. That they should be ignorant of the military maxims, founded on the use of fire arms, is by no means extraordinary; since they despise them, and look upon them as the weapons of thieves and robbers. Hence possibly it is, that the *Europeans* have concluded them ignorant in the art of war, because they fight upon different principles from themselves: a way of judging too common among all men, who estimate every thing by a comparison with themselves, in which manner both the merit of actions and ideas are examined. *Labat* observes, that they fight chiefly on horseback, with short stirrups, by which they are enabled to raise themselves high in the saddle, and strike with the greater force at a considerable distance. They never draw up their cavalry in long lines and extended wings, but in small detached squadrons, by which means they are less liable to be broke or put into confusion, and more easily rallied when such an accident occurs. The agility of their horses, and their own skill in riding, give them great advantages by attacking in all quarters, wheeling off, and returning to the charge, with a dexterity that is really amazing^k.

We may judge from this, whether the inhabitants of *Zaara* and *Biledulgerid* be so ignorant of military discipline as some *European* travellers affirm, or whether their not taking part in the wars between *European* nations, does not rather proceed from policy than cowardice. The truth, is, they are too wise to embark themselves needlessly into expensive and hazardous contentions, their interest being to ballance nicely between both parties, that no obstructions may arise in their commerce with either. They know well how prejudicial to trade it would be, were there only one *European* nation established among them, in which case they would be forced to sell their goods at any price that was offered; whereas the jealousy and rivalry between the different traders now raises the price of markets, each trying to gain the preference of the natives, and to push the commerce so briskly, as to ruin all his competitors. This it was, that made the natives side with the *Dutch* against the *French*, when the latter became possessed of the fortresses of *Arguin*, and the former reduced so low, that it was apprehended they would be obliged to abandon the trade. In a word, they seem to have a just idea of the ballance of power, a political maxim, by some esteemed ideal, although confirmed by reason, and the practice of every sensible people on the globe, but not spun to the degree of refinement known among the southern kingdoms of *Europe*.

THE *Moors* and *Arabs* of this country are in general fond of long journies, and excursions into remote countries on the business of trade and commerce, in which respect they are indefatigable and undaunted, no hazard being too great where profit is the motive; as these expeditions are undertaken in large bodies or caravans; they make up the deficiencies in trade by stealth, robbery, and plunder; seldom returning without rich ladings of gold, ivory, gum, ostriches feathers, camels hair, slaves, and other commodities, which they sell to the *Europeans*, or to the merchants of *Fez* and *Morocco*. Such is their hardness and avarice, that, besides a journey of four or five hundred leagues, they traverse a desert of two hundred miles in length, that affords not a drop of water, except in two places, frequently choaked up with sand, and yielding but a small quantity of putrid brackish water, after infinite pains have been taken to clear away the rubbish. As we have given a full account of these commercial expeditions, performed by means of that useful animal the camel, in a former volume, we shall here spare the reader the trouble of a repetition; only adding, that the caravans take their course from the flight of certain birds, who are observed to go and return at stated periods, and by a certain invariable rout, to the inland countries frequented by the *Moors* and *Arabs*, the kingdoms of *Tombuto*, *Gago*, and *Galam*. The devout and zealous *Mohammedans* look upon these birds as guides sent by the prophet to direct them in their journey, and point out the true road they are to pursue, without which they never presume to undertake an expedition of any considerable length and hazard. One would imagine, that, in crossing vast oceans of deserts (for they are subject to storms and tempests like the sea) so sensible a people would rely only upon the experience of more rational pilots; but they find their birds infallible, and prefer them to all other guides (D).

THERE

^k LABAT, ubi sup.

(D) Some authors are of opinion, that these birds are flocks of ostriches; though we do not find, in the best accounts of naturalists, that the ostrich is a bird of passage, that changes his habitation and country at certain seasons of the year. Mr. *Adamson* describes some of those he had seen among the burning sands, on the north

- a THERE have not however been wanting instances, where whole caravans have been buried under mountains of sand, raised by the terrible whirlwinds peculiar to this country, at particular seasons of the year. For this reason, it is, that the birds never attempt a passage cross the sandy deserts but about the solstices, instinct or observation shewing them that tempests are less to be apprehended at these times than at the equinoxes. *Labat* assures us, that the rout the caravans take, and the countries they traverse, are wholly unknown to the *Europeans*, and concealed with the same care, that the negroes shew in hiding their mines, and probably for the same reasons: a kind of presumption, that the dangers of the journey are considerably aggravated by the policy of the *Moors* and *Arabs*, who endeavour to monopolize the whole interior trade. The truth is, curiosity alone can make the *Europeans* desirous of acquiring a perfect knowledge of the roads to those distant inland countries, as it could never turn out to the advantage of trade; all the commodities being purchased at less expence from the caravans, than they could be brought to the coasts by the most frugal and rigid oeconomy of the *Dutch*, *French*, or *English* merchants¹.

- b WE shall close this section with a short view of some islands, too minute to be reckoned among the number of *African* islands, in a general history, and yet well deserving the notice of the reader, by reason of the peculiar manners of the inhabitants. Before, we could not describe them, without interrupting the regular geographical course which we proposed. The islands we mean, are *Bissao*, and a cluster of small islands called the *Bissagoes*, standing close to the continent, a few leagues south-east of the river *Gambia*, and in the latitude of 11 degrees north. With the former of these, the *Portuguese* and *French* began to trade very early, and the latter have still a factory, and the former a fort on the island, both of them very considerable in trade. The *Dutch* likewise made several attempts to settle here, as they have done in every other part of the world where gain could invite them, but never met with success. It would be unnecessary to enlarge upon the nature of the trade carried on by the *Europeans*, which differs but little from what we have had frequent occasions to mention, being chiefly with *Biafara* and the other kingdoms of the continent, south-east of the river *Gambia*; we shall therefore proceed to a description of the island and its inhabitants. *Bissao* is about 35 or 40 miles in circumference, having an agreeable prospect to the sea, from which it rises by a gentle ascent on every side, to an eminence in the center of the island; there are, however, a number of hills, inferior in height to that in the middle, and separated by beautiful and fertile vallies, divided by little rivulets, which at the same time augment the richness and elegance of the scene. Except little groves of palms, every inch of the ground is cultivated, and produces a harvest equal to the most sanguine wishes of the husbandman. They have besides, oranges, mangoes, bananas, and every kind of fruit to be found in the warm climates, and perhaps in greater perfection than in any other place. So rich is the soil, that wheat and maize spring up to the size of *Indian* corn, or rather to resemble a field covered over with reeds or bamboos, to which the islanders add another sort of grain, a species of maize which they make into cakes, and call *fonde*. Here they do not bake their maize into bread, as in other parts of *Africa*, but toast or boil it like rice, which *Labat* affirms eats pleasantly with beer. The cattle of *Bissao* are of an extraordinary size, and seem to bear pace with the extravagant growth of the corn; milk and wine are in the greatest abundance; but it affords no swine or horses, the natives forbidding the former to be imported, and something in the soil or climate rendering it unfit for the increase of the latter, which never thrive here^m.

BISSAO is no less populous than fertile, and would be still more so, but for the perpetual state of war the natives are in with the neighbouring islands and kingdoms on the continent; yet notwithstanding their number, they live in cottages, dispersed up and down the country, without the least vestige of a town, except where the *French* and *Portuguese* have established themselves; nor does the emperor's palace consist of more than a number of irregular huts,

¹ LABAT, t. i. c. 21, 22. BARBOT, ubi supra. PREVOST, t. iii. l. vi. passim. p. 133, & seq.

^m LABAT, t. v.

north side of the *Senegal*, as incredibly large, swift, and strong. Two boys were mounted upon the back of one of these gigantic fowls, not full grown, with which weight it run several miles, with a velocity exceeding belief, and the swiftness of the fleetest courser. To try the strength of an exceeding large ostrich, Mr. *Adamson* had two stout negroes mounted upon his back, and observed, that the weight appeared by no means disproportioned to his ability, as it did not in the least retard his progress. At first the bird went a pretty high trot; but when he was heated, he extended his wings as if it were to catch the wind, to which his swiftness seemed

indeed equal. "Every body," says our author, "must have seen a partridge run; consequently must know there is no man whatever able to keep up with it; and it is easy to imagine, that if its step were longer, its speed would be greatly augmented. The ostrich moves like the partridge, but with the advantages of a long step, and great assistance from its wings, and I am satisfied, that those I am speaking of would have distanced the fleetest race horses in *England*:" whence we may judge of their utility, could they be tamed and broke in the same manner as a horse (3).

(3) Vid. voyage au Senegal, p. 87.

which have a communication with each other, so as to form one intire whole. In the *Portuguese* town are about 600 persons, all of whom speak *Portuguese*, and pretend that they are natives of *Portugal*, at least descendants, though their complexion is jet black, and their dislike to that nation fixed and inveterate. The dress of the women consists of a cotton girdle, which falls down so as not to shock decency, and bracelets of glais, coral, and copper; but virgins go intirely naked; and if they happen to be of high quality, their bodies are marked or painted with a variety of hideous pictures of snakes and other reptiles, that gives their skin some resemblance to a flowered sattin. Even the prince's royal herself, the eldest daughter of the emperor of *Bissao*, is only distinguished from the other ladies by the elegance of those paintings, and the richness of her bracelets. As for the men of all ranks, their only covering is a skin fixed behind and before to the girdle, and coming between their legs, so to as preserve some shew of modesty. One very extraordinary ornament they wear; it is a large iron ring, with a flat round surface on the out-side, instead of a stone, upon which they ring changes with a bit of iron, in such a manner as to converse with the same facility with their castanets, as by means of the most polished language. *Labat* says, that they wear two rings, one on each hand, which they strike against each other, so as to produce those intelligible sounds; a circumstance that shews the clearness of their ideas, and the strength of memory with which they are endowed. Besides this artificial language, which may properly be called instrumental, they have another vocal language, used upon all common occasions; the former being only spoken by the polite and great.

ALL the *Bissaons* are idolaters, nor has commerce made the smallest alteration in their manners, to which they are rigidly attached; but their ideas of religion are so confused, that it would be difficult to enter perfectly into their system. Their chief idol is a little image they call *China*, of which it would be a hard matter to explain the nature and origin, as its votaries are altogether inconsistent and absurd in their different tenets. Besides this, every man creates a divinity according to his own fancy; trees are held sacred, and, if not adored as gods, they are worshipped as the residence of some divinity.

As to their government, it is despotic, the will of the emperor being the law to his people; of which writers furnish us with an instance commonly practised in the country, to the great emolument of his imperial majesty. This is no other than a present which one subject makes to the emperor, of the house and estate of his neighbour, upon which the royal officers take immediate possession. The proprietor dares make no resistance, and is forced to set about building another, but not before he has obtained leave, tho' himself and family must live in the open air till that is done (E).

In truth, the means the emperor has in revenging himself, and of keeping his people in a slavish subjection, are easier here than in any other country in the world; he has nothing to lose, and yet every thing within his dominions may be said to be his, as his power extends over all men, and all their effects. One day the emperor committed to the *Portuguese* to guard the body of a slave he had ordered to be hanged for some misdemeanour; an employment which properly belonged to his officers: but nothing could prevail on him to release the *Portuguese* from this disagreeable office, till they had sent him a living slave in the room of the dead, upon which they were suffered to bury the corpse. On another occasion, two slaves, who had been sold to the *European* merchants, made their escape, and were taken by the king's troops. Equity seemed to require they should be restored to their masters; but his imperial majesty gave a different verdict; saying, they had obtained their freedom by having once escaped; that they were retaken by his troops, and again reduced to slavery; consequently were the right of the conqueror; a refinement in casuistry, equal to what the most artful *European* counsellor could have shewn on the same occasion. One more instance we shall quote of the despotism of this tyrant. The *Sieur La Fond*, agent to the *French* company, had purchased a negro, remarkable for his skill in playing on the *ballofo*, a musical instrument common to many parts of *Africa*. The fame of this slave reaching the emperor's ears, he expressed so strong a desire to have him in the palace, that *La Fond* could not refuse the price offered him, as he knew the emperor would otherwise take him by force without an equivalent. But the musician soon made his escape from the palace, and returned on board the *French* ship, to the great surprize of *La Fond*, who immediately asked the reason why he had run away from his royal master; to which the musician replied, that it was customary at court to sacrifice persons of his profession on the death of the prince, that they might accompany him in the other world; but as he had no

▪ Ibid. etiam PREVOST, t. iii. l. 6. c. 9.

(E) The monarch of *Bissao* is stiled emperor by the majority of writers, and the reason they give is, that the island being divided into seven different provinces, each has its governor, with an authority, power, and splendor, equal to kings. However, to confirm this remark, it were necessary to know what titles these go-

vernors bear in the language of the country, and what titles correspond with them in the *European* languages; nay it even were necessary that precisely the same ideas should be annexed to the titles emperor and king, in *Europe* and *Bissao*.

incli-

a inclination to leave this life, he chose the service of the white men, who had no such cruel usage among them. However, he was demanded by the emperor, who was not ashamed to falsify the verdict he had so lately given in the case of another slave, and moreover to make the *Frenchman* pay his full price for having received him.

At the emperor's death, all his women and slaves, for whom he shewed the tenderest regard, are sacrificed and buried near their master, in order to attend him in the next world : formerly it was customary to bury them alive with him ; the late king had but one slave buried with him, and his present majesty seems, says *De Brue*, inclinable wholly to abolish the barbarous custom (F). When the monarch dies his body is placed on a bier of reeds, finely decorated, and supported by four of the chief officers of the court to the grave. When they arrive here, b the four noblemen prostrate themselves on their faces upon the ground, and the bier is tossed up several times in the air, till it falls upon one of them ; this accident being the signal for electing him king, should the royal blood be undeserving or extinct.

It does not appear, either from history or the tradition of the people, that this empire has ever been troubled with civil wars or discord, notwithstanding this extraordinary manner of electing their prince, and the disputes that might naturally arise from it : a circumstance much in honour of the humanity, good sense, and submission of the people to their sovereign : however, they are almost at perpetual war with some of their neighbours, who are ever making descents upon *Biffao*, or, in their turn, are insulted by the *Biffaons*. The natives of *Biffago*, *Biafara*, and all the other neighbouring states, are warlike, and fight with extreme bitterness and fury, though with little discipline. As treaties of peace are not so much as known among these nations, c they have no kind of intercourse, except in war ; so that no sort of public scheme of politics is carried on among them ; and, far from offering their mediation, the *Europeans* find it their interest to foment their quarrels, as war is their harvest, by augmenting the number of slaves. In general, however, their incursions seldom exceed the space of a week, when the hostile army retires, with as many prisoners as they can make ; and after doing all possible damage to the enemy, by burning, plundering, and laying all waste, in their retreat. When the *Biffaon* emperor resolves to carry war into the neighbouring territories, he orders the *bonbalon* to be sounded, which is the general signal to arms, on which all persons in the pay of the government assemble themselves at certain head quarters, always fixed and appointed. There they find d the royal fleet at anchor, which usually consists of thirty canoes, each carrying thirty men, with all their arms and provisions, under the command of a high admiral ; for it is seldom that his imperial majesty puts himself at the head of his fleets or armies. Before the fleet sets sail, sacrifices are made, and heaps of victims offered to the gods, the flesh of which is divided between the court, the priests, and the soldiers. In this consultation of the gods the emperor never fails of having a favourable answer, as, the deities being of wood, it is easy for the priests to direct their answers : and hence it is that the army never enters upon a campaign but with the fullest assurances of success, which makes them support hazard and fatigue with the utmost cheerfulness and alacrity. They then make a descent with all possible privacy, surround the enemy's towns and villages, carry off the inhabitants and every thing of value, and then e embark before their troops have time to assemble to oppose them. Of this booty a moiety appertains to the emperor, and the remainder is divided among those who have been on the attack. The slaves are sold to the *Europeans*, except where any of them happens to be of quality or fortune, in which case he is restored to his friends, on condition that they send a certain number of slaves in his room.

Upon their return, the heroes of the expedition assume great importance, in consequence of their services ; they boast of the feats of prowess which they performed, and go round the country, shewing their wounds, and relating the wonders they had done and seen, with a long train of prisoners behind. Here they do not beat them, as in some other parts ; but they oblige them to sing the praises of the conquerors ; for which they make them presents of f pieces of cloth and other things, which those unhappy persons immediately sell in exchange for palm-wine, their only comfort in their distress. On the other hand, when the expedition has fallen short of expectation in point of honour and profit, then the prisoners stand the risque of being sacrificed, especially if the *Biffaons* have lost an officer of distinction. Those who fall upon such occasions receive public honours, by dances performed to the music of tabors, by order of the emperor or commander in chief. The women, who are the principal performers in these funeral rites, express their grief in a manner extremely doleful and affecting, pulling their hair, beating their breasts with such violence as to mark their skin all over, and groaning in such pathetic strains as cannot be expressed by words ; after which, by way of

(F) It is likewise customary that the nobility of the empire have some of their living friends buried with them. *Lalat* relates an instance, where a father de-

fired that his three sons, of whom he was fond, might accompany him to eternity (3).

supporting their spirits, plentiful libations of palm-wine are poured down; when thus recruited a they begin their mourning with redoubled vigour, and continue to shed their tears most plentifully, till the corpse is laid in the grave; after which their countenances brighten, and they seem to forget in an instant how deeply they were affected.

To the above remarks of *De Brue's* we shall adjoin a few observations from an anonymous writer, whose journal we find in the judicious *Prevost's* collection of voyages. The inhabitants of *Bissao*, whom this author calls *Papels*, or perhaps *Papas*, from the duskiness of their complexion, are all idolaters and heathens, without any knowledge of the true God. As to the false, their number is infinite; and the consequences of being a devotee fatal to a man's family, and ruinous to the public, if frequent: for all religion consists in the number and expence of their sacrifices, by which the priests alone are gainers. From what this writer remarks in another b place, he gives room to judge that the people called *Papels* are certain strangers, who have fixed their residence in the country: for his words are, that the *Papel* men are not fond of intermarrying with the negro women. With regard to the government of the island, he observes, that the power is lodged in the hands of nine governors, who preside over as many provinces; but eight of them being subordinate to the ninth; which seems to make the emperor less despotic than the relation of *De Brue*. At the death of the prince, above thirty of his slaves, male and female, are buried with him. together with all his gold, ambergrise, silks, and whatever he has else of value. The only competitors for the throne are the *jeapes*, whom our author compares to the peers and nobility of *France*; but we have reason to believe, that the governors of provinces most commonly succeed to this honour, as the king's pall is supported c by four of the principal of these, who are indeed generally, but not always, chosen out of the nobility.

THE emperor's palace is about a league distant from the point of *Bissao*, all the road between being constantly filled with the imperial guards, which are very numerous. The emperor never stirs out but he is surrounded by some thousands of his nobility, women, and guards, all of them richly dressed and armed, as far as the skins of beasts, and finely furnished scymitars and lances, can make them so. Formerly the *Portuguese* had built a fort in *Bissao*, which they mounted with eight pieces of cannon, to awe the natives, and prohibit their trading with strangers, or any other foreigners but themselves: however, the *Bissaons* soon threw off this servitude, and now maintain the full liberty of receiving all strangers into their ports, who d come upon business of commerce, where they enjoy a perfect security, under protection of the emperor. But before they are permitted to land, his imperial majesty consults the gods by sacrifices, whether admitting those strangers be for the good of the island, and the interest of himself and people?

WHEN *De Brue* visited the *French* factory in *Bissao*, he was received by the *Portuguese* governor with the utmost politeness and hospitality; who, on taking leave, put a sealed writing into *De Brue's* hands, which he desired he would peruse when he got on board ship. This was no other than a remonstrance against the *French* establishment, which he looked upon as an infringement of the exclusive rights of the *Portuguese*; but politely avoided all disputes and altercations while the *French* director had been his guest. *De Brue* answered this remonstrance e by a counter instrument, written and dated in the road of *Bissao*, which he took care should not be delivered till he had his audience of leave of the emperor, and was under sail for *Senegal*. The first founded the rights of the *Portuguese* upon the exclusive privileges granted them when they first erected their fort; and the latter, upon the revocation of those rights, the privileges now granted to all strangers of trading hither, and, lastly, upon the prior claim of the *French*, from their having resided at *Bissao* some hundred years before; an argument which Mr. *De Brue* deduced from the *French* arms painted in the chapel, which had all the appearance of being as antient as the walls of that building. However, both sides offered their arguments with the utmost politeness and respect for each other's character, and resolved to prevent personal wrangling, by leaving the decision of the dispute to the courts of *Verfaillies* and f *Lisbon*.

It is true, that the emperor's kind reception, and the promises he had made to *De Brue*, considerably strengthened his claim, while they proportionably diminished the weight of what had been advanced by the *Portuguese* governor; for when the former took his leave at court he was asked, whether he was fully satisfied with the privileges the *French* factory enjoyed? if not, they should be extended, the emperor said, to the utmost of his wish. Upon which *De Brue* made the warmest acknowledgements, and a present to the emperor, who seemed highly satisfied. In the factory he left a surgeon, two interpreters, a sufficient number of negro servants, a bark, a brigantine, and a large shallop, with pilots and seamen, arms, provisions, and merchantable goods; and particularly charged the *Sieur Cartaing*, the superior, to g cultivate the friendship of the *Portuguese* governor, and endeavour to extend their trade; and, lastly, if the *Portuguese* quitted the island, as was then surmised, immediately to take possession

a possession of the fort, in the name of the *Senegal* company (P). This was an event which the penetrating *De Brue* foresaw, from the low condition of the trade, could not be very remote; and indeed so it fell out, in spite of all the endeavours of *Don Roderigo*, the governor, who omitted nothing to support the trade that became a diligent and faithful agent.

After the departure of *De Brue*, *Roderigo* had taken every measure to engage him to pay the ten *per cent.* upon all goods sold in the island, which he said was the undoubted right of the *Portuguese*; but he never could prevail with all his artifice; and a little while after he was recalled, and the fort abandoned: the *Portuguese* governor of *Cachao* representing to the court of *Lisbon*, that the fort was a charge which the trade of *Bissao* was unable to support. *De Brue* lost no time in acquainting his constituents with this transaction, which was transmitted by them to the president *Rouillé*, ambassador in *Portugal*. After this *De Brue* went himself to *Lisbon*, to join his influence with the ambassador's, that the fort might be sold to the *Senegal* company: but the negociation terminated unsuccessfully, and the *Portuguese* court took a final resolution to demolish it; which was accordingly done in October 1703°. This is all that history relates of the manners, laws, government, arts, and commerce of the island of *Bissao*.

WE shall conclude this section with a brief account of the people called *Balontes*, on the continent opposite to *Bissao* and of the island of *Bulam*, properly one, and the only one that merits a description of the *Bissagoe* islands. The *Balontes* inhabit the banks of the river *Geves*, the channel of which separates *Bissao* from the main land. Their territory is about twelve leagues in length, and about as much in breadth, being, according to some writers, of a square, and, if we credit others, of a circular form. They maintain no correspondence with the other negroes their neighbours, either on the continent or islands; but live intirely wrapt up abstracted in themselves. They refuse to intermarry in the most advantageous manner with the adjacent nations; and tho' they sometimes travel beyond their own limits, yet will they permit no foreign negroes to pass their frontiers. The religion of the country is idolatry, and the form of government republican, a kind of aristocracy, the state being governed by a few persons chosen out of the elders. No slaves are permitted here; at least, no *Balontan* can be enslaved by his countrymen; such is their love of freedom; and indeed their disposition seems in every respect correspondent; for they are bold, intrepid, and warlike, as the *Portuguese* barks passing the channel and their neighbours often experience, whom they often attack and defeat: but then they are treacherous, crafty, and thievish (Q). In the action they had with a *French* ship, mentioned in the margin, these negroes behaved with a courage, next in degree to fury, maintaining the action for six hours, till almost their whole fleet was sunk by the cannon, and then retiring with terrible cries and howlings, more terrifying than their arrows, which they shoot with so much dexterity. Their arms are *assagayes*, arrows, and sabres.

It is the general opinion, that the *Balontans* have gold mines in their country, on account of which they prohibit strangers from coming among them; for they are sensible they would run the hazard of being driven out of their country, or at least reduced to a miserable servitude, if once any other nation got footing among them. This conjecture is founded upon the following reasons; and the first is, that the *Portuguese* settled at *Bissao* found grains of gold in the stomachs of some fowls they purchased of the *Balontans*: the next, that they pay their tribute to the monarch of *Kazamanfa* in gold: and the third, that their gold is different from that of *Galam* and *Tomba Aura*, although they maintain no correspondence with any other countries. As to the first of these reasons, though the *French* could never discover gold in the gizzards of any of the fowls bought of this people (because perhaps they plundered them from their neighbours) yet so firmly did the *Portuguese* believe the fact, that they assembled a large body of troops at *Bissao*, in the year 1695, which they landed without opposition in the country of

° LABAT, t. v. *ibid.* & seq. PREVOST, t. iii. l. 6. c. 9.

(P) An article which we find in the *Paris Gazette*, November 1694, may help to throw some light upon this controversy between the *French* and *Portuguese*. An extract from a letter from *Lisbon*, inserted there, mentions the arrival at court of *Batonto*, son to *Bacompoloco*, emperor of *Bissao*, sent to *Portugal* to receive baptism at the hands of some dignified prelate; and, in return, to assure the *Portuguese* of the emperor's leave to build a fort in his dominions, and his future protection. Another article, in *December* following, relates the ceremonies upon the baptism of the young prince: from which it appears, there had been a strict amity between the courts of *Lisbon* and *Bissao*, at the very time that the *French* and *Portuguese* agents were disputing the emperor's favour in his own dominions.

What circumstances they were that brought about a revolution in the affairs of the latter, so favourable to the former, we are intirely unacquainted with. This fact we only mention, to shew, that the *Portuguese* had once been the chief favourites.

(Q) In the year 1700, they had the boldness to attack a *French* brigantine of four guns, and six swivels, surrounding her with canoes to the number of thirty, and each filled with near forty men. Happily the *French* observed them time enough to fill their netting with hides, which repelled the first shower of the enemies arrows, who frequently attempted to board them, but were as often repulsed by the artillery and small arms (4).

(4) Labat, t. v. p. 350.

Balonta, for the conquest of the province. It was then the rainy season, and their arms and ammunition were soon rendered useless by the moisture of the air; after which the *Balontes* attacked them so vigorously with their *assagayes* and sabres, like men fighting for freedom, property, and all that was dear to them, that they soon routed the *Portuguese*, and forced them to retire, with a considerable loss of men, and of all their ammunition and stores ^p.

Not far from hence is the island of *Bassu*, or *Baiffi*, as *Labat* calls it, about thirty-five leagues in circumference, all covered with trees, and finely watered with brooks and rivulets. The natives are *Papels*; with whom it is dangerous trafficking, as nothing can be more treacherous, cruel, and thievish.

Of the Bissagoe islands.

SOUTH-WEST of *Bassu* stand the *Bissagoe* isles, of which we call *Bulam* one, though father *Labat* reckons only under this general name the islands of *Casuabac*, *La Gallina*, *Cazegut*, *Calacha*, *Oranguana*, and some others of less consideration. From the mouth of the *Rio Grande*, south-west of the river *Gambia* to the island of *Bulam*, is about two leagues. It is about ten leagues in length from east to west, and five in breadth from north to south, the whole coast bordered with woods, beyond which the country is fertile, rich and beautiful. It is every-where covered with rice, maize, millet, fruits, and roots, tho' the island is said to be uninhabited, and cultivated by the natives of the other islands, who come hither in seed and harvest time, returning home for the rest of the year. The ground rises imperceptibly from the shore for the space of two leagues, which presents mariners with a most agreeable prospect, at the same time that it excites their admiration, and even resentment, to see so fine a spot uninhabited. This ascent serves as a base to higher mountains, which stand in the center of the island, covered with fine wood, and divided by beautiful vallies, with so much regularity, that nature would seem to have been improved by art. M. *de Brue* laid a scheme for fixing a *French* settlement here; but his attention was diverted from the purpose, by the necessity he was under of taking possession of the fort which the *Portuguese* had abandoned in *Bissao*. One commodity it produces, which might certainly be improved greatly to the advantage of navigation: this is a tree called *mechery*, which grows to a great height, is easily worked, at the same time that it is hard and solid, and particularly adapted to ship building, as it is proof against worms; and the reason given is, that all its pores are filled with a bitter oil, that probably deters the worms from harbouring in it ^q.

EACH of the *Bissagoe* islands is governed by a chief who takes the state and title of king. All those monarchs are perfectly independent, and frequently at war with each other; yet do they always unite against the *Biafarans*, the common enemy. They have canoes that carry from twenty-five to forty men, with their provisions and arms, which are sabres, and bows and arrows. The negroes of these islands are tall, strong, and healthy, though they live only on fish, nuts, and palm oil, chusing rather to sell the rice, millet, and other produce of the earth, to the *Europeans*, than not to gratify their passion for trinkets and ornaments. In general they are idolaters, cruel and savage in their disposition, not only to strangers but to one another, when they happen to quarrel, as they frequently do about trifles; and, if disappointed of their revenge, will drown or courageously stab themselves ^r. As none of the *Bissagoe* islands are inhabited by the *Europeans*, it would not be worth while to dwell upon a minute description of them; and indeed we are too little acquainted with their government and natural history to render such an account either entertaining or instructive.

^p LABAT, *ibid.*

^q PREVOST & LABAT, *ubi supra.*

^r *Ibid. ibid. ubi sup.*

S E C T. XV.

Containing a more minute geographical description of the different kingdoms and provinces of the great countries of *Zanaga* and *Biledulgerid*, with the origin and source of the rivers *Niger* and *Senegal*; an account of the manners and customs of the inhabitants of these nations; their wars, trade, language, and the produce of their respective countries; with some account of their traffick with the nations on the *Barbary Coasts* in the *Mediterranean*, by means of their caravans, &c.

Deserts of Zaarah and Sarah, and that division of Africa called the Lower Ethiopia. Geography of the country.

MODERN geographers have divided almost the whole interior continent of *Africa* into two great divisions, namely, *Upper* and *Lower Ethiopia*; the former of which we have already described in a preceding volume, and as to the latter, its precise limits cannot be determined, on account of the disagreement of authors. The greater number of geographers, however, include within this division all those kingdoms and states from the 9th to the 25th degrees of north latitude, and the 10th and 11th degrees of east and west longitude, from the meridian of *London*; an immense tract, comprehending an infinity of kingdoms, mountains, rivers,

a rivers, lakes, some of which we have been describing, as well as our imperfect accounts will admit of. Perhaps the most distant boundaries of the *Upper* and *Lower Ethiopia* may be marked by the course of the two great rivers, that intersect it at right angles; the *Nile* running from south to north, and the *Niger* from east to west, the *Lower Ethiopia* being contained in the angle made by these two rivers of which the coast is the arc, measuring about fifteen or sixteen degrees (A). The Arabian division of Lower Ethiopia.

As we have given an account of the kingdoms south of the *Niger*, which most writers call the *Senegal*, we shall now begin with a description of those to the northward, and first with a description of the desert of *Saraa*, *Zaara*, or *Zabara*, of which we have already spoken in general terms. This vast inhospitable region, properly called *Zabara*, or the desert, stretches itself from the *Atlantic* ocean on the west, to the kingdoms and deserts of *Barca* and *Nubia* on the east, and from *Biledulgerid* on the north, to *Nigritia* or the river *Senegal* on the south (B), comprehending a space of about 500 miles in breadth from north to south, and at least 1500 miles in length from west to east ^a.

THE *Arabians* divide this immense tract of land into three general divisions or classes; viz. *Cabel*, *Zabara*, and *Afgar*; that is, the sandy, stony, and marshy deserts, according to the nature of the soil, but the most common division is into provinces, which, according to *Marmol* and *Leo*, amount to ten; viz. the two territories of *Nun*, the deserts of *Zanaga*, or *Senegal*, *Zaaza*, *Zuenziga*, *Hayr* or *Targa*, *Lempta*, *Berdoa*, *Sate*, and *Abguechet* (C). Other later geographers, with more accuracy, distinguish the deserts into seven provinces only, under which are comprehended all the inferior divisions; and these are *Zanaga*, *Zuenziga*, *Targa* or *Hayr*, *Lempta*, or *Iguidi*, *Berdoa*, *Bornou*, and *Gaoga*. The modern division.

THESE provinces are supposed to have been formerly inhabited by the *Getuli* and *Garamasites*, the former of which were likewise in possession of *Biledulgerid*, or *Numidia*; and at present, besides those nations we have described under the names of *Moors* and *Arabs*, it contains other inhabitants, called *Berebers*, or *Barbaries*, more civilized, sociable, and refined in their manners, than either the *Moors* or *Arabs*, whose chief characteristic is brutality, insolence, fickleness, and a certain savage ferocity, almost peculiar to them. The *Barbaries* live in fixed habitations, are of a tractable disposition, carrying on a commerce with strangers, are civil and hospitable, and generally speaking, honest and faithful to them. Their religion, as well as that of the *Arabs* their oppressors, is *Mohammedism*; but so corrupted, that little of the fundamental doctrine can be discovered among them. In different provinces they speak different dialects of the *Arabesk* or *African* language, of which we have no distinct idea; though we are informed by learned travellers, that the analogy between all of them is so great, as easily to be reduced to the primitive root, though they are scarce able by them to converse with each other. The chief commodities of these countries are camels, horned cattle, horses, dates, the fat and feathers of ostriches, and the gum *Senegal*, of which we have spoken at large. On the coast of *Angra*, half way between *Cape Blanco* and *Cape Bajadore*, in the latitude of 26 degrees north, the *Hidil Arabs* deal largely in gold dust. *Marmol* relates, that this likewise is the chief branch of commerce in which *Dulcim Arabs* engage: a people equally powerful for their wealth and numbers, and at perpetual war with the *Hidils*, their northern neighbours. In a country so hot and sandy, lying under the third and fourth northern climate, it cannot be expected the soil should be fertile, or the produce of the earth valuable. The best are the countries situated on the northern banks of the *Senegal*; these being better watered, peopled, and cultivated, on account of the commerce carried on by means of this river, particularly the kingdoms or provinces of *Gualata*, *Guber*, *Zanfara*, *Agzade*, *Cano*, *Bornou*, and *Gaoga*, which produce corn, rice, millet, and a variety of fruits; though, except dates, perhaps little more than is sufficient for the purposes of the inhabitants. Manners of the inhabitants.

BESIDES the camels and common cattle, this country is remarkable for a species of domestic animal, called *Adimnaim*, bred here in great plenty. It is a kind of sheep, about the size of an afs, with long hanging ears. The females have horns, but not the males, and the wool of Produce of the country.

^a CLUV. geogr. vid. Afric. LEO AFRICANUS, vid. p. 145, & seq. MARMOL, vid. c. 10. l. i.

(A) Within this division *Marmol*, *Leo Africanus*, *Sannutus*, *Dapper*, and others, include half of *Nigritia*; the *Niger* dividing it into north and south *Nigritia*, or *Negroland*: the latter comprehending the kingdoms of *Mandingo*, *Melli*, *Kasson*, *Guialon*, *Inta*, *Gago*, and a variety of others, of which we scarcely know the names: and the former those kingdoms bordering on the north of the *Niger*, and those still farther north till we come to *Marocco*, *Fez*, *Algiers*, *Tripoli*, *Barca*, and *Egypt*.

(B) We declined enlarging minutely upon the geography and different divisions of this country, in order that we might describe the sea-coasts, the *European* trade, and the manners and trade of the *Moors* and *Arabs* of this prodigious tract (1).

(C) Some writers place several of these provinces within the division of *Biledulgerid*, and describe *Zabara* between the kingdoms of *Gaoga* and *Gualata* (2).

(1) Vide *Marmol*, l. i. c. dixieme. *Leo Afric.* p. 142. c. i. p. 28. *Leo Afric.* p. 152.

(2) Vid. *Cluver. geograph. Afric. gen. Marmol*,

both

Wars with
the negroes.

A prodigious
sand bank.

Monuments.

Of the pro-
vince of
Zanaga.

Cape Baja-
dore.

both is soft and fine, but short. So strong is this animal, that it is capable easily of carrying a man for several miles; and so gentle that it never refuses a burden. It is indeed probably the same kind of sheep so frequent in some parts of *America*, and especially in *Peru*, which we shall have occasion to describe minutely when we come to that part of our history. One would imagine, from what we have said in this and the last section; that nothing could be superadded to the misery of the inhabitants, whose lot has thrown them upon this barren, sandy, parched, and sultry spot of the globe; yet we find these evils aggravated by the incredible droves of the fiercest animals, lions, tigers, wolves, and other savage devourers of mankind, as well as by those bloody and cruel wars which are perpetually carried on against the unhappy negroes, whom the *Moors* and *Arabs* deprive of their liberty, to support a trade with the kingdoms of *Morocco*, *Fez*, and other barbarous and maritime states; extended along the southern coast of the *Mediterranean*, whilst the negroes content themselves with butchering, in revenge, all the *Zabarians* that fall into their hands ^b.

AMONG the natural curiosities of this tract of land, it would be unpardonable to omit that stupendous bank of sand near *Cape Bajadore*, on the west of *Sarah*, which stretches itself along that coast, and against which the sea forms so strong a current, that both water and sand are in a continual agitation, mingled together, and throwing up such prodigious waves, that it resembles, as our author expresses it, a boiling salt-pan of a monstrous size, which spouts up the dirty water to an astonishing and dreadful height, when the wind happens to set against the current. Travellers also make mention of two tombs in the province *Azavad*, with inscriptions, importing, that the unhappy persons interred there were a wealthy merchant and a poor carrier, both perishing with excessive thirst, after the former had given the latter ten thousand ducats for one cruse of water, which he drank and immediately expired ^c; while the other did not long survive him, to enjoy the fruits of his avarice (D).

To give the reader the most distinct account of this great tract of country that our materials will admit of, we shall describe the different provinces and deserts into which it is divided, beginning our account with the most western. And first, the province of *Zanaga*, or *Senegal*, extends itself from the river of that name, on the south, to the province of *Suz*, on the north, bounded on the west by the *Atlantic* ocean, and on the east by the territories of *Seram*, *Sunda*, and *Zuenziga*. It contains two deserts, *Azvo* and *Taguzza*, or *Taggoft*, the last of which produces a prodigious quantity of rock salt, which is conveyed hence into all the neighbouring countries, to *Nigritia* on the south, and the maritime kingdoms on the north: the chief use of it in the desert being to moisten the mouth, parched with the sultry heat, and preserve the gums against a scorbutic disorder, to which the natives are subject. The country is incredibly fatiguing and dangerous to travellers, especially if the summer proves dry, as there is scarce a drop of water to be found for thirty leagues together, and that so brackish that it is equally unwholesome and unpalatable. Nor do the cattle fare better, as the earth does not yield a blade of grass, or any thing for their sustenance; which obliges passengers to carry provisions for themselves, and forage for their beasts of burden. Besides, the country is so flat and sandy, without mountains, woods, rivers, lakes, or any mark to take a direction by, that it were next to impossible for the most experienced persons to find their way, but for those droves of birds which we mentioned in the last section, which serve for guides. Yet after all, it is inhabited by a great number of different nations, the *Bervickes*, *Ludayers*, *Duleyns*, and *Zenequi*, some of which are so numerous as to raise 10, 15, and 20,000 men; besides a variety of *Arab* tribes, no less numerous, potent, and warlike: nay, more so, as by force and artifice they live chiefly upon the former, and carry off whole droves of cattle, which they exchange at *Dara*, and other countries, for dates and provisions, the former and milk being their chief food. The *Zenequi* boast of their nobility and antiquity, like most other poor and obscure nations, priding themselves upon those things which are not worth disputing with them: they even pretend that the kings of *Tombuto* are descended from them ^d.

THE *Portuguese* first discovered this coast, in the year 1433, when they ventured to double *Cape Nun*, beyond which they had never gone before that time. Thirty miles beyond, or south of *Cape Nun*, is *Cape Bajadore*, where they were forced to stop for some time, because the coast, which here projects about forty leagues, reverberated the sea with so strong a reflux, that it drove them back, the banks of sand, which rose to a great height, terrifying the seamen from keeping close to the shore; and it was unusual in those days to launch far into the ocean. Thirty leagues farther, on the same western coast, is the flat shore called *Los Raviros*, on account of the great quantity of fish the *Portuguese* found there: and about twelve leagues

^b BAUDRANT, sub voce Sarah. LEO AFRICANUS, ubi supra.
^d MARMOL, t. i. p. 24.

^c LA CROIX, p. 1. c. 2. §. 10.

(D) This story we find in *Dapper* and some other writers; but how it came to be known, that such a bargain was made between the unfortunate sufferers, is difficult to conjecture, as we are not told that they had any companions. What we mentioned it for was on account of the inscription.

- a still farther south, the coast to which they gave the name *De los Cavalieros*, because there they had landed some horses. Twelve leagues farther south, the sea forms a kind of chanel, which they called the *Golden River*, or *Rio del Or*, having received a great quantity of that precious metal here, in exchange for some *Moorish* prisoners they set at liberty. This was the first gold from this country that had ever been seen in *Portugal*. About the same distance farther south, is the bay of *Sintia*, which leads to the port of *Cavaliero*; and about thirty leagues farther stands *Cape Blanco*, discovered *Anno 1441*, lying, as we have said, in nearly the 21st degree of north latitude, the sea falling in more eastward, so as to form a kind of curve to the mouth of the river *Senegal*. About thirty-five miles farther stands *Arguim*, formerly called in the aggregate *the seven rocks*, but each distinguished by a particular name; these we have already described, and shall therefore proceed to the next province south of *Zanaga* ^c.

- LEO and *Marmol* give this territory the name of *Gualata*, and the same has been preserved by modern geographers, though they all disagree about its right situation and boundaries. *Gualata* has *Zanaga* on the north, the river *Senegal* on the south, the provinces of *Sunda* and *Zuenziga* on the east, and the *Atlantic* ocean on the west. The country is poor, sandy, and barren; hath only some inconsiderable villages and mean hamlets scattered up and down: corn and flesh are intolerably scarce and dear; the inhabitants, called *Benais*, rude and unpolished, though civil and courteous enough to those who trade with them; in a word, they are a miserable and despicable people, doomed to a poor, a barbarous, and savage life, in one of the worst soils and climates under heaven. They have neither learning nor laws, though they live by consent under the direction and authority of *cheyks*, or chiefs, and in their commerce make use of the *Arabic* notation. In general, both men and women have a natural shyness and modesty, if we may attribute to bashfulness that universal custom of covering their faces with veils. This at least is the reason assigned by *Marmol* for this practice, which we had rather explain by conveniency: experience having taught them to defend their eyes and faces against the sun-beams, reflected with great force by the white sand that covers the face of the whole country. We are told, that formerly they lived under a monarchical government, and had their own elective kings; but how they came to be reduced to their present state of anarchy, history is silent; and indeed there is little more than the assertions of *Leo Africanus* ^e, in proof that their situation has ever been different. Though they live, according to *Dapper*, a life perfectly free from the restraint of all government, yet the *Portuguese* writers affirm, that all these provinces were first subject to the kings of *Zanaga*, and now the monarch of *Tombuto*, who however does not pretend to govern them by a viceroy, or to assume any other dominion over them than the exaction of a small tribute. During their monarchical state, they had a capital of the same name with the province; at present their chief village, for towns they have none, is called *Hoden*, which stands, if we may credit *Sanutus*, about six days journey from *Cape Blanco*, on a different spot from where the old capital *Gualata* stood, the precise situation of which is not known. *Hoden* consists of a few cottages, assembled or rather huddled together, without form, method, walls, gates, or any thing that can give it the air of a capital, or indeed of a place inhabited by rational beings. The people are fond of the *Zangay* or *Sangay* language; they worship fire; and once a considerable trade had been carried on with the neighbouring provinces, and even with the kingdoms of *Morocco* and *Fez* on the north, and all the countries along the *Niger* on the south and east. The inhabitants of *Hoden* live better than those of the other parts of the province, having goats, camels, and ostriches in abundance, the eggs of the latter being esteemed the most delicious food; but they are rather more exposed to the devastation of lions, tigers, and other fierce animals, bred in greater numbers here than in almost any other places in *Africa* ^g.

- As to the province or desert of *Zuenziga*, it is still, if possible, more dry and barren than either *Gualata* or *Zanaga*, and nature would seem to have exerted herself in rendering it the most inhospitable of all countries, and the inhabitants the most wretched of the human kind. It is bounded by the two former provinces on the west, by *Twarges* and *Zanzara* on the east, by the river *Senegal*, or the desert of *Ghir* on the south, and on the north by *Sunda* and the desert of *Cogden*; these limits, however, not being intirely agreed upon by geographers, neither *African* or *European*, ancient or modern. All merchants going from *Tremecen* to the kingdoms of *Tombuto*, *Agades*, or *Uzza*, and other southern or south-east countries, are obliged to pass through this province in their route, by which we may nearly fix its situation, and the hardships those travellers must undergo in such a journey. We are told indeed, that of large caravans, seldom half the number either of men or beasts ever return, most of them dying of thirst, hunger, fatigue, or under the whirlwinds of sand, with which they are overwhelmed and smothered. This happens more particularly in the deserts of *Cogden*, where, for nine days journey, hardly the smallest brook, fountain, or pool, is to be met with, except

^e LEO AFRIC. p. 18. LA CROIX, t. ii. part. i. c. 8. p. 1. sup. citat.

^f LEO AFRIC. p. 4.

^g Auct.

it has lately rained ; and even then in so scanty a quantity, as scarce to moisten the lips of a parched travellers. The inhabitants of this district are partly native *Africans*, and partly *Arabs*, between whom *Leo* and *Marmol* constantly make a difference ; the latter exact a kind of tribute of the *Seguelmessans*, a people of *Biledulgerid*, for some land of theirs, which they cultivate, and there breed an incredible number of cattle, with which they wander for fresh pasture as far as the kingdom of *Tguid*. They likewise breed a great variety of beautiful horses, and are so expert horsemen and warriors, that they are become formidable to the princes of *Barbary*, who chiefly study to keep on good terms with those wild *Arabs* ; nor are they less dreaded by the negroes, whose inveterate enemies they are ; making them prisoners on all occasions, and selling them, as any other commodity, to the people of *Fez*, *Morocco*, and other kingdoms of *Barbary*, in return for which they are treated by the negroes with no more humanity, who mangle their bodies, and, if we may credit *Dapper*, broil and eat their prisoners. Both *Arabs* and *Moors*, and indeed all the inhabitants of this country, have little other food than milk and dates, which they import in great quantities from *Biledulgerid*^b.

Desert of
Cogden.

NORTH of *Zuenziga* is the territory of *Sunda*, and the desert of *Cogden*, just now described, and *Azured*, together with *Seram*, differing from it in nothing, with respect to the savage disposition of the inhabitants and poverty of the country. In the desert of *Azured*, which *De Lisle* places in 21 degrees 19 minutes north latitude, and 19 longitude, there is, however, a large lake of brackish water, formed by the rains which fall during the three wet months. This alone it is, that renders these deserts more supportable than the precedingⁱ.

Desert of
Targa or
Hayr.

WE next come to the province or desert of *Twarges*, *Targa*, or *Hayr* ; the first of these names being given it from the people, the second from the desert itself, and the last from its capital ; though *Africanus* denies, that there is a city in the province, or indeed a village of that name. It must be owned, that nothing can be more dark, perplexed, and defective, than the accounts which writers give of all this interior part of *Africa*, where they seem to speak more upon conjecture than authority, and to be obliged rather to a fertile invention than to travel, or the study of the best historians, or rather of the globe and charts. This in general we are assured of, that the province of *Targa* is less barren, dry, desert, and sultry, than any of the preceding ; that it has a variety of good wells for fresh water, dug deep in the ground ; that the sand produces several kinds of culinary vegetables, and some grass ; that the climate is wholesome ; and that great heaps of manna are gathered here, particularly on the frontiers towards *Agades*, which the negroes collect in calabashes, and export for sale to the neighbouring kingdoms. They also dissolve it in the water where they boil their food, and esteem it cooling and wholesome, insomuch that to this they attribute their being more healthy than the inhabitants of *Tombuto*, although the air and climate are deemed inferior in quality. The *Arabs* and *Barbars*, as they are called by *Marmol*, drive a great slave-trade with the northern kingdoms, and in this consists their principal wealth^k.

Desert of
Agades.

SOUTH of *Targa* is the desert of *Agades*, taking its name from a neighbouring kingdom, of which we shall speak below ; and a little farther south stands the kingdom of *Janfara*, which begins to assume the face of a fertile country, producing corn, rice, *Turkey* wheat, coffee in abundance, and even gold, according to some writers. The inhabitants are of a jet black complexion, a hideous aspect, their faces large, flat, and frightful ; but tall, strait, and well-shaped in their persons. It hath a metropolis of its own name, situated under the twelfth degree of east longitude, and seventeen and a half north latitude. Of late years it hath been subdued by the king of *Tombuto*, who caused the natural princes to be inhumanly poisoned, and many of his subjects barbarously cut to pieces, after their surrendering at discretion ; a custom commonly practised where-ever any of the *Arabs* or *Moors* fall into the hands of the negroes. Farther south, and lying a great way eastward, stand the kingdoms of *Guber* and *Cano*, towards the northern banks of the river *Senegal*, or rather the *Niger* ; for they lie east of the lake *Mabeira*, for some hundred miles (E). Some writers affirm, that the river passes through the middle of these kingdoms, splitting them into southern and northern divisions ; which is a little improbable, as every part of each is governed by the same laws, the same monarch, and the same customs ; a thing unusual among negroes, who, for the most part, make such a barrier the extreme frontiers of their dominions. The northern division of *Guber* runs, we are told, almost 300 miles east of *Gago*, and is parted from it by a vast desert, totally destitute of water, and forty leagues distant from the *Niger*. It is surrounded by high mountains, and its villages, which are numerous, are inhabited by shepherds and other herdsmen. It abounds with rice, millet, barley, and pulse, is well stocked with cattle of various kinds and sizes ;

Kingdom of
Guber.

^b LEO AFRIC. p. 244.

ⁱ BAUDRAND, sub hac voce.

^k LEO AFRIC. p. 245.

(E) We have retracted an opinion we advanced concerning the *Senegal* and *Niger* being the same river, as we have since carefully perused Mr. *Bolton*'s accurate maps, and the best *French* and *Dutch* charts. How-

ever, that the reader may have the arguments advanced by those of a contrary opinion, we shall subjoin to this section *Labat*'s account of the origin of the *Niger*.

- a hath several ingenious artificers, particularly linnen and cotton weavers; and in some parts of their drefs resemble the old *Romans*, especially in the tunics and sandals, which are directly of the same form. Whence they derived this we are at a loss to conjecture, unless from the *Gallas*, a nation of the *Upper Ethiopia*, of which we have spoken in the sixth volume, supposed to be a branch of the ancient *Gauls*, who might have borrowed it from their conquerors, the *Romans*. All the fields of the southern *Guber* are overflown at the inundation of the *Niger*, which rises annually like the *Nile*; and the natives have the satisfaction of seeing an early and plentiful crop without farther trouble. *Leo Africanus*¹ says, that here is a capital, inhabited by six thousand families, among whom are many rich merchants, who trade to all the kingdoms on the south and north; nay, even as far as the *Mediterranean*, and the banks of the *Red Sea*. In this writer's time *Izchia*, king of *Tombuto*, slew the monarch of *Guber*, in a pitched battle, made eunuchs of his sons, kept his court some time in the conquered kingdom, and afterwards governed it by lieutenants or viceroys, who tyrannized over the people, oppressed and impoverished the merchants, nobility, and wealthy part of the nation; which, with the prodigious number of prisoners who were sold for slaves, reduced the kingdom to its present abject condition.

- b CANO, through which the *Niger* is supposed likewise to pass^m, dividing it into southern and northern divisions, or rather, by the deflection the river makes, into two kingdoms, standing east and west, is of prodigious extent, stretching eastward for the space of 500 miles. In the very center of the kingdom stands a city of the same name, in latitude 15° 30', and longitude 12° 10' east of *London*, which precisely ascertains the situation of the kingdom. The walls and houses of this capital are built with loam and clay, in a neat and commodious manner: the inhabitants are merchants chiefly; rich, industrious, and hospitable; but, in general, the people are herdsmen and husbandmen, dwelling in villages thickly strewed over the face of the country. However, like all the other kingdoms of *Lower Ethiopia*, it hath its deserts and sandy barren spots, though frequently a mountain, beautifully cloathed with wood, refreshes the eye, fatigued with so desolate a prospect, and furnishes the weary traveller with a cool draught of pure and wholesome water; a thing more precious than gold in those ill-fated countries. In these woods are likewise great store of citrons, oranges, and wild lemons, most delicious and welcome to the parched peasant; which circumstances set *Cano* far before all the other kingdoms of *Ethiopia* that we have yet described, and indeed upon a footing with most of the provinces of *Abissinia* and the *Higher Ethiopia*. The monarch of *Cano* had formerly been potent and formidable to his neighbours, on account of the large standing armies of horse which he always kept: but he has since been tributary to the kings of *Zegzeg* and *Casena*, who were afterwards treacherously slain by *Izchia*, king of *Tombuto*, a prince the most artful and insidious of his time. He had here insinuated himself under the most specious pretences, by a deep policy, into their most intimate confidence, which terminated in their ruin. He then waged war with the king of *Cano*, whom, after a long siege, he took, and obliging him to marry one of his daughters, reinstated him in the throne, on condition that he should pay into the treasury of *Tombuto* a third of all his tributes, says *Leo Africanus*; for the receipt of which their ambassadors constantly resided at both courts. From this expression we are at a loss to determine, whether it be meant that a third part of the tribute received from other states, or only a third of that paid to the kings of *Zegzeg* and *Casena*, be meantⁿ. The kingdoms of *Cano* and *Guber* properly belong to *Nigritia*, or the southern side of the *Niger*; but as geographers place some part of them on the north, it was thought convenient, for the more complete view of the whole country, to give an account of them here.

- c ON the north side of *Senegal*, and east of *Targa*, are the province of *Lempta*, and desert of *Yguida*; the former, according to geographers, being the name of the inhabitants, and the latter of the province. In proportion as we go eastward from the sea-coast, the kingdoms of *Africa* are less known to *Europeans*; and all that is related of *Yguida* is, that it is more barren, miserable, and desert, than any of the preceding; that it is dangerous to travellers, not only by the excessive heat of the climate, the scarcity of water, and the sand tornados, which frequently bury them alive, but from the savage and brutish ferocity of the people. They are a race of native *Africans*, who rob, plunder, and destroy all that come in their way; but their rage is more especially levelled against the *Guergelans*, a nation to the northward, and separating *Yguida* from *Barbary*. To this country, which they affirm to have been a province of *Yguida*, they lay claim, never omitting an opportunity of destroying the inhabitants with the most barbarous fury, as if they would terrify them into a submission; though in fact they take the most effectual measure to steel and harden them against the yoke of such merciless tyrants. Through this inhospitable region the caravans from *Constantina*, and other towns of *Algiers* and *Tunis*, to *Nigritia*, are forced to pass, equally in danger of perishing by thirst,

¹ P. 252.^m BAUDRAND, sub voce.ⁿ LEO AFRIC. p. 253. a, b.

hunger,



hunger, and the sword ; yet such is their attachment to commerce and love of money, that they intrepidly encounter all those hazards and difficulties.

Kingdom of
Agades dif-
ferent from the
deserts of that
name.

THE kingdom of *Agades* is placed by *Leo Africanus* and *Marmol* directly east of this of *Yguida*, though most modern geographers, and particularly *Baudrand* and *De Lisle*, describe it south and south east of it, separating the deserts of *Lempta*, that is, the southern division of *Yguida*, from the kingdom of *Cano*. On the east it has the kingdom of *Bornou*, on the north-north-east the desert of *Lempta* and kingdom or province *Yguida*, on the south *Cano*, and is surrounded on the west by the provinces *Zapara*, *Guber*, and a large nameless lake, north of the *Niger*, and joined to it by a river. This province is divided into two districts, the northern, called, on account of its barrenness, the *Desert*, and the southern, prolific in grass, corn, and cattle. Indeed, nothing can be more opposite than the face of those two districts, the one clothed with a perpetual verdure, well watered, and moderately cool and temperate ; the other sandy, sultry, and the few shrubs and blades of grass it puts forth, scorched up and burnt by the sun, whose beams are reflected with such heat, as to be intolerable to the eyes of travellers. Mr. *De Lisle* mentions three considerable towns in the fertile division, viz. *Agad*, the capital of the whole province, *Deybir*, and *Secmana*, little inferior in wealth and populousness to the metropolis. He also observes, that *sena* is produced here in great abundance ; in which article and *manna* consists the principal trade of the natives °. The southern inhabitants feed vast droves of cattle of all sizes and denominations : they live in the open country, and, for the conveniency of pasture, wander about like the *Arabs*, from place to place, where they build slight huts for the occasion, without regard to order or conveniency. *Agad*, the metropolis, or *Andegast*, as the *Arabs* call it, stands in a valley between two high mountains, and at the spring head of a nameless river, that waters the whole southern country by innumerable little streams and rivulets, that either flow from it, or discharge themselves into it, at last emptying itself in the lake *De Garda*, and after that in the *Senegal* p. *La Croix* says, that the inhabitants are chiefly merchants, and strangers settled there, who have inclosed the town with walls, and built their houses in the *Moreasco* fashion. There are besides a great number of artificers and soldiers, with the prince's guards ; for though this monarch is said to be tributary to the king of *Tombuto*, yet he preserves the state and splendor of a despotic, powerful, and independent prince. He is even said to be dependent on *Zuenziga* ; though we think this improbable, considering the vast deserts which part them, and that a tribe of *Arabs* in this province assume to themselves the prerogative of deposing him, whenever they are dissatisfied with his conduct and government. In this we fear *La Croix* has either indulged his imagination, or mistakes the geography, since we are able to find no authority on which to ground his assertion, though he would seem to be right in his topography, placing it, with *Marmol*, *Africanus*, and the *French* charts, in the latitude of 18 degrees 50 minutes north, and longitude of 12 degrees 36 minutes east.

Province of
Berdoa.

BERDOA, situated exactly north-east of *Agades*, is the next province, having *Faison* and *Barca* on the north, *Cano* and *Agades* on the south-west, *Nubia* on the east, and *Bornou* on the south. This province stretches from the 16th to the 22d degree of east longitude, and comprehends a space of three parallels, that is, from the 20th to the 23d degree of north latitude, and beyond, if we reckon a dreadful desert, which extends to the 24th degree. The province has taken its name from the capital, which lies directly under the tropic of *Cancer*, though *De Lisle* says, that the original name of the inhabitants was *Bardoaitis* ; and so far from having a fixed metropolis, they have no towns at all, but live in tents, on the plunder of merchants and passengers. He acknowledges indeed, that on the western frontier, almost under the tropic, there is a town or city called *Arcan*, near the borders of *Lempta*, and another farther north, named *Rou dan Mahalat*. Under 24° 36' the same geographer places a third town, which he calls *Medheran Isa* : on the north of which are the wells which supply both it and the surrounding country with water. Near the mountains which form the northern barriers between this province and *Tripoli*, or rather *Faison*, stands the town of *Kala*, where are kept some considerable fairs, whither resort the merchants from every part of *Zaara*, or *Sarab*, the kingdoms on the north and south of the *Niger*, and the nations bordering upon the *Mediterranean* sea, with all the wealth of their several countries q. This whole northern district is occupied by a people called *Levata* or *Lebetai*, who live mostly in tents, although they have three small towns, called *Aial*, *Ain*, and *Cais*, belonging to them. However, what M. *De Lisle* intends more properly for the province of *Berdoa* is confined within narrower limits, north of the tropic, containing only five or six villages and three castles. In general the country is dry, barren, and productive of no one commodity that merits a particular description.

gdom of
nou.

WITH the river *Niger* on the south, *Berdoa* on the north, *Agades* on the west, and *Gaoga* on the east, stands the province or kingdom of *Bornou*, extending from 12 to 22 degrees of east longitude, and from 17 to 21 degrees of north latitude. The northern part is poor,

° Vid. Geog. Afric. ubi sup.

p LA CROIX.

q DE LISLE, ibid.

- a and of a piece with the other povinces of *Zaara*; but all the rest, which is the greater part, is well watered by springs and rivers, that tumble down with a dreadful noise from the mountains, render the country prolific in corn, grafs, and fruits, and give a pleasing aspect; the very reverse of any thing we have lately beheld¹. Both extremes, the eastern and western frontiers, are inhabited by a people of a roving disposition, who live in tents, have their women, children, and every thing besides in common, the word property, or any idea equivalent to it, being utterly unknown; without religion, laws, government, or any degree of subordination; and from hence they have been supposed by a famous geographer to be the lineal descendents of the *Garomantes*, and this to have been the residence of that people². The eastern and western frontiers are divided into mountains and vallies, which to the eye of a traveller has a very agreeable effect, all of them covered with flocks of cattle, fields of rice and millet, and many of the mountains with wood, fruit trees, and cotton. In hot weather the natives, who are almost to a man shepherds and husbandmen, go naked, except a short apron before; which they wear out of regard to modesty; but in the winter they are warmly cloathed with the softest sheep-skins, of which they also form their bed-cloaths; and indeed this is scarce a sufficient defence against the inclemency of the weather at certain seasons of the year, when a cold piercing wind blows from the northern mountains, that chills the blood in proportion as the pores of the body have been opened by the late scorching heats. *Baudrand* and *Dapper*³ affirm, that the natives are but a degree superior to brutes in their understanding and manners, having no names or appellations whereby to distinguish each other, except what they derive from some personal defect or peculiarity, such as lean, fat, squinting, hump-backed, lank, lame, scabby, or some such epithet. They do not acquaint us whether to this adjective they add a noun, as it is highly probable they do: in which case we see not how such a practice should merit the severe censure passed upon their understanding, as it is not peculiar, but has been common, in all ages and in all countries of the world. In the towns, it is acknowledged, that the people are somewhat more polished and refined; and towards the south, it is allowed on all hands, they have towns and regularly formed societies, though of what particular nation we know not. Here they are tractable, polite, and hospitable; and a great part of them artificers and merchants, of all countries and complexions, which has probably occasioned the improvement of their manners. From this particular, related by the historians and geographers quoted in the margin, we learn, that their government is in general monarchical: for they affirm, that the king is so rich as to have all his household furniture, and even his stirrups, spurs, and bridles, of solid pure gold: whence we may infer, that either a great traffick in the precious metal is carried on here with the distant countries, that *Bornou* itself produces gold, or at least that some of the neighbouring kingdoms do, from whence it is imported hither. On the north-west stands the mountain of *Tanton*, rich in good iron mines; and on the south flows the *Niger*, which, after running a great number of leagues under a long chain of mountains, rears up its head again, and mingles its stream with the waters of the lake *Bornou* in its course, from whence it washes the walls of the capital of this province. To own the truth, we are rather of opinion, that the *Niger* has its origin in these mountains, at the same time that this is contrary to the assertions of the *African* geographers, and of the *Europeans* who have implicitly copied them⁴. What corroborates this conjecture is, that no river has been traced east of this ridge of mountains, except the *Nile*, which runs in a different course from north to the south, and the *White River*, on the western frontiers of *Abissinia*, which flows in the same direction with the *Nile*, and is in fact a branch of it, that again falls in with it near *Sennar*. But not to insist too warmly upon what at best must be a conjecture, founded upon defective charts, we shall close this account of *Bornou* with observing, that its capital is a considerable city, of the same name with the province, besides which there are the towns of *Amozen*, *Sagra*, and *Semegonda*, all of them to the northward of the metropolis, and to the eastward those of *Nebrina* and *Sama*. Of any of these towns there is very little known, and some writers have gone so far as to question their existence. *Baudrand*, however, says, that the capital is situated on the northern bank of the *Niger* (which even thus high he calls the *Senegal*), and drives a brisk trade with all the surrounding countries, it being the only place in the whole province that merits the name of a city, all the rest being open towns or large villages⁵.

g We come now to describe the last and most eastern province of the vast desert of *Zaara* or *Sarab*, called by the natives and all geographers *Gaoga* or *Kaughga*, standing contiguous on the east to *Nubia*, and on the north to *Egypt*, with which we began our history of this quarter of the globe. *Gaoga* is bounded on the west by the kingdoms of *Bornou* and *Berdoa*, on the north by part of the latter province, and on the south by the kingdom of *Gorham*, which, with *Medra* to the west, and *Gingiro* and *Majac* to the south, are commonly placed in the

Of the
province of
Gaoga.

¹ LEO AFRIC. p. 255.
citat. ibid.

² CLUVER. geog.
³ BAUDRAND, sub voce Borno.

⁴ BAUDRAND, p. 205. DAPPER, ibid.

⁵ Auct.

division of *Upper Ethiopia*. *Leo Africanus* says, that *Gaoga* is divided from *Gorham* by the *Barelabaïd* river, which falls into the *Nile*, or by the *Niger*; yet it must be acknowledged, that its boundaries are by no means precise, as the *Niger* has never been traced beyond that chain of mountains east of the lake *Bornou*, and some geographers doubt the existence of any such river as *Barelabaïd*. This province is reckoned 180 leagues in length from north to south, and about 160 from east to west, where broadest, extending itself from the 19th to the 29th degree of east longitude, and from the 12th to the 22d and beyond of north latitude. The chief and only city in the whole kingdom is *Gaoga*, standing on the north side of a lake of the same name, in latitude 15 degrees 40 minutes, and longitude 25 degrees 30 minutes east, which is all we know of either. Some writers, however, mention a city called *Kuka*, and include it within the limits of this province, though it belongs in fact to the province of *Kovar*, lying north of it, near the frontiers of *Egypt*; of which we know nothing, as no travellers have ever penetrated that country so far as to make any considerable discoveries. The kingdom of *Gaoga* is mostly mountainous, the natives rude and illiterate, without cloaths, without arts, and every thing but the shape that distinguishes humanity. They dwell in poor slight hovels, of materials so combustible, that they are frequently set on fire, the flames communicating from hut to hut, till the whole face of the country is burnt up. More probable it is, that they designedly set fire to their dwellings in removing from one part of the country to another; for we find it difficult to conceive how the fire should spread amongst hamlets so dispersed and scattered. They feed large herds of cattle, both small and great, which are indeed their principal care and wealth, as well as sustenance.

ONCE, we are told, they were a free people, but enslaved by a negro, who having murdered his master, a rich merchant, secured his effects, returned to his own country, and there by force of money assembling a large body of horse, he began with making inroads into the province of *Gaoga*. In time his troops became more expert and numerous, and he at last was so powerful as to reduce the whole country, the inhabitants having neither arms, courage, nor numbers, to resist him. To this usurper his son succeeded, who, after a reign of forty years, left the crown to his brother *Moses*, whose grandson reigned at the period when *Africanus* wrote his history, viz. when the *Moors* were driven out of *Granada* by *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* of *Spain*, or soon after.

Of the general manners of the inhabitants of the Lower Ethiopia. HAVING now described minutely the different kingdoms and provinces of this vast, extensive, barren, and sultry desert of *Sarah*, we shall offer a few observations on the general manners of the inhabitants, before we proceed to a recital of the *Niger* and *Senegal*, which we think necessary, for the reader's better information of the course of these rivers. The first is somewhat remarkable, that though the rivers *Senegal* and *Niger* only divide this desert from *Nigritia* (F), and though the wandering and pastoral lives of the inhabitants expose them so much to the vertical rays of the sun, under a climate, perhaps, hotter than the former, yet they are of a complexion bordering more upon white than the negroes, and mostly no more than tawny in their colour, while the others are of a jet black (G). Few or none of them approach either in complexion or features to the negroes, who would seem to be a people totally distinct from these, and perhaps the *aborigines* or primitive inhabitants of *Africa*, confined by incursions of foreign nations to this tract of land, called by their name *Negroland* or *Nigritia*. Nor do the inhabitants of *Sarah* differ less from those of the southern countries in their manners, customs, and religious rites, than in their external appearance. The former are all professors of the religion of *Mohammed*, a few only excepted, who retain the old *Persic* rite of paying their worship to fire. Hence it is probable, that those various tribes of *Arabs*, *Barabars*, &c. are descended from those *Saracens* and *Arabians*, who, breaking out of *Asia*, over-ran the greater part of northern *Africa* in the seventh century, as we have particularly mentioned in our history of those nations. Hence we may account for that inbred and inveterate hatred that still reigns between them and the native *Africans*, those inhuman hostilities and butcherings they are ever committing upon each other, of which we have given repeated instances. In some provinces those *Arabs*, though much addicted to robbery and pui-

^y LEO AFRIC. p. 256.

^z LA CROIX, *ibid.*

(F) It deserves notice, that *Leo* calls all those countries south and north of the *Niger* by the general name of *Nigritia*, tho' modern geographers, with more propriety, confine that name to the kingdoms on the south. *Leo* and *Marmol* describe a province of this name, on the south banks of the *Senegal*, in the kingdom of *Mandingo*, whence, as we have hinted, the whole coast probably received the name of *Guinea* (1).

(G) No one who is acquainted with the course of the

sun in the ecliptic, can be at a loss for the reason, why countries situated within or near the tropic, are hotter than those immediately under the line. This, among others, is one of those discoveries made by that first of philosophers the great *Sir Isaac Newton*, and which persons, unacquainted with the higher parts of the mathematics, may peruse with more ease in a posthumous work of the late good and learned Mr. *de Lauris*, professor of mathematics in the college at *Edinburgh*.

(1) *Fol. 16 p. 356.*

a dering, are industrious, temperate, and abstemious, patient under thirst, hunger, fatigue, and other hardships, to which they are daily exposed by the manner of their living, their occupations, the climate, and above all, their long journey through barren deserts in pursuit of wealth. Among some of them, we are told, there are such reliicks of christianity, as afford strong presumptions that this religion has once been more general among them, if not the universally received doctrine. *Bornou* and *Gaoga*, in particular, are said to furnish more authentic vestiges of christianity than any other province; probably on account of their vicinity to *Abissinia*, and the commerce they continually carry on with this empire^a.

But it is now time we should give a short view of the countries north of the *Niger*, of which we promised to speak before we closed the section, and entered upon the course of the *Senegal* and *Niger*. Already the reader has all the particulars we have been able to collect concerning the kingdoms of *Mandingo*, *Fuli*, *Jaloff*, or *Onaloff*, and *Kasson*, and has frequently seen the kingdom of *Tombuto* mentioned, but without any description of it. With this therefore we shall begin. *Tombuto* is a kingdom of vast extent, situated on both sides the *Niger*, part of it being that territory which we have supposed, contrary to almost all geographers, separating the rivers *Niger* and *Senegal*, or rather those two great lakes into the eastward of which the *Niger* enters, and from the westward the *Senegal* flows. In the following manner we find it laid down by the best geographers. It has *Gbenza* or *Gbehenoa* and *Gualata* on the west, *Zuenziga* and *Guber* on the north, *Bitu* and *Dauma* on the east: however, as all these countries are but little known to *Europeans*, and hardly penetrated since the time of *Marmol* and *Leo Africanus*, it cannot be expected we should be answerable for the accuracy of their descriptions: all we pretend is to follow the most approved, after comparing all.

The name *Tombuto* is probably of modern date, and *Leo* alleges, that it was so called from the name of a town whose situation is now unknown, built by king *Mense Suliman*, in the year 610 of the *Hegira*^b. We are told, in general terms, that this town stood within twelve miles of a branch of the *Niger*; and if the present town *Tombuto* be the same, it lies in the latitude of fourteen degrees thirty two minutes, and longitude of two degrees twenty five minutes east from *London*, about fifty five leagues to the north of the lake *Mabeira*. In this town and the surrounding country, the houses are built of a bell form, and composed of hurdles, plaistered with a hard loam, covered with rushes; but there is one stately mosque, the walls of which are composed of stone and lime. The royal palace is also built with the same materials, of a finer design, and upon a model sketched out and executed by an excellent artist of *Granada*, driven hither when the *Moors* were expelled that country. Besides these two buildings, there are some others of good workmanship; but in general, the houses are such as we have mentioned, a kind of conical hamlets.

Tombuto is filled with weavers of cotton; and mechanicks are here more assiduously cultivated than in any other part of this division of *Africa*; and hither likewise the *European* cloths are brought from *Barbary*, and often from the coast of *Guiney*. Of these markets are held, and public fairs, to which all the women resort with their faces covered, except servant maids, who dress food. The inhabitants of *Tombuto*, and especially strangers residing in the city, are so rich, that the king thinks it not unworthy of the royal blood to be connected with them; an instance of which happened in the time of *Leo Africanus*, one of the princesses having publicly married a merchant; such in this place is the dignity of wealth, and such their regard for commerce. The same writer adds, that soon after, another princess was given in marriage to a stranger, who had acquired great riches by trade.

No kingdom in *Guiney* is better watered with wells, natural springs, and canals drawn from the *Niger*, than *Tombuto*. This makes it fertile in all kind of grain, grass, cattle, milk, butter, and every conveniency of life besides salt, which they have by land-carriage from *Tegaza*, distant about 500 miles, and so highly valued, that *Leo* saw a camel load of this commodity sold for 80 ducats^c.

The rich king of *Tombuto* has in his possession a prodigious quantity of gold plate, scepters, and other badges of royalty, some of which weigh 1300 ounces of pure gold; and the whole court eat out of golden vessels, silver or any other metal being hardly ever used. In travelling, he rides upon a camel, richly caparisoned, all the furniture shining with burnished gold, and one of his great officers leading his horse after him. In war also he rides upon a camel, but all his soldiers are mounted upon horses. In addressing him, the most profound respect is paid; and all persons approaching the throne must prostrate themselves upon the ground, take up the dust, and sprinkle it over their head and shoulders; a ceremony that is particularly observed by persons who never had this honour before, and by foreign ambassadors. His general retinue and guards consist of 3000 horsemen, all well armed with poisoned arrows and darts, besides a number of foot, who wear shields and swords. He often levies in

^a LA CROIX, BAUDRAND, LEO AFRIC. MARMOL, ubi supra. ibid. MARMOL, c. 1. 15.

^b LEO, p. 249.

^c LEO AFRIC.

person the tribute from those princes who do him homage, and frequent skirmishes pass between the guards and those stubborn vassals who unwillingly give this testimony of their servitude. As the country does not breed good horses, the cavalry are usually mounted upon barbs and *Arabian* horses, which the king purchases at a great expence; however the court and merchants commonly ride upon little nags, the breed of the country, hardy, and in every respect, but beauty, equal to the former. When the king is informed of a merchant's arrival in town with a drove of horses, he immediately orders a certain number of the finest to be brought to him, for which he pays a great price, never scrupling any expence to have his troops handsomely mounted^d.

Jews expelled the kingdom. THE enmity of this monarch to the *Jews* is so great, that he has strictly prohibited them the city, and laid a heavy penalty on all the *Barbary* merchants who trade with them. From whence this fixed hatred proceeds authors have not told us; though, considering the esteem in which merchants are held, it is probable, that his aversion arose from those frauds and sinister practices in commerce, for which this despised unhappy people have been noted in all ages and countries. His taste for science and literature appears from the great numbers of doctors, judges, and priests, whom he liberally maintains in the capital, at a great expence, furnishing them with all the ease and conveniences of study they can desire; and hence it is, that the human understanding has made a considerable progress in this country, considering the unenlightened condition of all the surrounding nations, and the little assistance they have received from the more refined *Europeans*. Manuscripts from *Barbary* are brought hither, and sold as the most valuable merchandize; and, indeed, there are traders who have amassed immense riches by confining themselves wholly to this literary traffick, which the monarch encourages with the spirit, the taste, and the generosity of a prince. However, after all it must be owned, that learning has been of so late date, that hitherto its influence is only perceivable about the court, and has not yet extended itself visibly over the general manners of the people, of whom it can at most be said, that they are mild and gentle in their disposition, frugal in their oeconomy, industrious in their occupations, and chearful in the hours of relaxation, which they devote to singing, dancing, and festivity^e.

Money used at Tombuto. THE currency used in commerce at *Tombuto* consists of gold bars, and certain shells they are supposed to have from *Persia*, though by what rout we know not. These they use in lesser bargains; and in all cases where a smaller standard or medium of value is requisite, four hundred of them being worth a ducat, and six bars of their gold, with about two thirds of a bar, equivalent to an ounce. What surprizes a speculative mind, is the facility with which all barbarous commercial nations, who understand not arithmetic as a science, combine their ideas of numbers, and perform the most difficult operations and abstruse calculations, in stating shares, proportions, and other circumstances of trade, by the assistance of their memory alone. From hence one would be led to conclude, that they are possessed of a greater quickness of mind in those objects upon which they exercise the understanding: and that, though less inventive, they are more expert in every point that requires not creative genius; in a word, that the understanding is limited to few ideas, but these understood with a precision proportioned to their smaller number, like blind persons, who have all the other senses rendered more acute by the loss of sight.

Dreadful fires at Tombuto. THE *Tombutan* gentry maintain a great number of slaves, which is the highest mark of pomp and pageantry among them. Their carelessness is frequently the cause of the most dreadful calamities, the whole town being often in flames by accidents, occasioned by their means; for the houses, built of so combustible materials as watlings, catch fire upon the most trivial accident, and the very sparks from their pipes of tobacco. When *Leo Africanus* went the second time to *Tombuto*, half the town was burnt to ashes in the space of five hours. Without the suburbs, the same author remarks, the *Tombutans* have neither gardens, orchards, or hardly any kind of pulse, so that the markets are supplied from places more remote; but he does not acquaint us with the reasons for so extraordinary a conduct.

The trade carried on here. ABOUT twelve miles from *Tombuto*, to the south, stands *Cabra*, a large town, built in the same manner as the former, without walls, and situated on the banks of the *Niger*, which serves it for a defence on one side. From hence the merchants trading to the little kingdom of *Ghenoa*, and powerful monarchy of *Melli*, go by water to the lake *Timby*, then crossing over the *Isthmus*, that separates this from the lake *Mabeira*, they again take water to the country of the *Foulis*, and traverse that by land-carriage to *Melli*. The people are here inferior in the refinement of their manners, but not in the innate qualities of their minds, to the inhabitants of the capital. Here is a judge appointed by the king to decide all controversies; and such is the justice of his verdict, that there never has been an instance of an appeal to the throne; which indeed might prove fatal to the magistrate, as bribery and corruption in public proceedings are

^d LA CROIX, t. ii. p. 357, & seq.^e Auct. citat. ibid.

a reputed crimes of the blackest complexion. The inhabitants of *Cabra* however, labour under some severe physical calamities; among these may be reckoned, as the worst, the variety of diseases to which they are liable, proceeding, as it is imagined, from the heterogeneous qualities of their food, usually composed of a *farrago* of milk, fish, flesh, butter, oil, and wine^f.

To the above relation of *Leo Africanus* and *Marmol*, we shall add what farther information M. *De Brue* had from the *Mandingan* merchants. From these he learnt that the town of *Tombuto*, or as he calls it *Tombuto*, does not stand upon the *Niger*, but within land; that in going thither they followed the southern bank of the river, for several days journey; and that having left it, they continued their journey for five days more. We leave it to the reader to reconcile a topography so different from that of *Leo*, who describes *Baera* upon the river, and but twelve miles distant from *Tombuto*. The following is the rout they take; from *Kaynu*, about seven miles below the cataract of *Felu*, the last village when the river is navigable to *Jagu*, are five days journey: from *Jagu* to *Baigne* one; from thence to *Congomon* one; thence to *Saaba* one; from this place to *Boramaja* two; thence to *Goury* two; from this stage to *Galama* one; and thence to *Timby*, or the great lake of that name, and then across a mountainous country. Here they left the river, and pursuing their march east-south-east (H), they arrived in five days at *Tombuto*; a journey which we thought might assist the reader in comprehending more distinctly the geography of the country, and the course of the rivers. Thus we see, that the thirty-two days journey being reckoned at ten leagues each day, will make the distance between the cataract of *Felu* and the capital of *Tombuto*, about 320 leagues. They added, that there came every year to *Tombuto* a large caravan of white men, who exchanged a vast quantity of the merchandize of the nations bordering on the *Mediterranean*, as well as those purchased of the *Europeans*, for the produce of *Tombuto*, and particularly gold, found in prodigious quantities in this kingdom. These were in all probability the *Moors* from *Barbary*, who might well be esteemed white men, when compared with the jet black inhabitants of *Tombuto*. From this relation we see the falsity of that opinion, which supposes that a regular trade is carried on from the *Mediterranean*, by the nations of *Barbary* and *Sarah* into *Nigritia*, and even to the *Gold, Slave, and Tooth Coasts*. For it is obvious from hence, that only one caravan crosses the *Niger*, and that even that comes no farther than *Tombuto*, the most northern nation of all *Negroland*^g.

WHEN M. *De Brue* was in *Tripoli*, he frequently saw caravans set out from thence, to a country lying southward, which they gave out to be *Faisan*, though it is highly probable their destination was rather to *Tombuto*; and our reason for this conjecture is, that they spent fifty days in the journey, which could not be to *Faisan*, distant only 180 leagues from *Tripoli*. Another reason, is, the assertion of the *Mandingo* merchants who have been at *Tombuto*, and allege, that, besides the gold that country affords, there is often gold brought from the country of *Zanfara*; and that the merchants, who bring it from thence, employ fifty days in their journey thither; but there is no such time required in travelling from *Zanfara* to *Faisan*, the distance not exceeding 200 leagues. From hence we have all the probability that the caravans of *Tripoli* go to *Tombuto*; and these towns being 450 leagues asunder, the journey may be easily supposed to employ fifty days. These caravans consist generally of about a thousand men, mounted on horses and camels, all of them well armed and accoutred, so that they have nothing to fear from the attack of robbers or wild beasts. Besides the the fifty days allowed for travel, there are several more consumed in refreshing themselves and cattle, exhausted with the fatigue of so long a journey; and these halts are made in the most fertile and pleasant vallies they meet with, during their stay, in which they solace themselves with every sort of mirth, dancing, singing, and a variety of games. The merchandize they carry is in general the same as the *Europeans* send to *Galam* and the interior kingdoms, consisting of black, green, yellow, white, or red serges or cloths, but more of red than of any other colour, the whole amounting in value to twenty thousand crowns. To the same amount they send glass beads and toys, imported to *Tripoli* from *Venice* and other *European* ports. Coral work is exported by the caravans to the amount of twelve thousand crowns: paper, copper basons, and other such goods, to the value of ten thousand crowns; so that the whole stock in trade of a caravan is worth, at prime cost, to the *Tripolitans*, about sixty thousand crowns; from whence we may deduce the total of their profit on the stock they procure in exchange at *Tombuto*, which consists of three thousand quintals of dates, sold at *Tripoli* for two crowns a quintal; twelve hundred quintals of *Sena*, worth on their return about fifteen crowns per quintal; ostrich feathers to the amount of fifteen thousand crowns;

^f LA CROIX, p. 358, & seq. LEO AFRIC. & MARMOL, ibid.

^g LABAT, t. ii. p. 72.

(H) So we find it in *Labat*, though we must either attribute the word *south* to an error of the press, or to the *Mandingan* merchants mistaking the points of the

compass. Their course must have been north east; for in going south, they must have crossed the river, and entered the deserts of *Sarah*.

cight hundreded or a thousand slaves, worth fifty crowns a head; and lastly a thousand marks a of gold, which article alone amounts to an hundred thousand crowns. In a word, these articles amount together at *Trifoli* to an hundred and seventy-nine thousand crowns; which, after deducting the prime cost of their goods sold in exchange, leaves a profit of one hundred and seventeen thousand crowns; from which we must deduct the expences of the journey, computed at ten thousand crowns. Such is the prodigious profit arising, according to Father *Labat*, upon this trade, which he thinks might be immediately carried on at a much less expence by the *Europeans*, by means of the *Senegal*; several attempts towards which were made by the enterprizing *Sieur De Brue*, but all of them unsuccessful; nor does it indeed appear practicable to any besides the natives, who alone can endure the hardships and fatigues necessarily met with in such a journey or voyage ^a.

Kingdom of
Bita.

NEXT to *Tombuto* eastward stands the kingdom of *Bita*, having *Güber* and *Zanfara* on the north, from which it is separated by the *Niger*, *Dauma* on the south, and *Temian* on the east. The capital city has, according to *Dapper*, the same name, and stands in the latitude of nine degrees ten minutes north; which must certainly be an error, as in this case it must be situated in *Guiney*. The truth is, we are wholly unacquainted with its true situation, or whether in fact any such town exists, though we find it mentioned by *Africanus* and *Marmol*. *De Lisle* says in general terms, that the inhabitants of this kingdom are rich; a fact which he must have asserted upon conjecture, as there are no authentic accounts of it ever published ^b.

Temian province.

STILL farther east than *Bita* stands the province of *Temian*, bounded on the north by the *Niger*, and province of *Cano*, on the east-south-east by *Bornou* and *Medra*, and by *Biafara* on the south (I). The inhabitants are said to be *anthropophagi*, their teeth, says *Dapper*, resembling those of dogs; in short, authors describe them in every respect similar to a nation we before mentioned inhabiting the *Ivory Coast*, or lying between that and the *Malaguet Coast* ^c.

Medra province.

MEDRA or *Madra* province, has for its frontiers on the west *Biafara* and *Temian*, *Bornou* on the north, and on the south the mountains that separate it from *Benin* and *Majac*.

Dauma.

NEXT to this stands *Dauma* or *Dahomay*, having *Gaoga* and *Tombuto* on the west, *Bita* on the north, *Biafara* on the east, and the mountains of *Guiney* on the south. Of this people ^d we have spoken sufficiently, towards the conclusion of the maritime kingdoms of *Whidah* and *Ardrah*, conquered by this warlike monarch.

Goram.

NEXT in order comes *Goram* or *Gorham*, with *Medra* on the west, *Gaoga* on the north, *Abissinia* on the east, and a ridge of high mountains on the south.

Kingdom of
Biafara.

LASTLY, the kingdom of *Biafara*, the most populous and potent of any state in *Nigritia*, except *Benin*, *Tombuto*, *Mandingo*, and *Oualof*, has *Dauma* and part of *Gaoga* on the west, *Bita* and *Temian* on the north, *Medra* on the east, and on the south the desert of *Seth*; with a ridge of mountains that part it from the kingdom of *Benin*. This is all that is known of it; and so little acquainted are the moderns with this interior continent of *Africa*, that we have been able to do little more than lay down the geography with all the precision we are ^e able, by comparing modern charts and maps, with the description of *Leo Africanus* and *Marmol*. Directly south of *Biafara* stands the desert of *Seth*, with *Benin* on the south, separating it from the southern ocean, *Medra* on the east, and *Gaoga* on the west; close to which stand the deserts of *Sen*, which, though distinguished by separate names, form one barren, sandy expanse of territory. We may indeed say, that the whole country south of the *Niger*, with *Tombuto* on the west, and *Ethiopia* or *Abissinia* on the east, is one vast desert, now and then parted by a petty kingdom, equally contemptible for its poverty and small extent. If it be otherwise, it contradicts the sentiments of all writers, and indeed those reasons deduced by analogy from the situation of the neighbouring kingdoms, which begin to put on an appearance of barrenness the nearer they approach this division ^f.

HAVING now run over that multiplicity of nations that inhabit the lands on both sides the *Niger*, we shall, previous to our description of *Biledulgerid*, trace the course of the rivers *Senegal* and *Niger*, that the reader may see *Labat*'s reasons, as well as those of *Africanus* and *Marmol*, for calling them one and the same river, or the former no more than a continuation of the latter.

^a LABAT, MARMOL, LA CROIX, SANUT. & LEO AFRIC. *ibid.*
sub voc. LA CROIX, *ibid.*

^b LEO, p. 4.

^c BAUDRAND,

(I) This *Biafara* is different from a small kingdom in our account of the islands of *Bifce*, *Bifge*, and of that name, extending along the sea coast south- *Bulam*.
south-east of the river *Gambia*, of which we have spoken

- a "THAT the *Niger*, *Nigir*, *Nigris*, or *Nigiris*, is the same river with that we now stile *Of the origin and course of the Niger, extracted from father Labat, Marmol, and Leo Africanus, with remarks.*
 " the *Senegal* or *Zanaga*, is now," says father *Labat*, " agreed on by all hands : but that
 " it is only a branch of the *Nile*, springing from that source, and taking a different course
 " from it, as *Ludolph* and others imagine, is still much disputed." This the *Arabian* geo-
 graphers affirm to a man, though contrary to reason, to the testimony of the best modern
 geographers, and to common sense, supported only by arguments as weak as they are fabulous.
 It is indeed impossible to conceive how the *Nile* should by any means be connected with the
Niger, as their courses are altogether different, and separated by that prodigious ridge of
 mountains that separate *Abissinia* from the kingdoms of *Bornou* and *Gaoga*, without we have
 recourse to *Labat's* argument for the junction of the *Niger* and *Senegal*, that it runs by a
 b subterraneous passage under these mountains; a fact that may be asserted, but scarcely credited.
 As to the *Niger*, the *Europeans* have been able to trace it only part of its course, beyond which
 they know nothing more than what they learn from the *Mandingo* merchants, who, of all
 the negroes, are the most addicted to traffick and travelling. However, it is apparent, that
 they are neither expert in their observations, nor have they gone far enough to judge, whether
 the *Senegal* and *Niger* be one river, since they acknowledge never to have been higher towards
 the source of either than the lake *Mabeira*, which is little more than half way to the *Nile*, sup-
 posing them to be derived from that source.

- OTHER writers following *Labat* have stretched the course of the *Niger* back eastward, quite
 to the lake *Bornou*, under the 18th degree of north latitude, and 19th of east longitude,
 c fixing its spring head there, it being impossible, they say, to trace it further, on account of
 the difficulties and dangers arising from the barrenness of the country, the ferocity of the
 inhabitants, and the multiplicity of wild beasts, which are the chief rulers of all this district.
 Some other geographers, unsupported by all authority, have placed its source in another lake,
 near an hundred leagues to the north-east of *Bornou*. This they call the *Niger* lake, and
 affirm, that the river derives its name from it, and takes a south-west course, till it falls into the
 lake *Bornou*, after which it continues its course to the lake *Mabeira*, and so to the *Atlantic*
 ocean. Should we expect solid proofs, founded on the observations of persons of credit and
 experience, in support of these conjectures, we should find ourselves disappointed. This made
 the *Nubian* geographer and *Ludolphus* assert, that it was actually a continuation of the *Nile* ;
 d a conjecture they believed in some measure supported by its etymon. *Pliny* seems to have led
 the way to this notion, by his inference collected from the analogy between their water in taste
 and colour, and the flags, reeds, fish, and other animals common to them both ; and yet
 perhaps he too has borrowed this false reasoning from some older philosopher than himself.
 How the *Romans* came to have any idea of the source of this river, when the country was
 wholly unknown, is what we will not pretend to decide. Their account of it was the following.
 There are two rivers in *Africa*, which both have the name *Nile*, and spring from the same
 fountain, in the 16th degree of north latitude, in the country of *Ethiopia*. This source lies
 at the foot of the *Mountain of the Moon*, where there spring ten fountains, which form two
 lakes. Out of each of these lakes flow three rivers, which joining their streams form a third large
 e lake, which forms the *Niger* and *Nile*, and affords them a perpetual fund of water. The first
 of these rivers is stiled *Nile Mesr*, or river of *Egypt*, and the other *Nile Sandan*, or river of
 the *Negroes*, which last runs westward, and discharges itself in the dark or gloomy sea, that
 is, in the *Atlantic* ocean, for so the *Arabs* call it. The word *Nile* was probably derived from
 the *Hebrew*, *Nehel* or *Nabal*, as we have already observed^k, signifying a river, a term empha-
 tically applied to this river by way of pre-eminence. In other parts of the sacred writings,
 it is called *Sibor* or *Sichor*, which signifies black, muddy, or troubled, and answers in some
 measure, as our author thinks, to the name *Niger* or *Nigris*, as well as the muddy nature of
 both rivers. Hence, they imagine, they might both have been called *Sibor* or *Nichel Sibor*,
 the *Black River*, though the *Niger* alone has preserved that name, from its running thro' the
 f country of the blacks. This seems further confirmed, *Leo* believes, by what the *Egyptian*
 scribe told *Herodotus*, that there were two mountains with peaked tops, called *Croph*i and
*Moph*i, and situated between the cities of *Syene* in *Thebais* and *Elephantina* ; and that from
 the middle of the valley between these mountains sprung up the inexhaustible source and head
 of the *Nile*, one part of whose stream ran northward to *Egypt*, and the other southward towards
Ethiopia.

- ALL the above vague reasoning has been refuted judiciously by father *Labat*, who has himself
 adopted other notions equally ideal, and unsupported by authentic vouchers. The rivers
Niger and *Senegal* he affirms to be the same, though he has brought no arguments in proof
 of this assertion, which we think highly improbable, for the reasons already mentioned ; however,
 g as this affects not his description, as far as its course has been traced, we shall extract the following

^k Vol. vi. ap. init.

relation from him, as a supplement to what we have before said upon this subject. “The *a*
“*Senegal*,” says he, “is a large and considerable river, and of prodigious extent in its course,
“even though we should not trace its source beyond the lake *Bornou*. But if we suppose it
“to spring from the same origin as the *Nile*, it will then almost cross the whole continent of
“*Africa*, where it is of the greatest extent, and will have a course of near fifty degrees from
“east to west, exclusive of its windings. The entrance to it is difficult, on account of its
“bar, sandy shoals, and several islands that in a manner block it up.” For the space of five
or six leagues from its mouth the country is sandy and barren, the rest in general on the south
side, fertile, well covered with fruit trees, and refreshed with water; for like the *Nile* it
overflows its banks annually, leaving a slime and mud behind that greatly enriches the ground.
Its inundation happens about the same time as that of the *Nile*, and arises from the same *b*
cause, viz. the great rains that fall between the tropics, and last from the beginning of *June*
to the end of *September*, sometimes without intermission, and so violent, that those who are
unacquainted with them, would reasonably expect that a second deluge threatened to destroy
mankind. These rains the inhabitants foresee time enough to provide against them, by shut-
ting themselves up in their huts, stopping every crevice that admits water, making provision
of fire, brandy, tobacco, and other things to correct the unwholesome damps which would
otherwise prove mortal. The earth having been incrustated for the space of eight months,
with the thick and dry scurf left by the last inundation, the violence of the rains which dis-
solves this cover, and gives free vent to the vapours so long pent up, must necessarily occasion
a stench no less fatal than disagreeable, and intolerably nauseous. At the same time all manner *c*
of reptiles and insects are produced in this filth; toads, frogs, serpents, vipers, and the whole
hissing tribe. Violent and impetuous winds frequently arise during the rainy season, that
sometimes overturn the little cabins of the natives, in spite of all the precautions they are able
to take; and these are rendered still more horrible by the prodigious flashes of lightning
and claps of thunder, that render the scene more tremendous, though they are thought to
be useful in purging the air of its gross exhalations. During all this season, the *Senegal* is
navigable all the way from the sea to the first cataract by ships of burthen, and they are
assisted in their voyage by a brisk westerly wind, that drives them on against the stream
with great rapidity. It here branches out into a number of other rivers of a smaller size,
ditches, ponds, and lakes, which have no other waters than what they derive from this source. *d*
The most considerable of the lakes are, *Kayor* and *Panierfouli*, besides a great number of
others of a lesser size, which swell during the inundation to such a height as to resemble
seas.

TILL *November*, the waters continue without decrease or diminution, when they begin to
fall off every day, and by the 8th of *December* are sunk at least five feet at the rocks of
Senegal, and so continue shrinking till they are reduced to their primitive state, and leave the
ground overspread with a treasure of fecundity.

Of the islands
and cataracts
of the Senegal
and Niger.

As the *Senegal* receives a great number of considerable rivers in its course, which swell it
so high, as to make it navigable at all times by ships of forty or fifty tons burthen, it like-
wise splits itself into a variety of streams, which are again re-united to it, and form before *e*
their junction a number of large islands, well filled with towns, villages, and inhabitants, some
of which are erected into potent monarchies, guarded on all sides by a deep river. It likewise
forms several noble rivers, which in their course receive different names, such as the *Sanguirai*,
that breaks from the *Senegal* a little below *Ouetesour*, and, after a south-west course for the
space of fifty or sixty leagues, joins itself to another river, when the mingled waters of both
take the name *Gios*. This again branches out into a third stream, called *Little Brack*, and
rejoins it at *Guidon*, after having first formed a number of small islands.

THE most remarkable island formed by these rivers is, *Beguio* or *Bifecho*, a kingdom greatly
respected for the number of its people, towns, and greatness of its trade. This island stands *f*
between the great stream and the branch of its name, otherwise called *Corow* river. It is
about thirty-five leagues in length, and twelve or fifteen broad, intersected with a great number
of small streams or canals, which give it the appearance of a groupe of small islands, covered
with palm and other fruit trees. This island reaches, says *Labat*, almost to the mouth of the
great river; and above it is another, called *Morphil*, taking its name from the river that incloses
it, and is no less than eighty miles in length, and only parted in the middle by a natural canal
of about five miles, which joins the rivers *Morphil* and *Senegal*. Notwithstanding its vast
length, the island of *Morphil*, where it is broadest, does not exceed eight or ten leagues over,
and in most places not more than five or six. It is well peopled and filled with villages, the
inhabitants of which trade considerably in ivory, which the negroes call *Morphil*, and from
whence the island, or at least the river, took its name. Adjoining to that, and only parted *g*
by a canal, is situated another island, called by the inhabitants *Balbus*, about thirty leagues
long, and five or six broad. It is rich and populous, the inhabitants cultivating the ground
with

- a with great care, but commerce with still more attention, as in this they place their chief wealth. The commodities they deal in are ivory, gold dust, or flatted plates of pure gold, of different sizes and shapes, used by the women for ornaments, and sold by the men to the *Europeans*, as often as they can lay hands on them. *Labat* says, that the islands of *Morphil* and *Balbus* belong to the kingdom of *Fouli*, though we have reason to believe that they are each of them independent states, under princes who pay no tribute, and acknowledge no superior. The prince, nobility, and people, are all civil and obliging to strangers, happy in themselves, assiduous in procuring property, which they are in no danger of losing, under so mild, so just, and so equitable a government as this is said to be. Besides the populousness and fertility of the islands, they are rich in medicinal herbs, fruits, roots, and a number of other productions valuable to the natives, but too indistinctly described by voyagers, and intirely omitted by a late excellent *French* naturalist. They likewise breed great variety of cattle and other animals, fowls in abundance, besides plenty of cotton, which they manufacture and sell to a considerable advantage.

ABOUT four or five leagues east of *Balbus*, is a small island called *Sudel*, belonging, as we have before remarked, to the *French Senegal* company. This therefore, with what we have mentioned in general when we treated of the commerce of this river, will suffice for the islands formed by it, and the branches flowing from it.

- c THE *Senegal*, like the *Nile*, has several considerable cataracts, the most noted of which are those of the rock called *Felu*, and that of *Govina*. The first of these is almost perpendicular, and about sixty yards high, the stream growing narrower before it reaches this precipice, being pent in between two rocky mountains, and here rushing down with a force and noise no less astonishing than dreadful, into a large basin or reservoir, from whence it flows in a smooth gentle stream in the usual course. It would indeed appear to have forced its way through the mountains above *Felu*, as it passes them with incredible rapidity; and the inundation season carries away great parts of the rock, which it tumbles down the cataract in a manner terrifying to the spectator. That of *Govina* is still louder and more beautiful, as the cascade is higher, and the water beautifully spread in a continued smooth crystal surface, that exhales a mist upon which the sun beams play, and are reflected in all the colours of the rainbow. There could not indeed be a more pleasing scene than is represented by this cataract, did not the horror of the noise in some measure diminish the satisfaction of the beholder, and strike him with terror, where he would otherwise be absorbed in pleasing admiration.

- WE have frequently taken notice of two great lakes, either formed by the *Niger* and *Senegal*, *Of its lakes.* or, as we think more probable, giving origin to these rivers; besides which, there are several others actually formed by them, by means of rivers that branch out, and then terminate in a lake (K). *Mabeira* lies under the 12th degree of north latitude, and second of east longitude, on the western mouth of which is seated the city *Tumby*, though this may more properly be called another lake. That of *Bornou* lies under the 16th degree of north latitude, and 10th of east longitude, in the kingdom of *Bornou*, and near the capital of that name. The lake which the *French* call *Panierfouli*, near the mouth of the *Senegal* and the kingdom of *Fouli*, is but small, and of an oval figure, about five leagues in length from north to south, and three in breadth, the mouth of the river connecting it with the *Senegal*, being almost blocked up on the south end by an island. At the time of the inundation, this lake, like that of *Kayor*, resembles an ocean more than a fresh water lake; but when that subsides, it sinks into its primitive littleness, when compared with some of the other lakes. All the sands round it are rich and prolific in corn, grass, fruits, and roots, being strongly manured by the ooze and mud left by the drained waters; and this authors produce as a reason why good tobacco grows here, though we never before knew that a wet rich soil was proper for raising that plant. Near *Panierfouli* is a large wood of ebony, which the natives call *Jalam Boan*; of this wood great quantities are hewn down and let drive in floats down the river, where it is sold cheap to the *Europeans*. As to the lake *Kayor*, we shall only add to what we have related, that it stands about 50 leagues from the mouth of the river *Senegal*, and is joined to it by a canal which the *Europeans* endeavoured to render navigable; but such is the indolence of the natives, and the number of rushes and weeds that choak up the passage, that we may well despair of ever seeing this work accomplished, though nothing could more facilitate the trade into the adjacent countries, or lessen the price of commodities brought from thence by an expensive and tedious land carriage, thro' difficult and hazardous roads.

To conclude this account of *Senegal*, we shall add, that the *Europeans*, as well as the natives, have, for a series of years, observed the bad consequences of a dry season in *Ethiopia*,

(K) It may be worth remarking, that all the neighbouring negroes look upon *Mabeira* as the source of the *Senegal*, and *Bornou* as the spring of the *Niger*; nor do we think that *Labat*, with all his arguments, has made

the contrary very evident, any more than *Ludolphus* and the *Nubian* geographer have proved them to be branches of the *Nile*.

and those parts where the *Senegal* and *Niger* are supposed to have their origin; for if they fail of overflowing in the usual manner, the country on both sides is that year rendered barren, and the inhabitants starved for want of the necessaries of life. Neither grain, grass, or fruits are produced, and cattle as well as men are afflicted with famine and pestilence, the latter either in consequence of the former, or of a change in the air, charged with gross vapours, exhaled by the sultry heat of the sun, and not purified by the high winds and rains that always accompany an inundation. On the other hand, when it overflows regularly, they are no less pestered and afflicted with swarms of vermin, engendered in the mud, and the flights of grasshoppers that darken the sky, and eat up the produce of the earth before it comes to maturity. Thus are the unhappy natives tormented on the one hand by a drought, and on the other by a wet season; and yet experience has never dictated to them the foresight of establishing granaries in a fertile year to guard against the inconvenience of bad seasons. Locusts in particular are, as we observed from *Adamson*, the pests of all these countries, tho' the natives turn this calamity to the best advantage, by using them for food instead of the grain they destroy. But it is time we should hasten to *Biledulgerid*, and not fatigue the reader with dry geographical descriptions of countries, the inhabitants of which are almost intire strangers to us, in civil policy, government, religion, customs, and every thing besides the complexion.

Biledulgerid
described.

BILEDULGERID, or the antient *Numidia*, we have seen described in our antient history; but as the moderns all agree that its limits have been greatly contracted, we shall endeavour to determine its boundaries by the most accurate maps. To the *Romans* it was known by the name of *Numidia*, and was then divided into two large provinces, whose inhabitants were distinguished into *Massælians* and *Massylians*, the former situated to the eastward, and the latter farther west. Both were in friendship with the *Romans*, till they found means to fall upon *Jugurtha*, whom *Caius Marius* defeated and made prisoner, at which time they seized upon *Numidia*, though they did not erect it into provinces before the usurpation of *Julius Cæsar*. Then *Masiliiana* alone was called *Numidia*, and *Massælyana* included under it, by the name of *Mauritania Cæsariensis*. It is not our business to recapitulate in this place the particulars regarding this subjection, division, and the boundaries affixed to each province. We should indeed be contented, could we incontestibly settle the limits of the modern *Numidia*, which are variously adjusted by almost all the authors we have perused. There was, it must be owned, an universal confusion in all their maps and writings, before the geography of M. *De Lisle* appeared, who first began to reduce it to its natural boundaries, by divesting it of a number of provinces, which he, with great accuracy, and upon better authority, places under other divisions. It was before a huge chaos of kingdoms jumbled together, without order, connection, or the smallest ray of reason; now it is reduced to moderate limits, and made to fill up that space that separates the deserts on the north of *Sarab* from *Barbary* ^m.

ACCORDING to the older geographers, *Biledulgerid*, or the *Land of Dates*, was one of the general provinces into which the whole continent of *Africa* was divided; and *Biledulgerid Proper* appears, in fact, to be only a small part of what was comprehended under that general name, to which they added no less than seven provinces, a variety of towns and cities, upon no better foundation than the vast extent they have given it, especially from east to west, that is, from the frontiers of *Egypt* quite to the *Atlantic* ocean; or, according to their calculation, 2500 miles. Nor were its boundaries on the north and south, though much more moderate, less wild and erroneous; for they made *Mount Atlas* the frontier between *Biledulgerid* and *Barbary*, on the north; and the deserts of *Libya* and *Sarab* its southern limits. This the reader may see from the maps and descriptions of *Leo*, *Marmol*, *Sanfon*, *Tillemont*, and *Baudrand*, who seem to have copied each others errors implicitly; and they again to be followed with the same blind ignorance, faith, and indolence, by most late geographers, particularly *Moll* and *Salmon*. A little attention to the above authors would have shewn them such a contrariety of sentiments, not so much with each other as with themselves, as would sufficiently destroy the weight of their authority, and convince a judicious reader, that he must either think for himself, or ever remain in obscurity and error, with respect to the situation of this large district (L).

LEO AFRICANUS, who is much more distinct than *Marmol* or his translators, has plainly contracted the dimensions of *Biledulgerid* on the east and west sides, throwing off a number of provinces, which *Baudrand* upon his pretended authority joins to it. A circumstance of which we thought it necessary to apprize the reader, in apology for our differing so greatly

^m BAUDRAND, sub VOC. MARMOL, p. 24. LEO, p. 4.

(L) We may add, that though *Leo Africanus* and *Marmol* have described this country in a very indistinct and confused manner, and advanced many things without the slightest authority, yet this confusion and error has been greatly augmented by their copiers, who would seem either not to understand the originals, or at least to have explained them according to their own inclinations.

a with late geographers in considerable repute, if we may be allowed to judge from the number of editions of their works which have passed.

According to *Moll* and some other late geographers *Biledulgerid* comprehends the following eight large tracts or provinces; viz. *Barca*, to be described elsewhere, *Biledulgerid Proper*, *Segelmessa*, *Tafilet*, *Tigorarin*, *Zeb*, *Darka*, and *Teffel*, besides a number of inferior ones, which they mention under the names of *Oguela*, *Fassan*, and *Gudamis*, &c.^a *De Lisle*, however, more justly confines it to the province properly called *Biledulgerid*, or that space of land lying south of *Tunis*, and, strictly speaking, only a part of it, separated by a ridge of mountains only, while the form of government is nearly the same. This province is almost of a square form, and extends itself more than eighty leagues every way, or from 28 degrees 30 minutes, to 32 50 minutes north latitude; and from 5 degrees 30 minutes, to 11 degrees 50 minutes east longitude. It is bounded on the east by a ridge of lofty mountains, which divide it from the kingdom of *Tripoli* and part of *Gudamis*, on the west by the countries of *Zeb* and *Mezeb*, on the south by the province of *Verghela*; and this is all that can with propriety be comprehended within the strict limits of *Biledulgerid*, though it be usual to include all those provinces which we have called its frontiers^o.

THE whole country of *Biledulgerid* is sandy, barren, and mountainous, producing little or no sustenance but dates, which grow here in such profusion, that the face of half the province is covered over with trees bearing this fruit. The climate is hot and unhealthy; the people lean, swarthy, and shrivelled in their complexions, with their eyes inflamed, owing to the reflection of the sun beams from the white hard soil, and the showers of dust and sand driven by the high winds, that blow here at certain seasons, so violently as frequently to bury men and cattle under heaps of sand. Another inconvenience with which they are afflicted, for which no reason has been given, besides the eating of dates, is an inveterate scurvy generally in the gums, whence their whole teeth drop out, tho' it frequently spreads over their whole bodies, by which they become the most unhappy, pitiable, and loathsome of all objects. In other respects the natives are vigorous, healthy, and sound, living to a good old age, without sickness or disease; though it is observable, that they discover a furrowed countenance, shrivelled skin, hoary locks, and other concomitants of old age, very early in life, and before infirmity, decrepitude, or any decay of their faculties, begin to appear. The plague, that pest of *Barbary*, is not known, and scarce ever heard of in *Biledulgerid*, notwithstanding the contiguity of the countries, and the constant intercourse of the inhabitants at all seasons; whence one would be induced to believe that this terrible disease is less infectious than it has usually been reported. The same may be said of the small-pox, a disease no less contagious and fatal in hot countries than the plague itself.

As to the character of the natives of *Biledulgerid*, they are represented as a lewd, treacherous, thievish and savage people, that delight in murder, blood, and rapine. They are mostly, as we before mentioned, a mixture of old *Africans* and wild *Arabs*, who mingled themselves with them; the former living with more regularity and civil order in a kind of villages composed of a number of little huts; the latter in tents, ranging from place to place in quest of food and plunder. In the whole country, besides *Teuzar* and *Tonsera*, on the frontiers of *Tunis* and *Cassa*, there is not a town worth mentioning; and those are placed by some geographers within the limits of *Tunis*. It is no less destitute of rivers, there being scarce a single stream in all this large territory that merits notice, or that is not dried up half the year^p.

THE *Arabs*, who pride themselves upon their superiority of birth and talents over the primitive inhabitants, are wholly independent and free, frequently hiring themselves in the service of neighbouring princes at war, from which policy arise their most valuable branches of the public revenue, if any thing can be called common or public, in a nation of lawless rovers; the rest pursue no other occupations besides hunting and plundering, the first of which is one of their noblest diversions, especially ostrich hunting, which in this country are said to be of a prodigious stature, and as high as a man mounted upon a tall horse. We have elsewhere given an account of the manner in which these animals are hunted, killed, and dressed for food, by the *Arabians*, in their own proper country; nor do they apply them less to use here. They eat their flesh, barter their feathers for corn, pulse, and other things they want, use their hearts in their necromantic and religious rites, their fat or oil as a medicine of prime virtues, their talons for ear-pendants and other ornaments, and their skins they convert into pouches and knapsacks, so that not a part of the animal is left unemployed in some useful purpose. Besides dates and ostriches, the *Arabs* live likewise upon the flesh of goats and camels, drinking either the liquor or broth in which that flesh is boiled, or the milk of their camels; for they seldom taste water, that element being more rare than milk itself, at least what is fit

^a MOLL, Geog. Afric.

^o DE LISLE Geograph. vid. Afric. chart.

^p LEO AFRIC. p. 242.

to be used, it being in general brackish and unwholesome, producing a great variety of chronical a diseases^a (A).

Of the priests
and marbuts.

THE *Arabs* have some horses which they use in the chace, upon which occasion persons of better fashion are attended by their slaves of the negro kind, and the rest by their women, no less obsequious than the slaves themselves, looking after their horses, and performing all the most fervile and laborious offices. They have likewise schools, to which all the boys of distinction are sent, to be instructed in that kind of knowledge fashionable in the country, and raised from thence to the high dignities of *cadis* and *marbuts*, judges or priests, in proportion to their genius, and the proficiency they have made in their studies. It is true, indeed, that learning is here at the lowest ebb, it consisting wholly in acquiring a dexterity and slight of hand, by which they may be enabled to juggle and cheat the people by holy artifice, the *marbuts* b being more properly conjurers, than the teachers and professors of morality, or any kind of religion. Some indeed addict themselves to poetry, for which all the natives of this country, like the easterns, shew a very early propensity and genius; nor is it uncommon to see a person rise to the highest distinctions, by means of this talent, which they sometimes carry to an amazing pitch of sublimity and sweetness, considering the rude ignorance of the people in general. Their invention is surprisingly fertile; nor can any thing exceed their talent in weaving in the keenest satires, the most affecting eulogies, and the warmest exhortations, in their fables and parables, in which kind they especially excel. There are others among them who pursue the mechanic arts; but in general the people despise them as mean, fervile, and infinitely below the dignity of their birth, which is a privilege for idleness and poverty: where any of them c think it worth while to cultivate the earth, this employment they leave to their wives and slaves^c.

THE *Arabs* have so dispersed and spread themselves over all the countries, acquired such a superiority over the original inhabitants, and exerted it with such insolence and tyranny, that the native *Africans* have been forced to retire more towards *Negroland*, and leave them to range at liberty in this. Some of them wander from one end to the other, with their herds of cattle, without acknowledging a superior; others have their particular *cheyks*, or chiefs; and a third sort are either tributary or subject, some to the *Turks*, who possess some parts of *Numidia*, others to other states, as particularly those towards the west, to *Fez* and *Morocco*. They are professors of the doctrine of *Mohammed*; but equally negligent in acquiring a competent d knowledge of its tenets, and in practising the little they do know. Indeed their religion, if it deserves that name, seems to be a mixture of the *Pagan*, *Jewish*, and *Mohammedan*, of which they neither have, nor are desirous of having, any distinct ideas, which might only be clogging their conduct with what they esteem an unnecessary restraint^d.

Of the city
Teusera.

As to the city of *Teusera*, which we have placed with *De Lisse* within the limits of *Biledulgerid*, we have the following account by *Marmol*. It was built, he says, by the *Romans*, upon the banks of a fine river, that flows down from some of the mountains on the south, and was fortified with high walls, the ruins of which are still to be seen: however, it would appear to be beyond the true limits of *Biledulgerid Proper*, which *De Lisse* describes without one single river. It contained, according to *Marmol*, five thousand families; but appears, from its remains, e to have been much more populous. The *Mohammedans*, when they entered this country, plundered and destroyed the city, on account of the obstinate resistance made to their conquests by all the inhabitants of this large province. Thus all its noble structures were demolished, and have lain ever since in their ruins, the present buildings consisting of low and mean huts, in the fashion of the country, though the people are said to be wealthy in money and dates. Here they hold fairs at certain seasons, to which the merchants of all the surrounding countries resort, and bring a prodigious afflux of wealth into the place. Through the center of this town runs the river, by which the *Arabs* and *Africans* are separated, each of them possessing a certain quarter, the one to the south, the other to the north, and enjoying different immunities and privileges, though all are the inhabitants of the same city. Nay, they are at continual war with each other, and incursions are made from one division into the other, with all the f rancour and animosity that can be imagined in the breasts of savages, so widely different in manners and customs. Both indeed frequently refuse to acknowledge the *Tunese* government, and unite to repel all endeavours used to reduce them to submission; agreeing in this alone, to preserve their freedom, and not bend the neck to foreigners, while they are using every possible measure to ruin and enslave each other. In a word, the general character of the *Arabs* is, to suffer all kinds of danger and hardships, rather than yield to the yoke of a foreign go-

^a MARMOL, p. 28, 29, 30. t. i. l'Afrique, t. ii. l. iii.

^c Vide Auct. citat. ibid.

^d LA CROIX, relat. univers. de

(A) It is probable, that the bad quality of the water of this country contributes not a little to the malignancy and frequency of that scorbatic *diabets* and habit we have mentioned.

a vernment. To conclude, this city stands upon the confines of *Tunis*, in the latitude of two degrees twenty-eight minutes north, and longitude of ten degrees twenty-six minutes east; and, though by many geographers placed within the kingdom of *Tunis*, is in fact a part of *Biledulgerid*.

b CAPSA is another famed *Roman* city, formerly encircled by strong walls, towers, and bastions; but taken and demolished by *Occuba*, a famous *Arab* general, of whom we before gave an account. This city is likewise placed erroneously by a number of geographers within the boundaries of *Tunis*. The walls of the citadel are still remaining, as monuments of the ancient glory and strength of *Capsa*, twenty-four fathoms in height and five thick, built of large square stones, which have now acquired the solidity and firmness of a rock. The walls of the town were rebuilt by the inhabitants since their first demolition, but were afterwards destroyed by *Jaacob Almanzar*, who sent a governor and troops into the province. In *Marmol's* time *Capsa* was very populous, abounding with stately mosques and other structures, of superb and regular workmanship: but at present it is occupied by a poor indigent people, fleeced and oppressed by the *Tunese* government. In the very center of the city stands an inclosed fountain, which supplies the town at the same time with water, and a bath of a fine cool element. The adjacent country abounds with citrons, palms, olives, and other fruits; but the climate and inhabitants are unhealthy; to which writers attribute the peevish churlishness of the latter. Both men and women dress handsomely, except their feet, which they cover with coarse shoes of bungling workmanship, and made of the rough skins of wild beasts, equally inconvenient and unbecoming. As to the situation of *Capsa*, authors are disagreed; but the most probable is, that it stands in the latitude of thirty-three degrees fifteen minutes north, and in the east longitude of nine degrees three minutes, thirty leagues from *Teusera* (B).

c THAT nothing may be wanting to give the reader ample satisfaction concerning a country so imperfectly known, we will not confine him intirely to our own ideas of it, but gratify him with a description of all the provinces included within the general name of *Biledulgerid* by other writers. First stands the province of *Suz*, or *Souz*, bounded on the east by the ocean, on the south by *Libya*, or the deserts of *Sarah*, on the east by the province of *Dara*, and on the north by the province of *Suz* in *Barbary*, says *La Croix*, as if there were two contiguous provinces of this name.

d NEXT, eastward, is situated the province of *Dara*, which, according to *La Croix* and other moderns, composes a great part of *Biledulgerid*. It takes its name from a large river of this name, that discharges itself into the *Mediterranean* sea, and encloses a great part of that country called *Mauritania Cæsariensis*. On the north it is separated from *Morocco* by the greater *Atlas*, on the west it hath the provinces of *Suz* and *Gezala*, on the east *Segelmessa*, and on the south the deserts of *Sarah* or *Libya*; being in all about an hundred leagues in length. This province contains a number of castles, forts, and strong holds, situated on the banks of the *Dara*. One of the chief towns is *Benisabib*, or *Mucubab*, after which the traveller falls in with *Quiteoa*, about 200 paces from the river, well defended by walls, and fortified by a citadel. Next occurs the little town of *Tozarin*, with its citadel; and about twenty leagues from *Quiteoa* stands *Tayamadert*, famous for the birth of their *Cherifs*. *Turzela* and *Margala*, are also cities situated upon the river *Dara*; the former so large as to contain four thousand houses, a castle, and above four hundred *Jewish* families, *Yinzulin*, the largest town of the whole province of *Dara*, stands twelve leagues from *Jaragala*, and is a place of great extent, fortified by a strong citadel and walls. Besides a number of lesser places, *La Croix* makes mention of *Timefguit*, as one of the chief places, situated on the confines of *Gezula*, and containing within its walls about three thousand fires, besides two hundred families inhabiting the suburbs.

e THE province of *Dara*, like almost all the other provinces of this country, is in general barren, though some parts of it are capable and do produce grain, especially after the river has overflown its banks, and enriched the adjacent fields with its fertile mud. However, the whole province does not afford sufficient nourishment for the inhabitants; whence they exchange their dates at *Fez* for corn and other necessaries of life. Most of the people are of a very dark complexion, few of them bordering upon white; a circumstance that is attributed to their allying themselves so frequently with the negroes, and intermingling their blood. Their women are reckoned handsome; but inclinable to a gross habit. Their disposition is sweet, and tinged

* MARMOL, & LEO AFRIC. ubi supra.

(B) *La Croix* places *Capsa*, which he calls *Cafsa*, under forty degrees of east longitude, and twenty-seven degrees and ten minutes north latitude; but, according to this situation, it could not be in *Biledulgerid Proper*, in which province he describes it (8).

(8) *Vid. t. ii. p. 320.*

with less of the savage than is to be found among most females of this country. In general, the inhabitants of *Dara* acknowledge the sovereignty of the emperor of *Morocco*, though they are governed by their own *Cheyks*.

3d. *Ytata*

NEXT stand the provinces of *Taphilet* and *Ytata*, which we shall describe under their proper heads hereafter; though they are here placed by *La Croix* among the provinces of *Biledulgerid*.

4th. *Segelmessa*.

THE province of *Segelmessa* is watered by the river *Zis*, and extends from the streights near *Gberjulein* to the deserts of *Sarab*, north and south, and from *Dara* to *Jessel* on the west and east. Its metropolis, of the same name, is washed by the *Zis*. It was formerly powerful; and one sees by the vestiges of its walls that they had been high, beautiful, and strong; but on occasion of some troubles the inhabitants deserted it, and retired to the surrounding villages. However, *Gramay* affirms, that it was repeopled in the year 1548; tho' for this we have no other authority. *La Croix* says, that along the banks of *Zis* there are three hundred and fifty walled towns, besides a great number of villages: whence we may conclude, that this province must be exceeding populous. The same author adds, that the method of living here, and the general manners of the people, differ in nothing from what we have described; that the heat produces a great number of scorpions and serpents; that in the summer the natives are always troubled with inflammations and defluxions of the eyes; that they are ignorant, credulous, and superstitious, to a degree of absurdity.

5th. *Quanana*.

ALONG the river *Zis* stands the province of *Quaneg*, or *Quanana*. Between *Fez* and *Segelmessa* it has several considerable fortresses, of which the chief is *Zebel*, situated on a high inaccessible rock, whose summit is hidden among the clouds. It is indeed an epitome of the country, than which nothing more bare, barren, rocky, and desert can be imagined.

6th. *Metagara*

SOUTH of *Quanana* lie the provinces of *Metagara* and *Retel*, filled with towns, villages, and other marks of their being well inhabited and wealthy. The chief town of the former is called *Helela*, where resides a *Cheyk*, who draws 30,000 ducats yearly from duties imposed upon merchandize brought thither. Nor is the province of *Retel* less populous; but the people are covetous, and much addicted to thieving, at least such of them as serve the *Arabs* in quality of slaves: a vice they may possibly have learned under so experienced masters.

7th. *Togda*.

THE province of *Togda* has three cities, and a number of villages; but is less populous and wealthy than the preceding. It is divided into the four following districts, *Farcella*, *Togda*, *Tezarin*, and *Banigami*; all of them inhabited by different nations, independent on each other, and yet connected by a certain political tie in one interest, and under one head.

8th. *Tegorari*.

NEXT follows the territory of *Tegorari*, or *Taguriri*, consisting chiefly of a desert, forty miles in length; however, it is not all so, as appears by the number of castles, which amount to fifty-three, and more than one hundred villages. Of these *La Croix* places the chief in 28 degrees of east longitude, and 30 of north latitude. The natives are rich, by means of their extensive commerce with the negroes; and it is besides affirmed, that gold is found plentifully in this country; yet so barren and dry is it, that it scarce produces any grain, or indeed any other vegetables, without being watered, with great labour and expence, by water brought from a great distance. For this reason it is that they permit strangers who travel the country to pay nothing for lodgings, thinking it a sufficient equivalent that they have the dung of their cattle, which they prize as gold, and the labour of their horses to fetch water during their stay. Victuals of all kinds are exceeding dear, not only on account of the scarcity of grain, but of grass, which makes them unable to maintain their sheep and cows, or render those they have valuable for their milk or flesh. Besides dates, the chief aliment is horse and camel's flesh, which they purchase, when old and past work, of the *Arabians*, who deal largely in superannuated cattle. With all its disadvantages, the *Jews* have established themselves in this country, and were equally remarkable for their numbers and riches, before they were pillaged, at the instigation of a *marabout* of *Tremecen*, by the people, on the very same year they were driven out of *Spain*, viz. in 1492. *La Croix* says, that they were not only plundered but massacred by the *Tegorarins*, very few of them escaping out of the kingdom.

9th. *Menezal*.

THERE is another country, called *Menezal*, about a hundred leagues east of *Tegorari*, and the same distance from the *Mediterranean* sea on the north, which *La Croix* ranks among the provinces of *Biledulgerid*. This territory contains six walled towns, a great variety of large villages, although the land is desert and barren, the inhabitants making up the natural disadvantages of the country, by a redoubled application to trade, which they push a great way into the negro kingdoms. The misfortune is, that, being subject to the *Arabs*, they are grievously oppressed, and compelled to pay heavy tributes to those idle and insolent usurpers.

- a IN the next place we meet with the kingdom of *Tycarte* as *Gramaye* calls it, and *Tecort*, ^{10th. The king-} according to *La Croix*, and other *French* writers. What reasons could induce these authors to rank this among the *Biledulgerid* provinces we know not: certain it is, that writers of an older ^{dom of Ty-} date, and the *Turks* themselves, place it in the interior parts of *Algiers*. However, we shall here give a short account of it under the former division, as we find it in *La Croix* and *Ogilvie*. *Tycarte*, the capital, which gives its appellation to the kingdom, stands at the distance of an 100 leagues from *Tegorari*, and an hundred and fifty from the *Mediterranean* sea, under thirty-two degrees fifty minutes east longitude, and twenty-seven degrees ten minutes north latitude. Here is the ancient city called *Turaphilun* by *Ptolemy*, built by the *Numidians* upon a mountain, the foot of which is washed by a small river, over which stands a draw-bridge. Here it is
- b fortified by good strong stone walls, and on the other side by the rugged precipices of an inaccessible rock. It contains about two thousand five hundred houses, built of stone, lime, and brick, with a handsome mosque in the center, corniced with stone.

IN the kingdom of *Tycarte* are about forty strong holds, and an hundred and fifty villages, which pay a considerable tax or revenue to the superior, whom we do not find called a *king*, though the country has the appellation of *kingdom*. The people consist of nobility and artificers: they are rich in dates, but poor in corn and other grain, which they import from *Constantina*, giving in exchange their fruits: they are fond of strangers, and so hospitable, that they lodge them for months without expecting any return, and prefer marrying their daughters to them than to their own neighbours. When, however, no such alliances happen to be

c made, and that their guests are going away, without any expectation or tie upon them ever to return, they load them with presents, which impress the highest ideas of their generous liberality.

NEXT is the lordship of *Querquelen*, which is in strict propriety no more than a province ^{11th. Quer-} of the kingdom of *Tycarte*. At present its capital gives its name to the country, though ^{quelen.} *Ptolemy* describes it under the appellation of *Tamarca*. It was built by the *Numidians* in the middle of the deserts, under thirty-seven degrees thirty minutes east longitude, and twenty-five degrees fifty minutes north latitude. The country produces a great abundance of dates, but scarce any grain or cattle, or indeed animals, except camels and ostriches. Most of the natives are negroes, both in complexion and features; not owing, it is

d thought, to the climate, but to the connexion they have with the blacks, and the frequent intermarriages, by which, in time, the children acquire the exterior of the mother; for scarcely any black men marry the *Numidian* women. The country is filled with artisans and merchants; the first supplying the latter with materials for trade, and receiving in return the necessaries of life. They are open, free, generous, and hospitable to strangers; industrious in their occupations, insomuch that by dint of trade they have rendered this barren country rich, and abounding with all the luxuries of life, though hardly any of them are indigenous. They have a superior, with the authority, but without the name and badges of majesty, who has a revenue of an hundred and fifty thousand ducats; but it is probable, that out of this he pays a tribute to the *Arabs*, as he certainly does to the *Bey* of *Algiers*.

- e ZEB is the next province; and it is remarkable, that *Procopius* distinguishes it by the same ^{12th. province} appellation. On the south it is inclosed by the great road leading from *Tecort* to *Querquelen*; ^{of Zeb.} on the north, by the mountains of *Bugie*; on the east, by the province of *Biledulgerid Proper*; and on the west, by the deserts of *Mazila*. *Leo Africanus* reckons five fine cities, besides towns and large villages innumerable, in this province. The city of *Biscare*, situated in thirty degrees ten minutes north latitude, and thirty-four degrees of longitude, is a place of great antiquity, built by the *Romans*, and destroyed by the *Arabs*, who afterwards rebuilt it. At present it is but indifferently peopled; but the inhabitants are in general a civil, good natured people; tho' their houses are of all others the most inhospitable, on account of the swarms of scorpions, vipers, and poisonous reptiles, which crawl about in every corner. Hence
- f it is that the inhabitants desert the city in the summer, when these noxious animals chiefly prevail, retire into the country, and seldom return till the approaching cold has cleared their houses of these hissing guests.

ABOUT five leagues from *Biscare* stands *Borgie*, a town much better peopled, and the residence of a great number of merchants, mechanics, and labourers of all kinds.

- NOT far from hence stands *Nesta*, a town separated into three divisions by stone walls, and each inhabited by a people of different manners and customs from any of the others, notwithstanding the continual intercourse among them. They are all strictly prohibited to intermarry; and if any man leaves his own division to settle in one of the others, he and his posterity are outlawed. In *Nesta* is a fortress, the structure of which shews it to be of *Roman* workmanship:
- g as to the inhabitants, they are covetous, thievish in their disposition, and intolerably insolent to strangers, whom they insult and oppress by every method in their power.

THE last province, according to this distribution, is that of *Biledulgerid Proper*, which we have described so fully as affords no room for addition; *La Croix's* account being taken intirely from

from the authors we then cited, and so implicitly, that he has not corrected one of the numberless ^a errors with which they abound, tho' he has not failed to superadd egregious blunders of his own. Thus the reader has had a complete view of the coast, from the gulph of *Benin* to the borders of *Barbary*; the manners, customs, and religion of the inhabitants; the produce of the countries; their trade with the *Europeans*, and every other particular regarding that vast tract, which we imagined could contribute either to his instruction or amusement. It was necessary to be extremely minute in the topography, by reason of the imperfection of all our charts; and the same may be said of the whole history of this part of *Africa*, which has unfortunately been treated by writers the most illiterate, immethodical, credulous, and false, of any we have hitherto had occasion to peruse. We shall make no other apology for the labour with which we have endeavoured to characterize the manners of such a variety of ^b different nations, since we are sensible that every discerning reader will think this method infinitely preferable to the best written general history, in which a thousand interesting curious particulars must necessarily be omitted.

B O O K XXII.

C H A P. I.

The modern history of Barbary ; containing a general account of that vast tract of land ; its several nations, governments, wars, and changes, previous to its establishment into the various kingdoms and republics of Morocco, Fez, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, in which they have continued to this present time.

^a **W**E have, by this time, finished our stated progress around the eastern, southern, ^{*A general account of Barbary.*} and western coasts of this vast *African* peninsula ^a, and given the best account we could procure, not only of the several kingdoms and states situate upon them, but likewise of the various inland countries, empires, and nations, contiguous to them, as far as our best modern authors and travellers have been able to penetrate into, or receive any certain intelligence about them. Our next task, of course, leads us through the only remaining northern tract, commonly known by the general name of *Barbary*, and, by reason of its limits, and more ample commerce with *Europe*, the part best known to us of any we have hitherto had occasion to speak of, and, on that account, as well as its advantageous situation along the *Mediterranean* sea, and its rich and fertile soil, highly coveted, and by ^{*Situation, boundaries, and extent of coast.*} turns possessed, by the *Romans, Greeks, Saracens, Vandals, Arabs, Moors, and Turks*, not to mention the various attempts which the *Spaniards, Portuguese, and other European* nations, have made upon, and their several settlements in some convenient parts of, this extensive coast, which stretches itself in length from east to west, that is, from the southernmost limits of *Egypt* to the *Streights of Gibraltar*, full 35 degrees of longitude, and from thence to *Santa Cruz*, the utmost western verge of it, about six more, in all 41 degrees ; and is there bounded on the north by the *Atlantic* ocean, as it is within by the *Mediterranean* sea. The whole extent of the *Barbary* coast is computed to amount to above 757 *German* leagues. On the south, indeed, it is confined within much narrower bounds, stretching itself no farther than from the 27th to the 35th degree and a half of latitude, or about 128 *German* miles ^b ; but ^{*Fertility.*} it must be remembered, that it is by far the richest and most fertile part of that whole tract ; all that lies beyond it, as well as a considerable part of it on the south, being nothing else, for the most part, but sandy and barren deserts ; but chiefly the continued ridge of the great *Atlas*, intersected by sandy deserts, and inhabited by wild and other *Arabs*, some of whom live, as we have elsewhere observed *, altogether upon plunder, and others are tributary to the *Algerines, Tunisians, &c.* but all of them are such enemies to husbandry, that a country must be bad to the highest degree, if they do not, in a short time, leave it worse than they found it.

^d We shall not here relate what we have said of its antient state, in a former part of this work, but refer our readers to it, as much of it relates to the knowledge which the *Romans* and other antient nations had of it, the various names, limits, nations, &c. they gave to it, commerce they drove with it, and their several conquests of it, all which have been sufficiently displayed in the volumes quoted in the margin ^c. We here chiefly confine ourselves to that part of its history from the time of their shaking off the yoke of the *Roman* and *Greek* emperors, and resuming their liberty under their own natural, or at least *African*, princes, down to that of their forming themselves into that variety of kingdoms in which we now find them, the principal of which are those of *Morocco, Fez, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli* ; for it must be here observed,

^a See before, vol. v. p. 721, & seq.

^b LEO AFRIC. l. i. c. 1, & seq. GRAMMAY AFRIC. l. i. c. 3, & seq. MARMOL AFRIC. lib. i. c. 6. DAVITY, DAPPER, LINSCHOT. & al. plur. RAMUS. Voyag. lib. i. c. 1. SHAW'S Travels, p. 5, & seq. & alib. pass.

^c Before, vol. v. p. 669, & seq. ^d Anc. Hist. vol. v. p. 165, & seq. vii. 107, & seq. & alib. pass.

that those of *Telenfin*, or *Tremecen*, have been since incorporated with that of *Algiers*; and ^a that of *Barca*, or *Barce*, hath been since reduced to a dependence on that of *Tripoli*.

According to this division, therefore, and route we have hitherto followed round the whole African coasts, *Barbary* begins on the west of the famed *Mount Atlas*, called by the *Arabs* *Ayduacal*, or *Al Duacal*, and incloses the antient kingdoms of *Suez* and *Dela*, now provinces of *Morocco*; thence steering north-eastward, along the *Atlantic* coast, to the pillars of *Hercules* at *Cape Finister*, through the *Streights of Gibraltar*, and so on, by an eastern course, along the *Mediterranean* coast, one comes at length to the city of *Alexandria*, which is the southern boundary of *Egypt*, and where it joins to this of *Barbary*. Both coasts, whether that which is watered by the *Atlantic* ocean, or by the *Mediterranean*, are most fertile in corn and pasturage; the former lying towards, and being watered by a multitude of small and large rivers which come down from, the great *Atlas*, and empty themselves into the ocean; the other extends itself by and along the declivity of a vast ridge of mountains, some of them of a considerable height, and spreading themselves in depth above 40 leagues into the inland, all of them watered by a multitude of rivers, which, after a great number of long and various windings, some of them several hundreds of leagues, through a vast variety of pleasant and fertile vallies, discharge themselves into the *Mediterranean*. We may add, that the temperature of its climate, being all the way situate under the temperate zone, adds not a little to its fecundity; and of course, if not altogether, yet in a great measure, frees it from the ill effects of the extremes of blasting cold and burning heat, felt by the other two. If in any thing it comes nearer to either, it is to the former; and it may be truly affirmed of both the coasts and mountains along the *Mediterranean*, that they partake more of the extreme coldness of the one than of the heat of the other. They have great quantities of snow in the winter, and the tops of some of their mountains are quite covered with it, especially the great *Atlas*, all the year round.

Temperate
climate and
seasons.

THEIR winter, which begins about the middle of *October*, proves frequently very severe, and is attended with long and nipping frosts ^d. The rains commonly begin about the end of the month, and continue till the end of *January*, and often beyond it; with this difference, nevertheless, that how severe soever the weather may be in the morning, the afternoons are commonly warm enough to dispense with a fire. In *February* it becomes milder, and the weather changes usually three or four times in a day. In *March* the west and north winds begin to blow powerfully, gradually unlock the earth, and spread universal life and verdure, which is completed by the next month. During the whole spring season, which begins about the latter end of *February*, the weather continues for the most part serene and pleasant, except from the latter end of *April* to that of *May*, when the kind refreshing showers begin to fall in great plenty, which, warmed by the moderate rays of the sun, bring every product of the earth to a gradual maturity; inasmuch that, by the latter end of *May*, they begin to gather ripe figs and cherries, in *Tunis*, *Algiers*, and some parts of *Morocco*; by the middle of *July* their apples, pears, and plums, are in their full maturity, and the gathering of grapes and other later fruits is completed by the latter end of *September*, which are commonly more or less copious according to the quantity of rain they have had from the 25th of *April* to the 25th of *May*; on which account they style this rain by the title of *Naisan*, or water sent from heaven, and lay in a provision of it in vessels for their future use ^e.

Spring season.

Summer excessive hot.

THE summer begins, according to their reckoning, on the 28th of *May*, and lasts till the 26th of *August*; during which the heats are excessive and dangerous, especially if they have great rains in *June* and *July*; at which time the atmosphere becomes inflamed to such a degree, as to cause malignant fevers, and other dangerous diseases of the pestilential kind, which carry off myriads of people, for want of proper caution in preventing, or proper skill and remedies to cure them (A).

^d LEO, MARMOL, GRAMMAY, & al. sup. citat.

^e LEO, MARMOL, & al. sup. citat.

(A) This, as we have formerly had occasion to observe, is chiefly owing to a religious, though senseless prejudice, not only common amongst, but deeply rooted in, the far greater part of the *Mohammedans*, that all such sublunary disasters are preordained, by an unerring and unalterable decree of the Divine Providence; so that all precautions either to prevent or avoid, and every kind of remedy used against them, are not only fruitless but impious (1). It must be owned, however, that this stupid notion hath been in some measure exploded

among the more sensible part of the inhabitants of this coast, by their vicinity to *Europe*, and frequent commerce with, as well as the example of, such Christians as were conversant with them; but as to the rest, they continue still so fixed in it, that they deem it a most damnable impiety to go a step out of their way to avoid a plague, or any other disastrous calamity, or to use any means or remedy against them; and this is the cause why epidemic diseases make such dreadful havoc amongst them.

(1) See before, vol. vi. p. 3, (B). Maillet, Greenhill, Perry, & al. plur.

THEIR

a THEIR autumn begins on the 27th of *August*, and ends on the 16th of *November*; and *Autumn* from the first of these one begins to feel a sensible diminution of the heat. The winter begins on the 17th of *November*, and ends on the 16th of *February*; on which month they begin to plow and sow their low lands, but set about that work on the high lands and mountainous parts a month sooner. They reckon the year to have 40 days of excessive cold, and as many *Length of heat and cold.* of excessive hot weater; the former begins on or about the 12th of *December*, and the latter on or about the 12th of *June*. Their two equinoxes begin with them on the 16th of *March* and *September*, according to which they regulate all their matters relating to agriculture and navigation; and they have a great number of men among them, who are very expert in directing and establishing settled rules for both, though they can neither write nor read.

b THE people of *Barbary* reckon three sorts of winds which are extremely dangerous and detrimental to them; viz. the east, south-east, and south, and all of them most so in the months of *May* and *June*, in which they seldom fail of blasting all the fruits, and burning up every kind of growing grain; to which the fogs and mists, which usually reign at such times greatly contribute. They are moreover greatly exposed during the latter end of their autumn, their whole winter, and the beginning of the spring, to violent rains, snow, hail, thunders, and lightnings, and are frequently damaged by them.

As for those who inhabit the higher lands, especially along the ridge of mountains of the great *Atlas*, they reckon but two seasons in the year; viz. the winter and the summer; the former whereof lasts from *October* to *April*, during which there fall such vast quantities of snow, *But two seasons on Mount Atlas.* but mostly in the night, that they are forced every morning to remove it with their shovels from their doors, before they can get a free passage out of them. From *April* to *September* is their summer, which, in the valleys, is commonly excessive hot, but on the higher grounds more temperate and pleasant, and, on the tops, not warm enough to melt away the winter snow, which is there to be seen from one end of the year to the other, as it is on the *Alps*, *Pyrenees*, and other more northern regions; though both corn and barley grow under it in many parts of that ridge, and put forth their stems through it, and rise up to the eye as fast as the snow melts away. The grain, however, especially the barley, we are told, is apt to contract a sourish taste by it; which, being the chief food of their horses, sets their teeth on-edge, so that they eat it with great difficulty, unless it be mixed with some alkalious alloy. *Its product.*

d Thus much may serve for a general view of the climate, seasons, and produce of this country, which admits but of a small difference, and extends itself, from end to end, though in a kind of parallel, through the heart of the temperate zone. As to what relates to its most considerable rivers, mountains, lakes, and other such particulars, they will be better seen in the description of the respective kingdoms and provinces to which they belong.

BARBARY is chiefly inhabited by three sorts of people; viz. *Moors*, or *Maures*, who are the original natives; the *Arabs*, who have over-run this country, as we have seen them do in many other parts of *Africa*; and the *Turks*, who have since made themselves masters of some of the best provinces of it, and the several kingdoms of *Tripoli*, *Tunis*, and *Algiers*, tho' under a kind of tribute to, or dependence on, the *Ottoman Porte*; besides a great variety of foreign nations, Christians, *Jews*, and others, who live intermixed amongst them; nor to mention a most shameful, as well as innumerable, multitude of renegadoes, who, either through mere avarice, or to free themselves from slavery, have renounced their faith, and become the most grievous nuisance to Christianity; and, though hated and abhorred by those who encourage their apostacy, are yet suffered to live and thrive amongst them, and to be employed not only in the most profitable branches of trade and commerce, but in some of the highest posts in the army, navy, and state, for the sake of the service they do to it, by the ill offices and cruelties they affect to do, above all others, to all Christians in general, and frequently to those of their own nation, as will be more evidently seen in the sequel of this chapter.

f WITH respect to the three nations above-mentioned, which chiefly inhabit this *Barbary* coast, we have had occasion to speak of them in a former volume^a, under the name of *Africans*, and seen what a wretched character they bear among other nations, and even amongst those of their own: and we are fully persuaded that our readers have not met, thro' the whole course of this *African* history, with any thing that hath not helped to confirm rather than extenuate the justness of it to them. Nor will these we are now upon be found to deserve a more favourable one, seeing if they differ in any thing from the rest, it is only in being, in all respects, still worse than they, and out-doing them by many degrees in laziness, ignorance, superstition, thieving, lying, cheating, treachery, cowardice, lewdness of all, even the most infamous, kinds, and every sort of baseness and vice, ever since they fell under the tyrannic government of the Sharifs of *Morocco*; all which will be more fully seen in the sub-

^f MARMOL, ubi sup. c. 8. & al. ubi sup.

^g LEO, MARMOL, GRAMMAY, DAVITY, DAPPER, & al.

^a Vol. v. p. 658.

sequent history of those kingdoms and states, by whom they have been depressed to the lowest degree of misery and wretched servitude, beyond what any other *Moors* ever underwent in any other parts of *Africa* (B).

The abject
condition of its
ancient inha-
bitants.

It cannot but be owned, however, that the cruel oppression they suffer under their several tyrannic governments, hath greatly contributed to their degeneracy, and that one can hardly imagine a more abject and miserable condition than theirs is, crushed, on the one hand, with a heavy load of taxes, and treated with the utmost cruelty by their insulting masters; and, on the other, exposed to the continual inroads of the plundering *Arabs*, who, on such occasions, never fail of stripping them of the small pittance they are able to lay up; and they dare not provide more than barely serves them the year round, lest a greater abundance should either induce those freebooters to visit them the oftener, or their *Moorish* landlords to raise their rents upon them; and if they chance to have any superfluity, through an unexpected good crop, and take ever so great care to conceal it, by burying it under ground, or stowing it in chests or caverns, they are in no less danger of being bastinadoed, and even tortured by both, to oblige them to discover it; so that, upon the whole, in order to avoid the cruel oppressions of the one, and the insults and ravages of the other, they are content to buy their safety and ease, at the expence of the most pinching and contemptible penury, hunger, and indigence; and how satisfied they live under all these hardships may be easily judged, by what hath been said in the foregoing note ¹.

It will not be improper, however, to apprise our readers, that what we have already said of this wretched people relates chiefly to the *Moors* who live at large in the country, where very few follow any trade or manufacture, but live altogether upon their agriculture and breeding of cattle, like one class of the *Arabs*. As to those who live in sea-ports along the coast, they are allowed to follow variety of handicraft trades and manufactures, and even to carry on some commerce by land and sea, and, of course, live a little better, and more creditably, tho' no less oppressed with taxes and other exactions, and, if any thing, more cruelly treated and insulted by their lordly masters, of whom they stand in the greatest awe and dread; the least oversight in point of respect to the meanest soldier or scoundrel officer in the government, being deemed crime enough to procure them a sound beating, if poor, or a heavy mulct, if otherwise ².

The Arabs in
Barbary de-
scribed.

THE second sort of inhabitants in *Barbary* is that of the *Arabs*; but these we have elsewhere so fully described, according to their three distinct classes, and different ways of life ¹, that we shall have the less to say now concerning them. They are here the same as we have seen them in other parts of *Africa*, follow the three same ways of living, are governed by their own despotic Cheyks, and all of them, except those of the wandering kind, and those who live under the dominion of the emperors of *Morocco* and *Fez* (of whom we shall speak more largely in a subsequent chapter), in some sort tributary to the *Turks*, ever since they have made themselves masters of the remainder of the *Barbary* coast, and on that condition only permit them to live among them; and if there be any difference between these and those who are dispersed in other parts, it is this, by being under more severe and tyrannic governments, they are more grievously oppressed, and oftener punished with military execution, either for non-payment of tribute, or even for running too far in arrear; which often obliges

¹ See the authors quoted under it.

² *Ibid. ibid.*

¹ See before, vol. v. p. 668, & seq.

(B) It will not, however, be displeasing to our readers, if, in spite of this strange degeneracy amongst them, and amidst their extreme poverty and contempt, we can, in justice to them, mention one remarkable virtue universally reigning amongst them, and no less conspicuous in the one than in the other sex, and that in a most surprising degree; namely, that of an unparalleled patience under all the various branches of their wretchedness and thralldom, such as the most pinching hunger and want, the oppression and most inhuman treatment of their insolent masters, and innumerable other hardships their abject condition daily exposes them to. And for this we need not seek for more pregnant and unquestionable vouchers than the two following; *viz.*

1. The peace and contentment that reign in every family, amidst all those great and shocking difficulties they labour under, the men under the yoke of tyrannic government, and the women under the no less galling one of their husbands, and the servile drudgery they are forced to submit to. And,

2dly, And which we think by far the more cogent

proof, that their excessive oppression and misery hath not, as yet, driven them to coin or adopt into their language any phrases or expressions of impatience, discontent, murmuring, or repining at their unhappy condition, much less of curses and imprecations against the authors of it; and which, though nothing is more commonly heard to come out of the mouths of renegadoes and profligate christian slaves, seldom fail of meeting some severe rebukes, and sincere marks of dislike and abhorrence.

To all this we may add, that to see a circle of them sitting at the doors of their poor cots, with empty bellies and naked bodies, some either smoking or telling merry tales, others singing or dancing, and, when weary, lying supinely on the ground, one would hardly fail of deeming them a happy and contented, tho' lazy, people. And from this easy disposition results another kind of virtue; that they seldom quarrel or fight amongst themselves; or if they do, they use no other weapon than the fist; so that there are few, if any, homicides to be seen amongst them; and the war lasts no longer than the heat of the blood, and ends as soon as it is cooled (1).

(1) *De his, vide Leo, Grammay, Marmol, Davity, Dapper, Ramusio, Purchas, & al. plur.*

a them to abandon their habitations, and seek for new ones among the most rocky and inaccessible mountains, where they are sure the *Turkish* forces cannot come at them. This, however, is to be understood only of those who live in the country, and along the ridge of *Mount Atlas*; but, as we have observed elsewhere, there is another and more civilized sort of them, who are, like the *Moors*, settled in some of the towns and villages, and apply themselves to agriculture, and especially in breeding that fine and so much esteemed race of horses, known to us by the name of *Barbs*, for which their country is famed all over *Europe* and the eastern parts, and of which we have given an account in a former volume ^m.

As for the wild or wandering *Arabs*, who range at large along the great *Atlas* and other parts of *Barbary*, they are not only as great a nuisance as in other parts of *Africa*, but, in ^{Their dreadful} some respects, a more dangerous one, being commonly more warlike, bold, and even desperate, in all their plundering excursions, especially in their attempts on the large and rich caravans, which go from *Morocco* into *Egypt*, in which they spare none that oppose them, but slay and butcher, and carry off all that come in their way, of which we shall have occasion to give some pregnant instances ^{plunderings} ⁿ; and as these are some of the most advantageous excursions, so are they the more diligent in watching for them, and most desperate in attacking them.

THE *Arabs* of each class are commonly much given to the study of astronomy and astrology, to both which their pastoral life, and a sort of husbandry, not only incline them, but give them time and leisure to apply themselves to it; and the natural superstition of the whole race makes them the most fond of the latter. They neither sow, reap, plant, travel, buy or sell, or undertake any expedition or matter, without previously consulting the stars, or, in other words, their *Almanacks* (C), or some of the makers of them, whether they be *Mohammedans* or *Idolaters*.

THE third and last sort of inhabitants of *Barbary* are the *Turks*; and these are not only of much later date, and by far the fewest in number, as we shall see in the sequel of this history, but one may add by far the worst, and in all respects, except their surprising and uncontrouled power and sway, the most contemptible of all the three, being originally no better than a wretched crew of indigent, tattered, and famished, loose, idle, and thievish fellows, enlisted in and about *Constantinople*, and sent from thence thither once in three years, to recruit the soldiery, and who, having once been furnished with a gun, sword, and other martial furniture, learned their exercise, and been initiated into some regiment, from that time have a vote and share in the government, and from thence are raised by degrees from one post to another, even to that of admiral, vazir, &c. and thence to the Beyric. In all which, even from the very lowest, they behave with the most insupportable insolence and tyranny over their *Moorish* vassals, who, by a long series and variety of oppressions, are become such dastards, that the wealthiest of them tremble at the sight of a *Turkish* common soldier. And it cannot be imagined that any thing else than such a height of insolence and tyranny, could have enabled such a small number of *Turkish* soldiers as are in the three kingdoms of *Algiers*, *Tunis*, and *Tripoli*, to hold such a multitude of *Moors* and *Arabs* under so long and severe a subjection. How they raised themselves to that extraordinary height of power will be best seen in the history of each of those kingdoms; in the mean time, it will not be amiss to say a word or two concerning the origin of the name of *Barbary*, concerning which our authors ^{The Turks in} greatly vary in their conjectures, for little else but conjecture can be offered about it. Some will have it, that the *Romans*, after they had conquered that large tract, gave it that name, in contempt and dislike of the rude and barbarous manners of the natives, as they commonly did to those nations whom they subdued in *Gaul*, and several parts of *Europe*, all which they generally dignified with the name of *Barbaro*. *Marmol*, on the contrary, rejecting that disgraceful etymology, will have it to be derived from the *Arabic* word *Berber*, a name which the *Arabs* gave to the antient inhabitants, and which they still retain to this day in many parts of ^{Barbary described.} ^{Their tyranny over the Moors.} ^{Barbary, why so called.}

^m Ibid. 669, & seq.

ⁿ Id. ibid.

(C) As it is from them, and their vicinity to *Europe*, that this art, no less useful in one sense, than stupid and ridiculous in another, hath passed over to us, and spread itself through every part of it, so those astronomical compositions have still every-where retained not only their old *Arabic* name of *Almanack*, or *Al Manack*, or *The Diary*, but have been, like theirs, for a long while, and are still, among many *European* nations, interspersed with a great number and variety of astrological rules for planting, sowing, bleeding, purging, &c. down to the paring of the hair and nails, and represented, for the sake of those that could not read, in such plain hieroglyphics,

or characters, as the most ignorant would easily understand. And we shall not need to wonder that such superstitious stuff should be so regarded by those *Arabs*, if we consider with what extraordinary care and caution such yearly productions are ushered into the world amongst the most polite nations of the east, especially in *China*, where they are made a particular branch of their monarch's and his council's attention; and the compilers of them are as liable to be fined or punished for any defect or oversight in the astrological as in the astronomical branch (3).

(3) *Vide inf. al. vol. iii. p. 593, & seq. & note (B).*

this tract, especially along the long ridge of the great *Atlas*, where they are very numerous *; a which name those new invaders gave them on account of the barrenness of their country †.

MUCH the same thing is affirmed by *Leo Africanus*, a half native of that country, who tells us, that it was given to it by the *Arabs*, on account of their strange language, which appeared to them inarticulate, and more like a murmur, or grumbling of some dumb animals, from their *Arabic* word *Barbar*, which signifies a murmuring sound or noise °; but at the same time tells us, that others derive its etymon from the single word *Bar* twice repeated, which signifies a *desert*, such as it was for the most part, till the *Arabs* poured their numerous herds into it; so that the fugitive king *Ifrik*, from whom the whole *African* continent is pretended to have received its name †, being closely pursued by his enemies in his flight out of *Arabia Felix*, and in great perplexity which way to steer his course, some of his retinue, who knew the country, cried out to him, *Bar, Bar*, that is, *To the desert, To the desert*. So that, upon the whole, its name seems rather derived from its barrenness of inhabitants, than their barrenness of manners; though it is since become one of the most fertile of the former, and barren and destitute of the latter, of any belonging to that large continent, if we except the *Cassers*, *Giagas*, and some other truly barbarous nations in the heart of it, of whom we have given an account in some former chapters †; the whole *Barbary* coast having been little better for these few last centuries, than a continual nest of the most destructive vermin, the most infamous pirates, as will be further seen in the sequel; though in other respects so happy in its soil, situation, climate, the number and extent of its fertile plains, multitude of its rivers, richness of its meadows and pasture grounds, and variety of cattle, corn, barley, and other grain, and products; the largeness of its woods and forests, and vast plenty and variety of game, and other considerable advantages it naturally enjoys, that, were it not for the tyranny and iniquity of its several governments, all equally destructive of every kind of industry and useful improvement, it might easily be rendered one of the happiest and most fruitful countries not only in all *Africa*, but perhaps in the whole world: even that part of this *Barbary* coast which is called *Earif*, and the little *Atlas* ends, though rather too cold to produce any great quantity of corn, yet is so fertile in barley, as to be more than sufficient to supply its numerous inhabitants, though it be in a great measure their chief food, as well as that of their horses and camels.

BESIDES the *Turks* above-mentioned, who belong to the soldiery, and have a share in the government, there are multitudes of others who come thither to seek a livelihood, invited thither by the favour of the government, and the preference shewn to them above the *Arab* and *Moors*. But these, like the rest, are too proud to apply themselves either to husbandry or any laudable and useful trades, but follow either the corsair or piratic business, as the most suitable to their high conceit of themselves, as well as the most profitable to them, being intitled to better pay, fare, and treatment, than the natives, who, whether on board or at land, are scarcely used one degree better than the common galley-slaves, excepting their fetters.

THE *Barbary Turks* do every-where make a high profession of *Mohammedism*, but in their practice are the most loose and negligent observers of its precepts, and indulge themselves in so many things that are forbidden by it, that, excepting the great and laudable regard they pay to the name of God, and their severity in punishing every blasphemous expression, oaths, and curses, their whole religion seems little else than a mere outside. They allow themselves to drink wine, and the eating of sundry kinds of forbidden meats; are extremely remiss in their lents and other fasts; careless in their ablutions, and addicted to a multitude of superstitions, and a dissolution of manners, which are abhorred by all true *Mohammedans*; though, in other cases of less importance, they endeavour to appear more conformable to them. For this reason, whenever they indulge themselves in a debauch, as they frequently do, it is commonly with the greatest secrecy, and in a private apartment, where they shut themselves up with their own intimates, neither women nor children being either admitted or acquainted with it; and there they will spend a whole day and a night in smoking, drinking, and carousing, without restraint.

THEY allow themselves, as all other *Mohammedans*, a plurality of wives, and marry and treat them much in the same manner, and usually prefer one above the rest, who is, on that account, looked upon as the wife, and hath a kind of superiority over all the rest. The misfortune is, that, like the generality of the *Turks*, not content with such a variety of women, they are equally guilty of a shameful and unnatural vice, which modesty forbids even the mention of. But the truth is, that their priests, marabouts, and fantons, are here much more remiss, if not for the most part a gang of cheats, who readily agree with, and assist at, all such irregularities, which they not only know themselves addicted to, but the opposing of

* De his, vid. sup. vol. v. p. 668, & seq.
 † De his, vide sup. vol. vi. p. 382, & seq. 414, & seq. & alib. pass.

† LEO, lib. i. c. 6.

° Idem ibid.

† See be-

a which would most probably produce no other effect than to put an effectual stop to their frequent applications and charitable returns, without suppressing in the least the common evil.

THE *Moors*, or natives, are likewise, for the most part, *Mohammedans*, there being but few of them (and those only such as are styled shepherds, and follow pasturage in the vallies of the great *Atlas*, and some other parts of the lesser one; in *Nubia*, *Lybia*, and *Biledulgerid*, and other provinces of *Barbary*, and who still retain their old heathenish superstitions) who have not been either induced or forced to embrace *Mohammedism*, since their becoming subject to the *Turks*, and, to their great credit, if we may depend upon the generality of *African* writers, are much stricter professors and observers of every branch of it, than the natural *Turks*; though whoever considers their natural character, and their wretched state and oppression, will find reason to doubt whether their exactness be not rather owing to the dread they stand in of their tyrannic masters, than to any zeal or conviction they can have in favour of such a religion; which having so fully described, and amply exploded, as well as the pretended merit of its author, at the very entrance of this *Modern History*^r, we shall have the less need to add any thing farther on that subject; much less would our readers care to be led through that endless field of errors, absurdities, and strange superstitions, which have been forced into it, not only by the many visionary commentators and expositors on the *Koran*, and other *Mohammedan* legends, but insensibly crept into it, or been adopted in every country and nation where it hath been established, and no-where in greater number, or of a more extravagant nature, than in this of *Barbary*, especially among the corsairs, and the whole piratical crew, among whom no charm or magic spell, no expedient, though ever so senseless, monstrous, and seemingly diabolical, can be invented, that they will not have recourse to, preferably to any of a more rational nature and tried efficacy, whether in fights, storms, or other emergencies, attending their hazardous profession^s.

NEITHER are their soldiery, civil officers, and mercantile part, from those of the lowest to the highest rank, less addicted to the same superstitious confidence in this kind of recourse to their marabouts and other pretended conjurers; the former of whom will think himself safer under their piece of parchment wrapped up about his turban, and scratched over with some scraps out of the *Koran*, than under complete armour, or at the head of a well-disciplined army. Another will rather trust to an astrological scheme, framed by some artist in that way, than to the wisest counsel and best calculated measures; and a third will deem an amulet from some of those pretenders to the magic art, of surer efficacy towards the prevention or curing the most dangerous distemper, than the best prescriptions of a skilful physician, or the virtue of the most experienced medicines. The same infatuation runs through the whole mercantile class, and every kind of handicraftsmen, even to the meanest concerns of life; and there is no sickness or ill-luck to be avoided, or good to be expected, without being previously provided with a suitable charm and counter-charm against all events (D). All which we thought not unworthy our mentioning here; as best accounting for the many and strange revolutions and disasters with which the subsequent history of those republican governments, as well as that most arbitrary one under the Sharifs of *Morocco*, is pregnant; and the extreme misery and oppression which the unhappy subjects of both have groaned under, even since they shook off their heavy yoke. But before we come in course to speak of these several kingdoms, it will be very requisite that we give our readers an account of the various governments which preceded them, as well as of the nations or tribes which held the several reins of them, in order to shew by what means and degrees they coalesced at length into their present form; and that will be best seen in the following section. In the mean time, we shall beg leave to close up this general account of *Barbary* with one observation from what hath been hitherto said concerning it (for as to what farther relates to its laws, customs, trade, commerce, navi-

Horrid superstition of the
Turks, &c.

^r See before, vol. i. pass.

^s De his, vide DAVITT, MARMOL, DAPPER, ibid. & al. plur.

(D) To these we might have added others of their superstitions, and of a more impious and diabolical nature, to which not only the natives of *Barbary*, but all the *Africans* in general, are addicted to such a degree, that neither *Mohammedism* here, nor Christianity in *Kongo* and other parts where it hath been planted, could ever eradicate them out of their minds, or abolish the practice of them (6).

These consist chiefly in offering of beasts, fowls, and human victims, to demons, or, as they deem them, the souls of the dead, since become inferior deities, and either of a beneficent or malevolent nature, according as they are glutted with a greater or lesser quantity of these, and consulting them on all emergencies, and about mat-

ters of importance. And there are still greater numbers of these diabolical ministers and pretended conjurers, who keep up that bloody practice for gain, in several parts of *Barbary*, though at a great distance from large towns, and dispersed among the deserts and most inhospitable mountains, woods, and caves, where they perform their infernal rites, and the people resort to consult them. But as those, whether *Moors*, *Turks*, or *Arabs*, who are infatuated enough to have recourse to them, are yet obliged to do it with all possible secrecy, for fear of the severe punishments which the government inflicts on such offenders, and few instances of such ever coming to light, we shall say no more on so distasteful a subject.

gation, and other like particulars, concerning each of them, they will be more properly shewn a in the history of each respective kingdom), namely, that the whole tract of it, from one end to the other, is so excellently situated for navigation and commerce, so fertile of every necessary of life in its variety of soils and climates, so rich in its mines of gold, silver, and other metals and minerals, healthy and populous, the women so fecund, and the men so robust, sprightly, and long-lived, as to preserve their vigour beyond the 60th or even 70th year, and, if rightly trained up to it, stout and warlike, that it might easily be able to contend for wealth, opulence, and every other natural advantage, and might defy the whole united force either of *Europe* or *Asia* to reduce it, were its inhabitants as industrious as they are indolent and knavish; and were the several nations that inhabit it, or the several powers to which it is subjected, as united in one common interest, as they are opposite to and destructive of each other's. All which will still more plainly appear by the figure they have made under those several dynasties, which we are going to speak of in the following section. b

S E C T. II.

The history of Barbary under the several dynasties of the Almoravides, Almohedes, Benimerini, &c. down to the reigns of the Sbarifs, and their establishment in Morocco.

Techifien's
reign and
conquests.

WE have already hinted the revolt which the insolence and tyranny of the *Arabs* caused c in these parts, under the conduct of the brave *Techifien*, or *Texefien*, of the *Zinbaghian* tribes, who, by the help of his marabouts, gathered up a most powerful army of malecontents, in the southern provinces of *Numidia* and *Lybia*, on which account they were nicknamed *Marabites* and *Almoravides* ^a. This was a favourable juncture; the Khalif *Kayem*'s forces being then otherwise taken up in quelling other revolts in *Syria*, *Mesopotamia*, &c. and the *Arabs* in *Spain* engaged in the most bloody wars. He had accordingly all the success he could wish for against the *Arabian* Cheyks, and gained so many signal victories over them, that he effectually drove them not only out of those two provinces, but out of all the western parts, and the whole province of *Tingitania*, now the empire of *Morocco*, and reduced all that vast tract under his dominion before his death ^b. d

As succeeded by
his son.

TECHIFIEN was succeeded by his son *Yusef*, or *Joseph*, a prince no less brave and successful, than famous for his noble exploits. From the beginning of his reign he laid the foundation of the city of *Morocco*, as deeming that of *Achmed*, or *Agmed*, his father's late residence, not grand and spacious enough for the metropolis of his future empire. Whilst that was building, he sent some of his chief marabouts on an embassy to *Tremecen*, or *Tremessin*, which province was then chiefly inhabited by a branch of the *Zeneti*, who were of the schismatic sect called *Kemin*, or *Quemin*, who had made themselves masters of that whole country, and were become by that time very powerful and insolent, with a design to reduce them to what he called the true faith. But these wretches, despising his offers and remonstrances, assembled themselves at the city of *Amasf*, or *Amfa*, the capital of it, and murdered his ambassadors and other e marabouts, and immediately raised an army of fifty thousand men to invade his dominions, who accordingly were ordered to march with all possible dispatch, before he could have time to oppose them, and drive him out of his kingdom.

His conquests.

YUSEF no soon heard of their inhuman treatment of his ambassadors, and their march against him, than, fired with a just resentment against these traitors and murderers, he resolved to be before-hand with them; and, having speedily mustered up his army, led it, by long marches, into their country, and crossing the river *Ommirabi*, put all to fire and sword where-ever he came; whilst the *Zeneti*, finding him too strong for them, instead of opposing his progress, abandoned their country, and retired with their prince, with what speed they could, towards *Fez*, in hopes of receiving some succour from thence. But they found in the *Fezzans* as bad f an enemy as in the *Almoravides*; and whilst the latter was burning every town and place he came to, and slaughtering men, women, and children, that were left behind, the former marched out against them in the same hostile manner, as against invaders, rebels, and traitors; and meeting with them near the river *Burregreg*, incumbered with their families and baggage, and ready to expire with hunger and weariness, fell unmercifully upon them, and cut them all in pieces, except a small number of them, who, attempting to save themselves by swimming over that river, were mostly carried away by the current; and some others, who, in their flight, perished by their fall from the high adjacent rocks ^c. Such was the fatal end of those proud invaders and murderers, of whom near a million of men, women, and children, are

^a De his, vide vol. v. p. 662, & seq. & alib. pass.
& al. sup. citat.

^b LEO AFRIC. lib. iii. c. 2. GRAMMAY, MARMOL,
^c LEO, ubi sup. c. 2. MARMOL, lib. ii. c. 31. GRAMMAY, lib. iv. c. 2. & al.

a computed to have been cut off by both sides; whilst *Yusef* reduced their whole country into a mere desert, which was, however, quickly re-peopled by a numerous colony of *Fezzans*, who settled themselves there, under the protection and vassalage of their reigning kings.

YUSEF led his victorious forces back to *Morocco*; but was not long there before he declared war against those two princes, and entered the *Fezzan* dominions at the head of a powerful army; and having defeated their forces near mount *Homegui*, he made himself master, in a very little while, of all their dominions, forced the *Fezzans* at *Tremecen* to become his vassals and tributaries, and enlarged his conquests all along the *Mediterranean*, reduced the kingdom of *Tremecen*, drove the successors of *Abu'l Habex*, who had reigned in *Kayrwan*, out of *Bugeia*, but restored them soon after to their ancient dominions, as being *Africans* of the same tribe with himself, and who held them afterwards during the whole time of the *Almoravides* government. In this excursion he likewise reduced the kings of *Fez* and *Tunis* to become vassals and tributaries to him; and, after all his successes, returned victorious to *Morocco*, where, after his father's example, he took upon him the title of *Emir Hamunim*, or *Emir Al Mume-nin*^d. His martial and ambitious temper did not permit him to continue long in quiet there, before he resumed it in such a manner as struck a general terror among the *Arabian* Cheyks, who refused to own themselves his vassals and pay tribute to him; among whom he waged such a bloody war, that neither the *Libyan* nor *Numidian* deserts, mountains, nor ridges of the most craggy rocks, could shelter them from his arms. He attacked them in such of their retreats, castles, and fortresses, as were, till then, deemed impregnable and inaccessible to any but those of that nation; and this to the great regret of the other *Africans*, who were no less annoyed by the ravages which his numerous forces committed in their march through their territories. Neither could he be prevailed on to discontinue his excursions against them, till he had reduced them, by fair or forcible means, to his subjection; by which time his metropolis being quite finished, he resolved to cross over into *Spain*, and take the advantage of its intestine wars, with which it was then miserably torn, to enlarge his conquests there.

THIS resolution, however, was not taken by him, till he had received such pressing invitations from thence, as did, in a great measure, assure him of success, and of his being joined by several *Moorish* princes there, who would be proud to fight under his victorious banner. He accordingly embarked, and crossed the straits of *Gibraltar*, full of these tempting prospects, and with a suitable force. He was, however, greatly disappointed in his expectations, though he signalized himself with his usual bravery, upon every occasion: but as these exploits of his are foreign to our present *African* history, we shall defer all further detail till we come to that of *Spain*, which will follow in due course, according to our plan, in some subsequent volume. All that we shall say further upon it is, that, after he had repulsed the Christians with great vigour, he had the mortification to see those *Moorish* princes, who had so warmly invited him over to them, become, all of a sudden, as cold and disaffected towards him. This did not hinder him, however, from pursuing his conquests; so that he reduced in that expedition the greatest part of the kingdoms of *Murcia*, *Granada*, *Cordova*, *Jaen*, and some few places in that of *Valentia*: after which he returned into *Africa* with his son, leaving those conquered dominions under the government of his nephew *Mohammed*, with a considerable part of his army.

He was no sooner arrived at his *African* kingdom, than he published a general *Gazie*, or religious war, through his dominions, and, with a fresh and numerous army, embarked at *Ceuta* for his *Spanish* conquests; and soon after rejoined his nephew *Mohammed* in *Andalusia*, where they put all to fire and sword^e. We shall again refer our readers to the subsequent history of *Spain* for a further detail of the various successes of this expedition, from which he returned into *Africa* three years after.

His next descent was not till five years after, when he carried his arms thither with such success and speed, that he penetrated so far into *Portugal* as to reduce the city of *Lisbon*, and with it a great part of that kingdom; but lost the cities of *Alguazir* and *Gibraltar*, which he had taken before, but were now retaken from him by the king of *Seville*, *Alphonso's* brother-in-law. In the mean time, *Alphonso* having equipped a powerful fleet, sailed over with it to *Africa*; but meeting with that of *Yusef*, in his way to *Barbary*, a hot engagement soon followed, in which the former sunk ten galleys of the latter: after which he continued his course directly to *Barbary*. Here he received proposals from *Yusef* for a truce; but refused to consent to it, unless he submitted to become his tributary; which so exasperated the *Almoravide* monarch, that he swore ruin and destruction to Christianity. In pursuance of which vow, he prepared himself for a fresh descent, which he made into *Spain*, and landed, as usual, at *Malaga*, and led his army into the enemy's country with greater fury and resentment, and, in all likelihood, with less caution and conduct, than ever he had done before. The consequence of which was that famous battle,

^d Leb-Tarik, LEO, & al. ub. sup.^e Auſt. ſup. citat.

Battle of the Seven Counts. Since called the battle of the *Seven Counts*. For, being obliged to raise the siege of *Toledo*,^a which he had invested, and to retire from the superior forces of *Don Sanches*, who was sent by his father to its relief, he found himself so closely pursued by that brave young prince, that he was obliged to give him battle; in which, though he had the good fortune to defeat and slay him, together with a number of other noble warriors, yet he lost so great a number of his own men, that he was obliged to return to *Africa*, where he died soon after, at his capital of *Morocco*, and was succeeded by his son *Ali*.^f

Don Sanches defeated and slain.
Yusef dies.
Ali, the third king of Afric. 1110.
Loses ground in Spain. 1113.
Defeated and slain. 1115.
THIS prince, less warlike than his father, upon his coming to the crown, instead of minding his *Spanish* conquests, employed his thoughts in erecting of several sumptuous buildings, and in particular the great mosk of *Morocco*, which will be described in the history of that empire, whilst *Alphonso* king of *Arragon* was daily recovering some considerable cities from him; neither could he be prevailed upon to pass over into *Spain*, till strongly pressed to it by the united instances of the *Moorish* princes, whom *Alphonso* greatly harrassed and distressed all that time; and when at length he was obliged to come to their assistance, he spent a whole campaign there, without performing any thing considerable. He was no less unsuccessful in his subsequent expeditions; in the last of which, though joined by the united strength of the *Moorish* chiefs, he was defeated and slain by king *Alphonso*, with the loss of 30,000 men, except a small number, who escaped and sailed over into *Barbary*, in the sixth year of his reign.^g

Al Abraham, the fourth and last king of the Almoravides, ascends the throne.
His unworthy reign causes a revolution.
He was succeeded by his son *Al Abraham*, vulgarly called *Brabem*, a prince altogether addicted to pleasure, and averse to martial exploits; who was no sooner declared successor to the throne, than he confirmed all the governors and chief officers of his eastern provinces of *Barbary*, *Numidia*, &c. in their posts: upon which they readily acknowledged him for their sovereign, with the title of *Emir Al Moslemim*, or *Chief Commander of the Faithful*; by which act, having secured the peace of his dominions on that side, and seeing all quiet at home, he gave himself no farther thought than that of pursuing his pleasures and extravagant debauches, which in time obliged him to load his subjects with such an intolerable weight of taxes, as produced a general complaint, and ended in that strange and fatal revolution, which at once transferred the supreme government from the tribe of the noble *Almoravides* to that upstart one, since called, from its obscure founder, *Almohedi*, or *Al Mohedes*, and of which we are now going to give an account, though it did not begin before the twenty-fifth year of his reign; from which the reader may judge how unworthily that monarch spent the former part of it, seeing there has nothing happened worthy to be recorded concerning him during that long period, if we except the unfortunate attempt which the Christians made on the city of *Kayrwan*, about the beginning of it; but which, though in some sense foreign to our present subject, yet, being both curious and interesting, we shall subjoin in the margin (A).

The rise of the Almohedes.
Abd'allah's revolt and success.
THE author of this surprising change was a *Berber*, of the tribe of *Muzamada*, named *Abd'allah*, and a famed preacher among those of his tribe, who were seated along mount *Atlas*, but who, the better to succeed in his premeditated design, took upon him the name, or rather the title, of *Mohdi*, or *Mohedi*, and set up for head or leader of the orthodox, or Unitarians, who, by this time, were become so numerous by his preaching, and had swelled him to such a degree of insolence, as to dare even to exclaim against and bid defiance to the king; but he might easily have been suppressed, and the revolt nipped in embryo, had not *Brabem* been too much immersed in pleasures to regard it, and too confident to apprehend any ill consequences from such low sorry miscreants. He soon, however, found cause to

^f Leb-Tarik, LEO, GRAMM. & al. ubi sup. part. ii. MARMOL, & al.

^g Ibid. ubi sup. GRAMM. l. ii. c. 7. RAMUS. Viag. vol. i.

(A) By this time the Christians who, in their wars with *Tunis*, had made themselves masters of the city of *Mohedia*, the late residence of the Khalifs of *Kayrwan*, and, as we have elsewhere seen, built by one of them, with all the advantages of strength and beauty, were making frequent inroads from it into the adjacent countries, and sadly harrassed the *Tunizens*. A considerable reinforcement being landed from *Italy* at *Mohedia*, were likewise ravaging those coasts, when an *Al Faki* came to them, and offered to betray the city of *Kayrwan* to them, provided they bestowed the government of it upon him; to which they readily agreed; whereupon he put himself at their head, and marched towards the place; but had not proceeded above two days journey, before they came in sight of the *Moorish* army, ranged in order of battle, and ready to give them a warm reception, whom the *Al Faki* immediately joined, and fell upon the Christians with such fury, that 7000 of them were killed upon the

spot, and the rest, with great difficulty, retired to *Mohedia*. The *Moors* pursued them thither, and laid siege to the place, but without success. However, the *Al Faki* being, by this serviceable stratagem against the Christians, become considerable among the *Moors*, turned his forces against the *Almoravides*; but being defeated by them, was taken in his flight by the Cheyk of *Pizara*, a relation of *Brabem*, who ordered his eyes to be plucked out, and himself to be thrown into a dungeon, where he died with misery.

It must be observed, that the Christians here mentioned, and which we stile *Italians*, are, as the *Morocco* historian tells us, called by the *Arab* writers *Rumiss*, from the capital of *Rome*; as they do the *Spaniards Phosiss*, from their kings; the *Portuguese Chamoriss*; the *Greeks Nizaraans*, or *Kaisareans*; and the *French Franguis*. And hence it is, perhaps, that no *European* writer before *Marmol* has mentioned this unfortunate expedition (1).

(1) *Abdal-Malek, Chronol. Moroc. Marmol, Afric. lib. ii. c. 33.*

a alter his measures, when he became apprised of the ravages they committed in those western parts, under pretence of standing up for liberty, and how daily they increased in number and boldness under that pretence. He was at length prevailed upon, though late, to march against them, and, as unhappily for him, with a force by far too small to oppose them; so Brahem ^{dr-} that he was totally defeated at the very first engagement he had with them, and his army ^{seated and} put to flight, in which they were timely assisted by the intervening night. ^{pursued.}

ABD'ALLAH, in the mean time, seeing himself master of the field, failed not to take all precautions to shut up all the passes to prevent the king's regaining his capital, whilst he dispatched another part of his army thither to invest it in form, and a third, under the conduct of *Abdolumen*, to go in close pursuit of him. This last order was so punctually executed, that the unfortunate prince was at length constrained to refuge himself in the city of *Fez*. Here he had again the mortification of seeing the gates of it shut up against him, but opened soon after to receive his pursuers, whether out of dread of them, or hatred to him, on account of his predecessors having made *Morocco* the seat of the empire, we will not determine. In this extremity, he pitched upon the city of *Auran*, vulgarly *Oran*, for his last refuge, into which he was at first readily admitted; but did not enjoy that small respite long, before he saw the place invested by *Abdolumen*, vulgarly *Abdulman*, and threatened with fire and sword. Upon which the magistrates earnestly intreated him to seek for some other shelter, since they were in no condition to protect him against such a force. He accordingly set out on a dark night, with only a favourite wife on horseback behind him; but being c discovered by the guards, and seeing no way left to avoid falling into their hands, he, in a ^{His death;} fit of despair, clapped spurs to his horse, and hurried him headlong, with himself and his wife, down a steep and rocky precipice, where they were all found, the next morning, dead and dashed in pieces. This was the fatal end of that unhappy prince, which put a final period to the empire of the *Almoravides* ^h.

THAT general, being apprised of *Brahem's* death, caused his head to be cut off, in order ^{Abd'olumen} to have it carried in triumph to *Morocco*, and staid no longer in those parts than to levy the ^{proclaimed} tribute in these provinces; which done, he traversed the kingdom of *Tremecen*, in his way ^{king of the} to *Morocco*, where, upon his arrival, he found the traitor *Abd'allah* dead, and was soon after ^{Almohedes.} declared his successor by all the chiefs of that revolt, and proclaimed king of the *Al Mohedes*, d under the title of *Al Emir Al Mumin Abd'allah Mohammed Abd'al Mumen Ebn Abd'allah Ibni Ali*; that is, *Chief, or Emperor, of the true Believers, of the house of Mohammed Abd'al Mumen, the Son of Abd'allah, of the lineage of Ali* (B).

BRAHEM had left a son behind him, named *Isaac*, an infant, whom, at his departure from that capital, he had committed to the care of proper governors. On the news of his father's ^{His devastations and cruelties at Morocco.} death, they caused him to be proclaimed king, and obliged the inhabitants to swear allegiance to him; of which the new Emir was no sooner informed, than he began to batter the city with all his might; and finding it make a stout defence against him, swore, in a furious fit of resentment, that he would not abandon the siege till he had reduced the place, and caused it to be sifted through a crib. He accordingly plied his battering engines with greater vigour e than ever; and, having made a sufficient breach, caused it to be mounted by his men, sword in hand, who quickly made themselves masters of the city. The first thing he did after he had entered it, was the ordering the unfortunate young *Isaac* to be brought to him, whom he strangled with his own hands; by whose death the *Almoravidic* line, called by the *African* writers *Luptumns* and *Marabuts*, became extinct; and, to obliterate the memory of those

^h *Ibid. ibid. vid. & GRAMMAY, l. iv. c. 7. RAMUS. Viag. Vol. i. p. 2. MARMOL, l. ii. c. 33, & al.*

(B) *Abd'allah* reigned just long enough to make some prudent regulations according to his sect, for the most firm establishment both of it and of his new kingdom; and left them behind in his last will. He appointed a council of forty disciples of his sect, all of them preachers; some of whom were to regulate all public affairs, and, at proper seasons, to go a preaching about the country, and spread their doctrine abroad, and had sixteen other disciples to serve them as secretaries, all preachers likewise; and out of the former were to be chosen the successors to the regal and pontifical throne: for they were, after their founder's example, to assume both these titles and dignities.

Their disciples, or followers of their sect, were stiled *Mohameddin*, or *Al Mohaddin*; but the *Arabian* writers stile them only preachers, and the *Spanish* *Al Mohedes*;

and the descendants and successors of that tribe continued to stile themselves *Emir Al Mumenin*, or *Chiefs of the Faithful*, or *true Believers*, as long as their dynasty continued, and have been very powerful both in *Africa* and *Spain*.

As to the particular tenets of this new sect, if we except their more specious pretence to orthodoxy, as stricter adherers to, and preachers of, the unity of God, they had little or nothing peculiar, but what was artfully calculated by its founder, and suited to the loose genius of that people; which, added to their great outcries for liberty, and against the tyranny of the *Almoravides*, could not fail of alluring the greatest part of the kingdom to second the revolt, and embrace their sect and doctrine (2).

(2) *Grammay Africa illustrata, lib. iv. c. 7. Ramus, vol. i. part ii. Marmol Afric. lib. ii. c. 33, & al. sup. cit. t.*

founders of that metropolis as much as he could, he caused all its stately antient edifices, particularly the great mosk, the royal palace, and other public buildings, to be levelled with the ground, causing some part of their ruins to be ground small, and sifted through a sieve, in compliance with his oath, and new ones to be built in their stead, and after a more ample and sumptuous manner. These he caused to be called by his own name; but had the mortification to find their old ones remain still indelible in the people's memory, though erased by him from their old marble and stone monuments, and to hear these new edifices still called by the names of the old ones. He was no less industrious in extirpating all the unhappy remains of the *Almoravidic* race; and ceased not persecuting them till he had destroyed all that came either to his own knowledge, or to that of his officers. He exercised the same cruelty against the citizens, officers, and soldiers, who had most signalized themselves in the defence of that city, or for their zeal and loyalty to their infant sovereign; so that the first years of his reign were little better than an æra of blood and slaughter¹.

The face of Africa changed.

New principalities erected.

In the mean while his cruelties and swift conquests, as well as the strenuous oppositions of the *Almoravide* governors in most of their conquered provinces, who refused to submit to him, and of others, who, weary of the *Almoravide* tyranny, thought it now a lucky juncture to shake off their galling yoke, and make a brave attempt to regain their liberty, occasioned a very quick and surprising change through the greatest part of those provinces, and more particularly in *Barbary*, where the *Arabs* of *Numidia*, who had been driven from their seats by their *Almoravide* masters, and forced to retire to the mountains, and live wholly upon agriculture, and feeding of catle, took this opportunity to invade and make themselves masters of *Tunis* and *Tremecen*, and forced the native *Africans* to submit themselves under their dominion; but were quickly after obliged to stoop to that of the *Almohedes*. On the other hand, several of the *Almoravide* governors, taking the advantage of the wars and distractions then reigning, erected their governments into independent principalities and petty kingdoms; and those who dwelt in the mountainous parts, into a variety of lordships, under their own Cheyks. In particular, the states of *Barbary*, *Tripoli*, *Kayrwan*, *Tunis*, *Algiers*, *Tremecen*, and *Bugeia*, had each their own sovereign. The *Nubians* and *Libyans* had shewed them the example; and many others besides them were ready to follow it.

His success and conquests.

Takes Mohebia from the Christians.

WHILST these changes were introduced in *Africa*, the *Moorish* princes, greatly harrassed by king *Alphonso*, sent in vain to *Abd'olmumen* repeated intreaties to come over to their assistance, his own dominions requiring his whole attention against so many opposers and deserters; and all he could do for them was to send over to them an army of 30,000 men, from among his *African* mountaineers, the *Gomerites*, a stout and warlike tribe we have lately spoken of^k, who proved exceedingly serviceable to them against the Christians. All this while he was pursuing his own conquests with surprising success, assisted by those of his own valorous tribe of *Mozamuda*, and especially those of the branch of *Benegueregal*, of which he himself was, and, on that account, had the greatest share in his favour and confidence. The consequence of which was, that he, within the space of a few years, reduced the *Numidians* and *Galatians* on the west, and the kingdoms of *Tunis*, *Tremecen*, and the greatest part of *Mauritania* and *Tingitania*, some by allurements, and others by forcible means, under his subjection; excepting only the *Arabs* of *Tunis*, who still preserved their liberty and government, through various successes, until they were wholly subdued by the great *Al Mansur*, the fourth king of the *Almohedic* line, as will be seen in the sequel. *Abd'olmumen* likewise dispossessed the Christians of the chief city of *Africa*, or *Mohedia*, and some others on the same coast, after they had been a considerable time in their possession^l, besides his other conquests in *Spain* and *Portugal*. He died in the seventh year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son *Yusef*, or *Joseph* (C).

¹ Ibid. ibid.

^k See before, vol. v. p. 720. sub. not.

^l Ibid. ibid. vid. & GRAMMAY, ubi sup. c. 7.

RAMUSIO, MARMOL, & al.

(C) *Abd'olmumen*, or, as others write him, *Abd'almon*, is reported to have been the son of an obscure potter, but a youth of a bold and enterprising genius, to whom a *Moorish* astrologer had foretold all that grandeur and good fortune which actually happened to him; upon which he readily joined himself to his predecessor *Abd'al-lah*, who was not long unacquainted with his parts and valour, soon raised him to be one of his chief officers and confidants; and we have seen already how well he answered all his expectations, so as to be chosen by his council of forty as the fittest person to succeed him in his

new kingdom. But after his coming to the crown, he took care to efface the meanness of his extract, by giving himself out for a descendant from the family of the great prophet *Mohammed*, and a person, like him, chosen and sent by God to preach and propagate his religion among the *Africans*, and to suppress the tyranny of the *Almoravides*, and oppose the heresy of the schismatic *Khalifs* of *Egypt* (3). And it was with this view that he assumed the pompous titles which we have mentioned in the beginning of his reign.

(3) *Grammay Afric. illustrat. lib. iv. c. 7, & al. ubi sup.*

- a YUSEF proved a martial prince like his father, and inherited all his hatred against the Christians; so that he had no sooner quelled some slight troubles in his new kingdom, and established the kings of *Tunis* and *Bugeia* in their respective kingdoms, as his tributaries and vassals, than he prepared to embark for *Spain*, to the assistance of the *Moorish* princes, who all earnestly pressed him to it, and were perpetually harrassed there by the Christian powers. He set sail accordingly on the very entrance of the year, at the head of a more powerful armada than had perhaps ever crossed that sea, it consisting of 60,000 horse, and above 100,000 foot, and, at his landing, was joined by that of the *Moorish* princes who had invited him thither, and came, according to their engagements, to take the oaths of fidelity to him. We shall defer the detail of his various successes till we come to the *Spanish* history, and only observe here, that it did by no means answer his expectations, and that he was glad, at the end of eight years, to return into *Africa*, to suppress a revolt which the *Zeneti* had raised in the kingdom of *Tremecen*; and, as it was his long absence which had encouraged them to it, so his unexpected return and presence quickly put a stop to it. As soon as he had made all quiet there, he raised a fresh army, more numerous than the former, and crossed over again into *Spain*, where he had much better success, and carried his conquests so far, that the pope and most of the Christian princes of *Europe* joined their forces into a kind of crusado, to put a stop to his progress; so that, finding himself on the eve of being opposed by such an united force, whilst he was besieging Don *Alphonso Henriquez* in *Santarino* in *Portugal*, as he was hastening the siege with all his might, he received his death by an arrow, shot, some say, by one of his men; others, by a *Portuguese*. However that be, the *Moorish* princes raised the siege immediately after, and the *African* troops sailed back into *Barbary*.

Yusef, the 2d king of the Almohedes. 1156.

Sails into Spain. 1158.

Suppresses the Zeneti. 1171.

Returns to Spain.

Slain before Santarino.

- YUSEF was succeeded by his warlike son *Takub*, or *Jaacob*, surnamed *Al Mansur*, or *The Conqueror*, who found his *African* dominions in the utmost confusion, and the greatest part of his tributary provinces in open revolt; and it was not without great difficulty that he reduced them to their duty. The king of *Fez* was one of the first who thought it the safest way to acknowledge him for his sovereign; whilst those of *Tremecen* and *Tunis* absolutely refused to follow his example, and resolved to stand out against him. This obliged him to have recourse to artifice, and to stir up the *Arabs* against them. To this end, he clapped up a kind of feigned peace with their *Cheyks*, and so successfully instigated both nations, underhand, against each other, that, whilst they were at mutual hostilities, he had leisure enough to raise an army in *Tingitania*, under pretence of suppressing the tyranny of the *Arabs*, but in reality to join with them against the *Tremecenians* and *Tunizens*, as he actually did; and having defeated those two kings, stripped them of both their kingdoms. By this artifice, both sides found themselves strangely over-reached; the two revolted kingdoms were easily brought under subjection, and the *Arabs*, who had assisted him in it, obliged to transport themselves from these provinces; the most considerable of them into those of *Dukela*, *Tremecen*, and *Azgar*, and the other part into those of *Numidia* and *Libya*; by which means, under pretence of settling them in more fertile and pleasant habitations than the barren mountains they inhabited, he effectually weakened and dispersed them, beyond the power of reuniting and molesting these two kingdoms in haste; whilst those who remained in *Mauritania* and *Tingitania* were obliged to submit to become his vassals; that nation, known to be out of their element when driven out of their deserts, and to degenerate by degrees from their natural stoutness and courage^m; being forced then, instead of living upon plunder, either to apply themselves to agriculture and feeding of cattle, or to starve.

Jacob Al Mansur, 3d king of the Almohedes.

Reduces Tremecen and Tunis.

Transplants the Arabs out of them.

- Those of the province of *Azgar* continued to pay their tribute to the *Almohedes*; but those of *Dukela* and *Tremecen*, who were more considerable and powerful, soon found means not only to free themselves from it, but to oblige the native *Africans* to pay it to them. Those also that were sent into *Numidia* and *Libya* were obliged to submit to the yoke, when they were unacquainted with the country; but by degrees became united, and powerful enough to make themselves masters of those provinces, and even to enlarge their dominions, and to render themselves independent of any government but that of their *Cheyks* (D).

AL

^m Ibidem ibid.

(D) As these are, on that account, reckoned the most noble of all the *Arabs*, as scorning all other subjection, and every other way of living but that of plunder on their neighbours and travellers, it may not be amiss to mention the method which these last take to secure themselves from their violence; namely, by applying to one of their *Cheyks*, and obtaining, by a certain sum, or other valuable consideration, a safeguard from him, who, upon the payment of it, writes down in his register the

names of every traveller, and deposes one of his subjects to conduct them through his territory or district. The man commonly carries a lance in his hand, with a kind of standard, on which are painted or embroidered the arms or device of the *Cheyk*; and goes with them till he hath brought them to the next *Cheyk*, where the same ceremony is to be repeated, and a new safeguard obtained; and thus, by travelling from one dower, or district, to another, under such a safeguard, one escapes

Al m

the

His conquests
and vast do-
minions.

AL MANSUR having thus far secured himself both against the revolted and the plundering *Arabs*, and settled those parts in quiet, went on with his other conquests with such speed and success, that he saw himself master, in a little time, of all that tract of land which lieth between *Numidia* inclusive, and the intire length of the *Barbary* coasts from *Tripoly* to the kingdom of *Morocco*, including with it those of *Fez*, *Tremecen*, *Tunis*, and *Tripoly*, the whole extending itself above 1200 leagues in length, and in breadth, from the *Mediterranean* to the sandy deserts of *Libya*, above 480, exclusive of his *Spanish* dominions and fresh conquests, and where the greatest part of the *Moorish* princes acknowledged him for their sovereign. So that he is justly esteemed the greatest prince, next to the *Arabian* Khalifs, that ever reigned in this part of *Africa*, as he is also better known in history by his new title of *Al Mansur*, or *Conqueror*, than by his proper one of *Abu Jakub*. As he had frequent occasion to cross the sea to and from *Afric* and *Spain*, on account of the revolts which frequently happened during his absence from either, he built some considerable towns and fortresses on each coast, to facilitate his embarkations, and among them the cities of *Rabettouner Sale*, *Al Calcarquivir*, *Al Carcar-zegued*, *Mansora*, and some others, which we shall have occasion to speak of in the sequel: for as he never passed from one to the other of his dominions without a powerful armament, which took up a long time in preparing, embarking, &c. so it often happened that some rebellion or war broke out in the one before he was well got to the other; which obliged him to hasten back without doing any thing considerable, except quelling them by his sudden appearance. By that time he had finished some of those, and suppressed the revolters in *Africa*, he caused a general *Gazie* to be published through his dominions (E), which brought innumerable multitudes to enlist themselves volunteers in it, by which means he quickly raised an army of 400,000 men, 100,000 of which were horse, and passed immediately into *Spain*, where he was joined by *Fernandez de Castro*, his viceroy, at the head of another, and there gained a complete victory over the united forces of the Christians, near the city of *Alarcos*, on the 19th of July. From thence he pursued his march towards the *Tayo*, and would have gained many other advantages over them, had not *Alphonso* been forced, by the badness of his affairs, to sue to him for a truce; which he the more easily obtained, because a fresh revolt in *Africa* demanded his immediate presence there.

Signal victory
in Spain.

1195.

Grants a truce
to Alphonso.

1197.

Revolt in Mo-
rocco.

THIS last had been hatching by the governor of his capital during his three years absence; in which time he had found means to draw the wandering *Arabs* into his measures, and had raised a numerous army in the adjacent provinces; but upon the news of *Al Mansur's* arrival at the head of a much superior force, not daring to meet him in the field, he had by this time retired and fortified himself in that metropolis. Thither the king led his victorious troops, and laid close siege to it during a whole year; when his army despairing to reduce the city, that valiant prince ordered all his officers to repair to his head-quarters with scaling-ladders, of the height of the walls, by the next morning. He was so readily obeyed, that 4000 of them appeared by that time ready to mount to the assault; when putting himself at their head, *We have*, said he to them, *fought hitherto for the sake of glory; but now we must fight for the sake of revenge, and to wrest your wives and children out of the hands of traitors and ravishers*: with these words he scaled the walls at the head of them. The assault lasted three whole days and nights; during which time the besiegers were plied with constant refreshments, whilst the besieged, quite spent for want of such succour, were forced to abandon the town, and retire into the fortrefs.

Besieges the
rebels in his
capital.

Takes the city
by escalade.

Strange cruelty
and severity.

AL MANSUR, followed by his brave troops, entered the city in triumph; but their joy was soon allayed by the stench of the dead bodies, with which they saw the streets quite covered, and were almost suffocated; but that prince would not suffer any of them to be removed, much less interred, till they were quite consumed, and then ordered the bones to be burned; alleging, that no smell was sweeter than the stinking carcases of a traitor and an enemy. All this while the fortrefs, into which the governor had retired, with a great number of persons of both sexes, and of all ages and conditions, was so closely invested, that they found themselves under a necessity, for want of provisions, of imploring the king's mercy; and a marabout, then in high esteem, was pitched upon to apply to him for it, who soon returned to them with the joyful news that he had obtained it; upon which the governor came

the danger of being plundered, and perhaps murdered, by these freebooters, who, otherwise, spare neither *Jews*, *Turks*, or any other nation, but fall on all comers without distinction.

(E) We have already observed, that what the *Mohammedans* call *Gazie* is a kind of religious war, like the crusade among the Christians, and by which every zealous volunteer, who enlists in it, expects to gain heaven, and, if slain in battle, to be immediately conveyed thither; and, if we were to judge of their sincerity and zeal

from the infinite multitudes that are allured to it on both sides, one could not but deem them all alike fired with the same religious ardour.

But mark the end!—The 2,000 which came thither from *France*, to help to wrest *Toledo* out of the hands of the *Turks*, were no sooner denied the plundering of that potent city, when rescued, than they turned their backs in anger, and returned to their own country; refusing to strike a blow without it, even for the cause of religion itself.

a out the next day, with all his friends and attendants, to throw themselves at his majesty's feet, and thank him for his great clemency : but, to their great surprize, they beheld the incensed prince's eyes still glaring with anger and resentment ; till, no longer able to contain himself, he threw his slipper at his head, and then ordered him to be beheaded, with all his friends and adherents. Here the marabout, who had accompanied him to the royal presence, offered to expostulate, and insisted upon his promise ; but was coldly answered, that no promise was to be kept with such perfidious traitors ["]. *The rebels put to death.*

HERE we must be obliged to put an unexpected period to the history of that glorious prince and conqueror, seeing the remainder of it is wrapped up in the deepest darkness ; being told by the *Arabic* writers, that, to the great astonishment of his court, he on a sudden disappeared, soon after, some say immediately after, this execution ; touched, as they pretend, with remorse for his cruelty and breach of faith, he wandered about, obscure and unknown, and died at last a poor despised baker at *Alexandria*. And the *Africans*, who conceal this last circumstance of his turning baker, allow of his dying at *Alexandria*, and add, that the people of the city of *Morocco* celebrate the anniversary of his death ; and that a favourite wife of his, after having waited a considerable while for his return, and hearing no news of him, likewise suddenly left that capital, and went in search of him, with only a female child she had by him in her arms ; that, after much travelling, she found him at length at *Alexandria*, where he had lived already some years an obscure person, and undiscovered by any one ; that she continued with him till his death, after which she retook the road to *Morocco* ; but in her way was stopped at *Tunis* by the king's son, who would have forced her daughter, at that time grown tall and handsome enough to attract his affection ; but upon his being apprised of her noble extract, and her mother producing the certificate of her marriage, he readily consented to marry her. They relate several other things concerning her, which will be more properly seen in the history of that kingdom, whilst we resume that of *Morocco*, where we left the court in the utmost perplexity and concern about their lost monarch. *The king disappears, 1206, and wanders in obscurity. Dies at Alexandria.*

VARIOUS were their conjectures about his flight, and the cause of it, as well as the methods they took to find him out. The most probable they could form concerning the former was, that he had undertaken a pilgrimage to *Mecca*, in some obscure and ordinary garb, in order to expiate his crime of cruelty and perfidy ; and then they elected his brother *Al Abraham*, or *Brabem*, to govern the kingdom during his absence, under his son *Al Naker* ; but after having waited a whole year in vain, they raised that young prince to the throne, and confirmed his uncle in the regency of the kingdom ["].

MOHAMMED, surnamed *Al Naker* by the *Spanish* writers, was accordingly proclaimed his father's successor, and with the title of *Emir*, or *Prince of the Faithful*. He proved a war-like prince like his father, and, on his coming to the crown, resolved to pass into *Spain* with all speed, where king *Alphonso*, contrary to the last truce concluded with his father, had recovered several considerable places from him. To prevent, therefore, all revolts at home, during his absence, he confirmed the two vassal kings of *Tremecen* and *Tunis* in their dominions, and all the other governors of his tributary provinces and chief officers of his kingdom in their old posts and dignities. He next raised the most numerous army that had yet been known to pass into *Spain*, and consisted, according to the unanimous report of all the *Spanish* writers, of 120,000 horse, and above 300,000 foot, besides the *Arabian* Cheyks, who repaired to him from the eastern and western parts of his dominions, and accompanied him thither, each at the head of his choicest troops. All the Christian powers were apprised of this vast armada, and dispatched all the forces they could spare to the assistance of king *Alphonso*, and the pope, at the same time, proclaimed a fresh crusade, in such promising and engaging terms, as brought into that kingdom an infinite multitude of strangers, to fight against the infidels. *Mohammed Al Naker, the last king of the Almohedes. Sails with a vast army into Spain.*

MOHAMMED, however, landed with his army in *Andalusia*, where he was joined by all the *Moorish* princes, and with them marched directly to *Salvaterra*, the then residence of the knights of *Calatrava*, who had lately wrenched it out of the hands of the *Moors*, and after a long and arduous siege made himself master of that strong place, as will be seen more fully in the *Spanish* history. Encouraged by this success, he soon after ventured to engage the whole force of the Christians on the plains of *Tbolosa*, where he was, though advantageously posted, attacked with such intrepid valour, that he was totally defeated, and with the loss, if we may credit the *Spanish* historians, of above 150,000 foot, 30,000 horse, 50,000 prisoners, and forced to abandon his camp, with all its immense and rich baggage, to the plunder of the enemy ; himself escaping with great difficulty, attended only by a small number of his men, chiefly by the fleetness of their horses. This famed battle was fought, according to some *Arabic* writers, in the year of the *Hejra* 609, but according to the *Spanish* and other historians, in 617. However, after this signal overthrow, the Christians gained still fresh *Totally defeated. 1212.*

["] LEO, GRAMM. MARMOL, & al. ubi sup.

["] Ibid. ibid.

advantages over the *Moors*. *Mohammed* was glad to make the best retreat he could to hasten a back into *Africa*, as soon as the wind and sea would permit him, leaving his *Spanish* dominions, and the remainder of his scattered army, under the command of his brother *Ebn Zayd*, who became soon after king of *Valentia*.

His cold reception at his court.

THE shame and regret of this defeat, at the head of so numerous and gallant an army, and the loss of so many thousands of men, the very *Arabs* and *Africans* acknowledging it to have amounted to between 70 and 80,000, joined to the cold reception he met with at his court and capital, where they scrupled not to ascribe his disgrace to his blindness and cowardice, affected him so sensibly, that it made the short remainder of his reign very uneasy to him, and very probably hastened his end; which, as soon as he perceived, he immediately appointed one of his grandsons, named *Zeyd Arrax*, or, as others write it, *Ceyet Barrax*, for his suc-

He dies, after having appointed his grandson *Zeyd Arrax* to succeed him;

cessor to the crown. He expired soon after, as unwilling to survive his misfortune; and the news of his death and successor quickly reached his conquered provinces, and caused in them an almost universal revolt. The kings of *Tremecen*, *Fez*, and *Tunis*, broke forth into an open revolt, which began to flame out in the first of them, under the conduct of an *African* named *Gamarazan Ebn Zeyen*, or the son of *Ceyen*, of the tribe of the *Zeneti*, and a descendant of the *Abd'olkwates*, antient monarchs of that kingdom, but then vassals to the *Almohedes*. He had put himself at the head of a pretty considerable force of malecontents; but finding it still too weak to make head against that of *Al Zeyd*, who was in full march against him, he was forced to retire into a strong fortress, where, being ready to perish for want of provisions, he had recourse to a near relation, whom he sent under the disguise of a malecontent, who came on purpose to shew him a way by which he might easily ascend to the top, and make himself master of the place. *Zeyd* was weak enough to accept of his offer;

who is assassinated, which puts an end to the Almohedic kingdom.

and going out with him to reconnoitre it, was assassinated by him at a convenient place; after which the murderer fled to the castle, and acquainted his cousin with what he had done. *Zeyd's* death put at once an end to the dynasty, or government, of the *Almohedes* (F); and the traitor *Gamarazan*, taking advantage of the confusion and panic which the news of it had thrown his whole army into, fell suddenly upon and totally defeated them; so that, having no enemy left to oppose him, he quickly reduced the whole *Tremecenian* kingdom under his own subjection, and held it as long as he lived; and ordered his successors for the future to exchange their old name of *Abd'olkwates* for that of *Benimeyeni*, or *Benizevenez*.

Gamarazan reigns in *Tremecen*.

And *Abd'allah* in *Fez*.

ABOUT the same time the governor of *Fez* for the *Almohedes*, named *Abd'allah*, of the *Zenetan* tribe, and of the same branch of the *Benimerini*, likewise revolted, seized on several cities, particularly those of *Robotto* and *Anfat*, in the kingdom of *Tremecen*, and defeated the *Almohedes*, in the plains between *Fez* and *Mequinez*, and forced them to retire into the kingdom of *Morocco*; by all which singular advantages the *Benimerini* became very powerful. *Abd'allah*, at his death, left the *Fezian* crown to his son, a minor, under the government of his brother *Yakub*, who had assisted him in all his conquests, and who, after his nephew's death, took possession of the crown, as immediate heir to it. This last took the title of *Muley Cheyk*, or antient or old king; a title equivalent to that of sovereign lord, on account of his having governed the *Fezian* kingdom with the title of king of *Mequinez* during his nephew's life.

Mohammed Budobas takes *Morocco*;

NEAR the same time another uncle of the young king, named *Mohammed Budobas*, rose up in arms in the provinces of *Tedba* and *Daminet*; the former of which he yielded to the king of *Fez*, to obtain his assistance, and entered into a league with him. They accordingly marched their joint forces towards *Morocco*, where the young king *Zeyd* was; but upon the news of their approach, abandoned that metropolis, which his uncle immediately entered, and took possession of it in his own name, and at the same time dispatched one of his chief

who is declared king of the Almohedes. Declares the king of *Fez*, his ally, a traitor.

officers in pursuit of him, who overtook him at *Sequelmeffa*, and murdered him. *Budobas* immediately caused himself to be proclaimed king and Emir of the *Almohedes*; and, instead of performing his engagements with the king of *Fez*, turned his arms against him, declared him a traitor and rebel against the *Almohedes*, from whom he had usurped the *Fezian* kingdom, which they had intrusted under his government, and himself the rightful and determined avenger

(F) We do not mean by it an utter extinction of their line; for there were enough still living of it to lay a just claim to the crown, and to make some strenuous efforts to regain it; but only that they all miscarried in their attempts, by some strange or unforeseen accidents. Amongst these we cannot forbear mentioning the late king's uncle *Abd'al Kader*, who, the better to succeed in it, had caused himself to be chosen by the chief officers of that state; but yet finding himself too weak to cope with the power of some of his competitors, was glad to compromise the

contest with them by a kind of treaty of partition, out of which sprang several petty sovereignties.

At the same time several governors of the provinces for the *Almohedes* likewise revolted in other places, as in *Nubia*, *Libya*, &c. as well as in *Tremecen*, *Fez*, and *Tunis*, who set up for themselves, and continued unmolested in their new assumed sovereignties, whilst the *Almohedic* dynasty was every-where suppressed, in spite of all their efforts to raise it up again, as the sequel plainly shews (1).

(1) *Leo*, *Grammay*, *Marmol*, *ubi sup.* *Est. Garibas*, *lib. xxvi.* *Luyez*, & *al.*

- a of his black treason; protesting, that he would not sheath his sword, till he had driven him out of his usurped dominions. Such was the consequence, as is commonly the case, of their treasonable and unnatural alliance. The misfortune was, that all this vapouring and threatening ended in his own total defeat, and death of the *Almohedic* chief, by which the kingdom of *Morocco*, and its conquered provinces in *Barbary*, fell under the subjection of the *Benimerini*, but is defeated and slain by him. and the victorious king of *Fez* became the head of a new dynasty, which, in process of time, King of Fez head of the Benimerini. reduced all the kingdoms of *Tremecen*, *Tunis*, and other inferior sovereignties. For although several of the *Almohedic* governors, who had revolted under the same reign, were suffered to retain their dominions, especially in the mountainous parts, those of mount *Atlas* above-mentioned in particular, yet was it only on condition that they should acknowledge the kings of *Fez* as their lords. Among those we may add a considerable branch of the *Muzamadin* tribe, so called (though originally of the *Berberi* extract) from the mount, or rather large ridge of mountains, on the great *Atlas*, extending itself about 20 leagues in length westward, towards the *Atlantic* ocean, and where they reigned a considerable time under their own princes, after the declension and abolition of the tyrannic power of the *Arabs* in several parts of *Africa*, particularly in *Numidia*, *Libya*, as well as this of *Barbary*; and still retained their antient name. They are a wealthy and warlike nation, and valued themselves for their antiquity and nobility; and were once very powerful, and continued so for a considerable time, as will be farther shewn in the sequel of this work.

- Among other branches descended from them, that of the *Henteti*, so called from the famed
c mount of that name, the highest and most populous of the whole *Atlantic* ridge, have also made a very considerable figure in history, under their own princes, on account of their wealth and power, and particularly for their brave cavalry, and the frequent wars they have successfully waged against the Sharifs of *Morocco*; till at length these being become masters of that kingdom, and much inferior to it in strength, were obliged to set aside all farther hostilities, and crave their alliance and protection, in order to be confirmed by them in their inferior dignity and scanty dominion. This forced alliance was made by *Maleyo Idris*, one of their kings, who boasted himself to be descended from the *Almohedes*, and, as such, began to lay claim to the crown of *Afric*, which they had been possessed of before, as we have lately seen, and to assume the regal title, though he had, till then, contented himself with that of king of
d that mountain. He was then in possession of the city and strong fortress of *Geman Tedid*, which had been founded about two centuries before by *Hentetao*, of his tribe of *Mirzamada*, and had continued to be their chief residence ever since. He held also several other fortresses on the same mountain, all likewise advantageously situated, and watered by the river *Ecifelmed*, so called from the prodigious noise it makes in its rapid descent from those heights, whence, running down into a spacious plain below, it expands itself into a delightful lake. To these he added the city of *Temelet*, a small but strong fortress, situate on an eminent part of the mountain of its name, formerly built by the same tribe; and exceedingly well peopled, as well as adorned with a stately mosk, held in great veneration by its inhabitants, who pretend that the famed *Mohedi*, and his disciple *Abd'olmunen*, the first king of the *Almohedes*, lie interred in
e it †; from which also those of that sect affect to call the city by his name *Mohedi*.

THIS was the situation of *Muley Idris's* small dominions, when the dread of the Sharif's power put him upon that ill-concerted expedient of securing himself in them by the above-mentioned alliance, which he soon afterwards found cause to repent of. The measures he took to extricate himself out of them were no less hazardous, and likely to have proved equally, if not more, fatal to him.

- THIS transaction, as well as the occasion of it, having something singular and instructive in it, we hope our readers will not deem it a digression from our subject, if we subjoin a short account of it, as we find it related in the authors quoted in the margin *. It happened in the reign of the Sharif *Muley Hammed*, by which time the *Portuguese* had got some considerable
f settlements on that coast, and particularly the strong castle of *Salee*, a considerable sea-port in that kingdom; the governor of which, named *Nunez*, ever attentive to his master's interest, and apprised of the dread *Idris* was in from his new ally, had found means to invite him to exchange him for that of the king of *Portugal*, who, he assured him, would prove a more faithful, as well as more powerful, protector. The juncture was then altogether promising and favourable, inasmuch as *Muley Hammed* had lately made himself master of the city of *Morocco*, that is, after the death of *Naker Buchentuf*, the *Almohede*, and last possessor of it, and was become by that means a more formidable neighbour; which circumstance, that governor presumed, could not fail of determining the alarmed *Idris* to accept of the new proffered alliance. To effect it with the greater safety and speed, he employed a servile *Jewish*
g merchant, who traded in those parts, to convey a letter to him from his *Portuguese* majesty, which, to avoid discovery, was sewn between the soles of his shoe. But the *Jew*, whether

† MARMOL, ubi sup.

* LEO, & al. ubi sup.

to avoid suspicion, or to serve some other end, took the direct road to *Morocco*, and not only a staid some time in that capital, but ventured to appear before the Sharif, and transact some private affairs with him; which so alarmed the *Henetan* prince, that, upon the *Jew's* delivering the letter to him, he returned it to him unopened, and ordered him to carry it back to *Morocco*, and put it into the Sharif's own hand, together with another written by himself, in which he earnestly intreated him to have a watchful eye over the Christians, who, he was well assured, were carrying on some dangerous plot against him. This precaution, luckily for him, which was wholly owing to his suspicion that the *Jew* might have discovered his correspondence with the *Portuguese* governor, had the desired effect; and *Muley*, now satisfied of his friendship and integrity, failed not to make him some grateful acknowledgements for it, whilst he turned his whole resentment on those strangers, who had, with such treacherous artifices, attempted to deprive him of so faithful an ally, and for such treasonable designs against him, in order to invade the more effectually the dominions of both. The *Jew* was the first who fell a victim to his jealousy, whom suspecting to be more deeply informed of their designs, he caused to be put to the torture, which was several times repeated; and, not being able to extort any confession from him, condemned him to be torn in pieces by four wild horses †. But as he could not penetrate farther into the mystery of this conspiracy, this fresh instance of the *Portuguese* ambition and policy only served to make him have a more watchful eye over them; and, at the same time, if he had really entertained any views against those of his *Henetan* ally, it made him set them aside, for the present at least; and *Idris* found in him from henceforth a friend and protector, instead of a formidable neighbour; and his successors enjoyed their small kingdom in peace for some generations, though they were, in process of time, reduced under the yoke of the Sharifs, as will be more fully seen in the next chapter. Thus much may suffice for these two considerable branches of the *Zeneti*, inhabiting the western parts of the *Atlas*, under the names of *Hentela* and *Zamadins*. Other branches of the same tribe spread themselves likewise in other parts of *Barbary* and *Africa*, as in *Numidia*, *Nubia*, *Libya*, &c. and founded some considerable cities, with an account of which we shall not here interrupt the thread and course of our history, having apprised our readers * that they should be taken proper notice of in a supplemental volume, in the same order as they have been transmitted to us by *Abu'lfeda* and other *Arabic* historians and chronologers. All that needs be added here to that of the *Almohades*, lately spoken of, after having made a considerable figure in the kingdom of *Fez* and other parts, during the space of about 170 years, waged very cruel wars against the kings of *Fez*, *Tunis*, *Tremecen*, &c. and greatly enlarged their wealth, power, and dominions, were at length succeeded by that of the *Benimerini*, another, and equally eminent, branch of the *Zeneti*, above mentioned; these last having, like all the former branches already spoken of, held the government during the space of above 117 years, enlarged their conquests, and enriched themselves by their frequent incursions not only into all the neighbouring kingdoms above-mentioned, but even *Nubia*, *Libya*, and *Numidia*, were at length, like the rest of these *African* parts, swallowed up by the general inundation of *Mohammedism*, as will be more fully seen in the sequel.

ALL these principal branches, not to mention some others which have likewise had their particular share of dominion in other parts, and a much greater number of inferior ones, which have branched out into an innumerable variety, beyond an author's power even to enumerate, as *Leo Africanus* expresses it, out of his *Arabic* historian †; and, if they could, would be of little use or instruction to an *English* reader; all these, we say, have had their several periods of government in *Barbary*; and, if our author is rightly informed, were the chief, if not the only ones, which retained so much of their *Arabic* extract, as to prefer the scenite and wandering life, as the most noble and suitable to their origin and taste, whilst they obliged those who lived under their government to inhabit in cities and villages, to cultivate the lands and pasture grounds, to follow husbandry and breeding of cattle, and to exercise variety of such trades and manufactures as the exigencies of nature and society required. They every-where retained their original or *Arabic* tongue, in its purity, or, at least, with so little intermixture or corruption, that whether they live in towns or villages, or roam at large in the spacious plains, mountains, or deserts, or how intermixed soever with others, they easily understand one another §. During that long interval, each of their sects had its authors, fautors, and disciples, all contending with equal warmth for their particular tenets, and triumphed over the others in their turns, and enjoyed *Mohammedism* of their own fabrication; till the Sharifs on the one hand, and the *Turks* on the other, having reduced the whole *Barbaric* tract, obliged each of them to submit to a new one of their own, as will be farther shewn in the subsequent chapters.

† LEO, & al. ubi sup.
ubi sup.

* See before, vol. ii. 109, & alib. pass.
§ LEO, ubi sup. DAVITY, MARMON, & al.

† EBN RACHA, ap. LEO,

- a We have, by this time, gone through all we thought needful, by way of preliminary to the history of this large and opulent part of *Africa*; and, in order to inform our readers by what degrees and strange means the several states that now compose it came insensibly to coalesce into the different forms of government under which they now live, we shall next give their respective histories. Nevertheless, it will not be improper, before we close this chapter, to subjoin here an account of the once famed kingdom of *Telenfine*, or *Tremecen*, of which we have had frequent occasion to make some mention; especially with regard to the share it hath had in the wars and other transactions with the states lately spoken of, before its reduction by, and being incorporated into, that of *Algiers*; in all which it hath made so considerable a figure in the history of *Barbary*, that it might be justly deemed an inexcusable omission not to give it
- b a place.

S E C T. III.

The history of the kingdom of Telenfine, or Tremecen.

- c **T**HIS kingdom was antiently considerable enough to be reckoned the third in rank of *Kingdom of the Mauritania Cæsariensis*. Its other name it received afterwards from its capital of *Tremecen*. *Tremecen*, or, as some write it, *Termecen*, of which we shall give an account in its proper place. It stretches itself from north to south-east, that is, from the west *Mediterranean* to *Its limits*. mount *Atlas*, about the length of 150 leagues; but in breadth it is, in some places, about 50, and about 26 or 21 where narrowest. On the east it hath the kingdom of *Tunis*, or *Africa propria*, from which it is severed by two rivers; namely, the *Zis* and the *Moluya*, the former of which hath its spring-head on the *Zanbaghian* mountains, and running thence across the countries of *Quinena*, *Matagara*, and *Relch*, spreads itself into a lake, in a desert south of the territory of *Segelmessa* (A); and the latter, by a contrary course, runs from mount
- d *Atlas* across the whole country, and empties itself into the *Mediterranean*, near the town of *Ona*^a. From thence to that of *Gigel* is the utmost breadth of its coast; this last being its utmost boundary on the other side, as the *Numidian* is on the south. The kingdom is divided *Its antient provinces*. into four principal provinces, whereof the first and chief bears the name of *Tremecen*; the second is called *Tenez*, the third *Algiers* (which three formerly constituted the *Cæsarean Mauritania*), and the last is that of *Buga*, vulgarly called *Bugia*, which some geographers place in the kingdom of *Tunis*. These four provinces have, ever since the decay of the *Roman* empire, been preserved by the *Arabs* of the *Zenetan* tribe; next to them by the kings of *Tunis* and *Fez*; and last of all by the *Turks*, as will be seen in the sequel. The former of them in particular, who are very numerous in each, and no less stout and warlike than greedy of plunder,
- e have proved a perpetual plague to them, being advantageously seated on the mountainous parts, where they cannot be easily come at, or, in case of danger of being so, are ever ready to remove their habitations into the most inaccessible part, where they range at will, and without paying any subjection or tribute to the *Tremecen* princes, living mostly on the spoil of their subjects below. They are divided into five branches; viz. *Berbers*, *Zeneti*, *Hoars*, *Zinbagians*, and *Azogues*, all of them *Mohammedans*, and have their mosks in great numbers, tho', for the most part, more tractable, and less averse to Christians, with whom they carry on a considerable commerce, than those of the kingdom of *Morocco*, who still retain an irrecon-
- Arabs of that kingdom, their tribes and character.*

^a LEO AFR. lib. i. MARMOL Afric. l. v. c. i. DAVITY, DAPPER, ALDRETTI Antiq. l. iii. c. 30. RAMUSIO Viag. vol. i. part iv. p. 59, & seq. SHAW, & al.

(A) The province of *Segelmessa* is situate between the kingdom of *Tremecen* and the desert of *Nubia*, and stretches itself about 120 miles southwards along the river above-mentioned. It is inhabited by a barbarous branch of the *Zanbaghian Zeneti*, and had its name from its capital *Segelmessa*, since taken by the kings of *Fez*, and made the residence and appenage of their sons; but was since destroyed on account of some rebellion; ever since which the inhabitants have built several castles in this province, some of whom live independent of any but their own princes, and others are tributary to the *Arabs* (1), and both apply themselves to sow and plant, and other kinds of agriculture.

The city, which hath never been rebuilt since, shews by its noble remains of stately walls, temples, and a fine aqueduct, which brought the water to it from the river *Zis* above-mentioned, all the marks of antient splendor that could adorn a royal city; from which our author, who was there about seven months, tells us, that some *African* writers, who gave it the name of *Bieri*, supposed it to have been built by *Alexander* the Great, for the relief of his wounded soldiers. Which notion, however, he looks upon as altogether absurd (2), there being no vestige in history of his having penetrated so far into *Africa*.

(1) *Leo Africanus*, lib. vi. c. 16. *Marmol*, *Dapper*, & al.

(2) *Leo*, *ubi sup.* c. 21.

cilable hatred against them (B). However, the former have proved worse enemies both to a this kingdom, and *Tunis*, *Fez*, and others on this coast, ever since the *Turks* have been masters of so great a part of it, and have been ever ready to excite revolts, and join forces with their enemies, especially such as paid them best for acting against them.

THE clime and soil of this kingdom, being pretty much the same as we have seen it in other parts of *Barbary*, that is, sandy and barren on the southern side, and more fruitful and mountainous towards the *Mediterranean*, we shall not need dwell on a detail of its products, which are, for the most part, the same through the whole *Barbaric* tract. That especially about the capital of *Tremecen* is little else than a continued barren plain of a vast extent; so that there are but few other cities of any note in its neighbourhood. But it is far otherwise towards the south, and near the sea, where the plains, vallies, and even the mountains, yield a most agreeable b verdure, plenty and variety of pasturage, fruits, and several sorts of grain; whilst the southern parts are very poorly furnished with cities and towns of any note, except the capital, and are only defended by some strong castles, dispersed at proper distances, and advantageous posts (C). The northern ones have a considerable number of them, especially upon the coasts. Yet both the inland and maritime parts drive a considerable commerce both out of the kingdom and with each other; the former with *Numidia*, *Nigritia*, and other inland parts, for slaves, gold dust, elephants teeth, ebony and other woods, and a great variety of gums, and other commodities, and exchanges them with the maritime parts for their corn and other products, as well as great variety of *European* goods, cloths, knives, scissars, razors, rings, beads, bells, and other trinkets, brought thither from *Spain*, *France*, and *Italy*, but more particularly from *Venice* and *Genoa*, whence a good number of merchant ships used to resort c to the two famed ports of *Auran*, or *Horan*, and *Marfa Al Kasbir*, till both towns were taken, and the commerce quite obstructed, by *Ferdinand* king of *Spain*, as will be seen in the sequel, and was not restored till *Barbarossa* made himself master of the *Tremecenian* kingdom, recovered and repaired the maritime and trading towns, and reinvited those merchants to revive their commerce with his new dominions, which their fear of the Christians, and the wars which had raged till then, had so greatly obstructed. We shall not, however, take up our reader's time with a detail and description of those towns, because we shall find the most considerable of them still standing and flourishing under the dominion of the *Turks*, when we come to the history of the kingdom of *Algiers*, of which this of *Tremecen* is now but a part, and where they will more properly come under our notice. At present we shall content our- d selves with singling out two of the most remarkable ones; viz. that of *Ned Roma*, and that

(B) There is still another class of them, more mischievous than the others, and these are those who inhabit the desert of *Angab*, which lies on the road between *Tremecen* and *Fez*, and is computed to be twenty-eight leagues in length, and eighteen in breadth, and across which runs the *Moluya* lately mentioned, though everywhere else destitute of water and almost every kind of food; but swarms with such multitudes of lions and other wild beasts, as well as with those wandering and pilfering *Arabs*, as made it, on both accounts, very dangerous to the merchants who were obliged to travel from one kingdom to another.

This obliged the kings of *Tremecen* to keep a body of troops along the banks of the river, both to suppress the one and destroy the other, which they did during the summer season, so as to make it passable all that time; but when the winter drew near, and the soldiers were obliged to go in quest of provisions as far as *Numidia*, as they must do every year, then do those two nuisances begin to rage again, and make it exceeding dangerous to travel through that sandy and barren wilderness (3).

The *Tremecen* princes had here likewise erected the strong fortress of *Tenzegzeg*, on the road between their capital and the city of *Fez*, which stands on a high rock, in the midst of a spacious and fertile plain, watered by the river *Tama*, which falls down from the mount *Atlas* into that of *Aresgole*. This fortress was designed to guard the pass into the desert above-mentioned, on the side of the capital, from the incursions of the *Arabs*; but hath been since seized and possessed by them, and since then by the *Turks*; who, having made themselves masters of *Barbary*, have fortified it, and keep a constant garrison in it (4).

(C) Amongst that number we shall only select one, to serve as an example of the rest; viz. that called by *Leo Isli*, and by *Marmol Zexil*, said to have been built by the *Africans* as a frontier town; but, by what one may judge from the height and strength of its walls, the beauty and largeness of the square stones, more like a work of the *Romans*, and probably the *Giva* of *Ptolemy*, who places it in 14 degrees 30 min. of longitude, and 32 degrees 30 min. of latitude.

It is situate, like that spoken of in a former note, in a barren plain, between the desert of *Angab*, and the territory of *Tremecen*, and was formerly well inhabited and garrisoned, having some spacious fields in its neighbourhood, which produced some corn, barley, and other provisions; till being at length taken by *Tusef*, or *Juseph*, prince of the race of the *Benimerini*, and the inhabitants expelled, it was some time after reinhabited by a set of religious monks, in great veneration amongst all the *Mohammedans* and *Arabs*; insomuch, that neither the princes of *Tremecen*, nor even the plundering *Arabs*, raised any tribute or exactions upon them, on account of the great hospitality they exercised towards all strangers who passed by, whom they liberally entertained during three days, and dismissed without paying any thing. There is a small river passes by this castle, which supplies them, and their fields round about, with a sufficient quantity of water; without which their fields would not produce any thing. As for their houses, they are mere huts, built of earth, and thatched only with leaves. So that the place hath nothing now remarkable left but its antient high walls above-mentioned (5).

(3) *Leo African. lib. iv. c. 2. Marmol Afric. lib. v. c. 3. & Grammay, & al.* (4) *Marmol, ubi sup.*
(5) *Leo African. ubi sup. lib. iv. c. 4. Marmol Afric. lib. v. c. 5. Dapper, Grammay, & al.*

a of *Tremecen*, the former called so for its antiquity and likeness to the antient *Rome*, and the other as being the metropolis of the *Tremecenian* kingdom, and the splendid residence of its princes.

b NED ROMA, so called from the *Arabic*, importing its likeness to that antient metropolis of the world, and built by its once lordly conquerors, whilst masters of this part of *Africa*, is seated on a large plain, about three leagues from the great *Atlas*, and about four from the *Mediterranean*, much resembling that of *Rome* in its situation; and some very considerable remains of its antient splendor not only bear still a very remarkable resemblance to that old mistress of the world, but it is the only one in all those parts that hath preserved any of them (the barbarous *Vandals* having, as hath been formerly hinted *, made it one part of their glory to destroy all the antient monuments of the *Roman* grandeur); on which account we thought that antient city might well deserve a particular notice in this place. Its walls, which are still standing, and appear high and lofty, built of large square stone, strongly cemented, and reared after the *Roman* style, the remains of sundry other sumptuous edifices, marble colonades, sepulchres, and other monuments, with *Roman* inscriptions, though, for the most part, either thrown down and lying in ruins, or terribly defaced, are still so many evidences of its antient greatness. As to its houses, they appear to have been rebuilt after the coarser *African* style; so that it is likely the old *Roman* ones were destroyed either by the *Vandals* above-mentioned, or during the later wars between the kings of *Tremecen* and those of *Fez* and *Tunis*. The adjacent fields are still very pleasant, fruitful, and well watered by a large river, descending from the great *Atlas*, whose banks on both sides are beautifully shaded with variety of fruit-trees, and the neighbouring mountains are likewise covered with various kinds of trees, one of which in particular, called by the antients *Karobs*, or *Karobies*, bears a fruit of a sweet and pleasant taste, and of which they make a kind of bread, which they eat of all the year round with all their other victuals. They have likewise great plenty of wheat and barley, abound with excellent pasturage and variety of cattle. They have also a fine sort of cotton growing amongst them, of which they make some of the finest linen in all *Barbary*. Upon the whole, nothing appears more delightful and agreeable, and promising, than the adjacent parts, and the remains of this old city; nor any thing more shocking and mean than its inside; the entrance and every part of which presents you scarcely with any thing but a parcel d of poor tattered buildings, mostly of earth, or at best patched up here and there with some of the square stones of the old city, and a heap of other ruins, some within and others without the walls. We shall only add, that *Ptolemy*, who takes it for the antient *Salamium*, places it in 12 degrees 10 min. of longitude, and 33 degrees 20 min. of latitude. Both the city and the inhabitants of the adjacent mountains are of the *Zenetan* tribe, and a branch of the *Zanbaghians* †; they were once stout and warlike, and could bring 25,000 fighting men into the field; but, since their tyrannic subjection under the *Turks*, are greatly decreased both in number and courage §, and remarkable for little else than their potteries or earthen manufactures; though, from the advantageous situation and richness of their fields and pastures, one would judge it to have been formerly a place of great commerce ‡.

e THE capital of this kingdom is the other city we are now to describe. It is commonly *City of Tremecen* de- called, by our modern geographers, *Tremecen*, *Tremesen*, *Temecen*, or *Tremisen*; but antiently, and according to the true *Arabic* orthography and pronunciation, *Tlemfan*, or *Telemfan*. It is pleasantly situated, about five leagues south-east of the mouth of the *Tefna*, upon a rising ground, below a range of rocky precipices, supposed by the learned Dr. *Shaw* to be the *Sacbratain* of *Edrisi* †, and upon the first ridge of them (for there runs another to the southward) lieth a slip of level ground, that bursts out in every part of it with springs of water, which, gradually uniting together into little streams, fall afterwards into a pleasant variety of cascades in their near approach to *Telemfan*. These the author last-quoted supposes to be the springs which form the *Annafrani* of *Edrisi*, they still continuing to run in the same f direction, into a stream which turns a number of mills, as that river is said to have formerly done. There is besides a large source of water in the heart of the city, conveyed thither by a subterranean chanel, from some other place; and the mountains above-mentioned, to the southward of this ridge, yield such plenty of water, that there was the less need for *Marmol* to fetch those from the *Fouara* of *Numidia*; this conduit not only yielding a sufficient supply to the city, but being conveyed from the reservoir to the castle, mosks, and other places of resort || (D).

IT

* See before, vol. v. p. 706, & seq. † MARMOL, LEO, & al. sup. citat. § De his, vide vol. v. p. 720, sub note (Y). ‡ MARMOL, & al. ubi sup. Vide & SHAW's Travels, p. 47. * Ibid. ibid. || SHAW, ibid. p. 48.

(D) There is likewise on the west end of the city, a taste, two hundred yards long, and about half as broad, large square basin, built, we are told, after the *Moorish* on which, if we believe the tradition which goes current among VOL. VII. O O

It is not easy to conjecture when, or by whom, this royal metropolis was first founded ; and though we are told that there have been found among its ruins many rows of pillars, and other fragments of *Roman* altars, with inscriptions to the *Dii Manes*, and other *Roman* antiquities, yet most authors are of opinion, that it had but a small beginning, and did not arrive at its zenith of grandeur till after the destruction of that of *Aresgol* by the *Zanbaghians*, in the year of the *Hejra* 410, of which we shall speak more fully in the sequel. Till that time it seems to have been only a small fortress, possessed, if not built, as *Marmol* conjectures, by the *Magarean Zeneti* †. However that be, it was known to the antients by the name of *Temesi*, and *Ptolemy* places it under the 13th degr. 50 min. of longitude, and the 33d degr. 10 min. of latitude.

THE walls of it, when in their largest extent, according to our learned traveller, were, for the most part, moulded in frames, and appear to have consisted of a peculiar kind of mortar, made up of sand, lime, and small pebbles, so well tempered, that it acquired the hardness and solidity of stone. The several stages and removes of those frames are still observable to the eye, by which some of them appear to have been 100 yards long, and a fathom in height and thickness, by which one may estimate the quantity of mortar made use of at one time. They were of a considerable height, and strong enough to be reckoned impregnable ; at least they proved so far such, as to withstand an obstinate siege of thirty months, in spite of the daily vigorous assaults of the besiegers, under the eye and command of their prince *Abu'l Hasseim*, king of *Fez*, who at length made that fatal breach in it, which occasioned the surrender and ruin of the place, and the death of its valiant prince, as will be seen in the sequel ^b.

Its antient
wards de-
scribed.

TILL that time *Tremecen* was wisely divided into several distinct wards, each of which might be considered as a separate city. They were of an oblong figure like the town, and each inclosed with its own high walls, of the same structure and materials, and were of singular use, either to prolong a siege, or prevent any insurrection, and intestine commotions among the citizens ; and we are told that there were two of them still standing in the time of *Edrisi* ^c. The rest of them had been demolished by the conqueror, and from the remains of it our author computes the whole compass of the city to have been about four miles ^d. What other considerable damage this noble capital received in its other sumptuous edifices and public buildings, we are left to guess ; however, after the decay of the *Benimerinian* family, it began to be repaired and inhabited afresh, insomuch that it soon increased, we are told, to 12,000 families ^e. Its trade and commerce were likewise so well revived, and its merchants and citizens became so wealthy, that the palace also resumed its pristine grandeur, so far as to vie with the city of *Fez* in almost every thing, but the stateliness of its buildings ; so that, in our author's time, there were many noble structures, as mosks, public schools for *Mohammedan* preachers and professors, particularly five colleges, most sumptuously built, some by the kings of *Tremecen*, and others by the kings of *Fez*, with variety of other public buildings, as baths, hot-houses, and stately urns, or caravanseras, for the use of the merchants and strangers, and built after the *African* style, unto two of which the *Venetians* and *Genoese* usually resorted. The *Jews* were here likewise very numerous, and vastly rich ; but on some discontent, or misdemeanor, they were all at once brought to the lowest state of misery and contempt. This happened soon after the death of king *Abubaddillah*, in the year of the *Hejra* 923 ; since which time they have never recovered themselves, nor their credit ^f. As for the citizens they lived in great ease and wealth, and have each their trades and occupations in a particular part of the city, as they have in that of *Fez*.

Public Build-
ings.

WE have already described the noble city walls, and shall only add, that they had four principal stately gates, all beautifully adorned, well fortified, and with spacious houses or rooms for the entertainment of the guards. Without the walls, on the south side of the city, stands the royal palace, built in the manner of a fortress, in which are the lodgings, or apartments, in great number, and of great strength and beauty, each of them adorned with stately gardens and fountains. The palace hath two sumptuous gates, the one towards the city, and called *Beb-gadit*, the other towards the country, called *Beb-el Gied*. The city is likewise surrounded, at some distance, with other beautiful villas and houses of pleasure, and great variety of gardens and orchards, where the richer sort of the inhabitants spend great part of the summer, in

Palace,

suburbs,

† MARMOL *Afric. lib. v. c. 11.* LEO, *lib. iv. c. 10.* supra citat. ^c SHAW, *ubi sup. p. 48, & seq.* & al. ^f LEO, & al. *ubi sup.*

^b LEO, MARMOL, GRAMMAY, RAMUSIO, & al.

^d *Iid. ibid. p. 49.*

^e LEO *AFRICAN. & MARMOL,*

among the inhabitants, the *Tremecenian* kings were wont to take the diversion of the water, and their subjects to learn navigation. But, as *Leo Africanus* rightly observes, the waters of the *Sachratain*, which supply it, being easily turned off their usual course, it is more likely that

this basin was originally designed as a reservoir against a siege, fire, or other emergencies, as well as to refresh a great number of beautiful gardens and other plantations below it. *Edrisi* mentions a structure of this kind, where the fountain of *Omojahia* discharges itself (8).

- a time of peace. These are also furnished with plenty of water, and stored with all manner of fruit trees, particularly of olive and walnut, from which they make plenty of oil. Vines are there likewise in great plenty, and furnish the people with excellent grapes, which, being dried in the sun, serve them all the year round *. They do the same by their figs and other fruits, and, to close the charming account which our author, an eye-witness of what he relates, gives of it, nothing could be more delightful and fertile, of all that nature can produce in those warm climates, than what he beheld in the adjacent parts of this opulent metropolis, nor more peaceable and happy than its inhabitants ; all which probably continued, if not improved yearly, till the year 1670, which was that of its last fatal overthrow, when *Muley Hassan*, the Bey of *Algiers*, having taken a dislike to the inhabitants, on account of their
- b disaffection to him, reduced the greatest part of it into ruins ; so that there was not the sixth part of it left remaining when our learned traveller visited those parts about *an. 1526* ^b.

BEFORE we take our leave of this metropolis, it will not be displeasing to our readers to give a small sketch of its court, and of the surprising state which the *Tremecenian* princes took upon them, when in the height of their grandeur and prosperity ; and though most of them were but mere upstarts, in comparison, yet they affected, when they could reach it, all the pomp and grandeur of the greatest eastern monarchs ; one instance of which, among the rest, was, that none of their subjects were ever allowed to speak to them, or to appear in their presence, except their prime ministers, nobles, and officers of their court, and that in a manner suitable to each of their respective dignities, as every such was suited to their rank and nobility. The

c first of these was of the lord-lieutenant or prime minister, who had the disposing of all the inferior ones, the command of the army, and frequently led them into the field, and against the enemy. Next to him was the chief secretary of state, who minuted and recorded all things appertaining to the king. The next in rank was his high treasurer, who receives his revenues and tributes. The next was his lord almoner, or dispensator, who bestows such liberalities as the king chuses to grant. The fifth officer is the captain of his guard, who, as often as any nobles are admitted into the presence, conducts the guard to the palace gate. We omit the rest as not worth a particular mention, such as the master of the horse, or, as he is there styled, the overseer of the saddle and stirrups ; the lord chamberlain, who only attends whenever the king gives audience, &c.

- d THE royal revenue, which chiefly arises from the imports and exports from and to the city of *Auran*, where the principal custom-house was, did not then amount to above six hundred thousand crowns yearly ; the one moiety thereof was appropriated to the maintenance of his forces, and the other to that of his household ; and, if there arose any overplus from either, it was laid up to defray the exigencies of war. However, it is plain, that they had not attained the art of improving so beneficial a branch of their revenue ; and the *Turks*, since their becoming masters of this kingdom, have greatly increased it, even after the taking of that commodious port from them by the *Spaniards*, by removing the commerce of it to the capital of *Algiers*, this last being no less advantageously situate for trade, both to and from *Europe* and *Africa*, as will be seen in the subsequent chapter, and hath swarmed with pirates from both
- e coasts ever since. The *Tremecenian* kings had likewise a considerable trade with the inland, which the *Turks* have taken great care to improve ; the misfortune was, the *Numidians*, who carried it on with them, being of such insatiable avarice, that they could scarcely be brought to any equitable terms †.

UPON the whole, those kings in general affected to imitate, if not to vie with, those of *Fez*, of whom we shall give an account in a subsequent chapter, in the splendor and ordering of their court. There is however one remarkable singularity, which our author observed amongst them ; that whenever he that was then on the throne appeared in public, or went abroad, it was always not only with a less numerous and splendid retinue than the former, but in such a plain and ordinary dress, that he was hardly to be distinguished from a common captain in

f time of war ; and when he travels, from any of his attendants.

THEY used to stamp a gold coin of baser alloy, though of a larger size, and of about the value of an *Italian* ducat and a quarter ^k.

- WE shall conclude this section with such a sketch of the history of this kingdom as we have been able to collect from the authors quoted hitherto in the margin. We have already taken notice that it was known to the *Romans* and *Greeks*, under the name of *Temisi*, and was a part of the *Mauritania Cæsariensis*, which they had subdued. After the decline of their empire, it may be reasonably supposed that it underwent the same fate with the other parts of *Barbary*, that is, groaned like them for a long while under the tyranny of the *Arabian* Khalifs, and their Cheyks, though how long is hard to determine ; till, their yoke becoming
- g intolerable every-where, they were forced to shake it off, and to form, like the rest, a new

* MARMOL, LEO, & al. sup. citat.
sup. ¹ LEO AFRIC. ubi sup. c. 2.

^b LEO, ubi sup. SHAW, ubi sup. [†] MARMOL, & al. ubi
^k AIDRETTI Ant. ubi sup. LEO, MARMOL, & al. ubi sup.

government or dynasty of their own, from which sprang that vast number and variety, which flourished in their turns, not only in the several parts of *Barbary*, but of all this northern part of *Africa*, as far as *Nubia*, *Libya*, *Numidia*, &c. as hath been frequently shewn through the course of this chapter.

Great state
and splendor
of its kings.

ACCORDINGLY those of *Telensine*, or *Tremecen*, who were of the tribe of the *Zeneti*, of the branch of the *Magrawas*, or *Magroas*, formerly spoken of, became the first founders of this government. They called themselves *Beni Abd'ulgoad*, and were esteemed the most antient and considerable of all the *Barbary* princes, living in the greatest magnificence and splendor, and keeping the most superb court, and state above all the rest. Their successors, as hath been lately hinted, being chosen from among the highest nobility, affected to make the most pompous appearance, and have had regiments of cavalry under them for their retinue, and all likewise sumptuously mounted and habited, even vastly above their estate and income. The prince's revenue, in spite of all their great show and state, was so small at first, that that of three whole years was scarce sufficient to maintain war one whole twelve-month; which obliged them to have recourse to the expedient of having not only their gold coin of a baser alloy, but their silver also, as occasion required. They found means, however, to augment it by degrees, as well by the taxes they levied on their subjects, as by their commerce both with *Europeans* and *Africans*; and, by customs, imposts, and exactions, to become very wealthy and powerful, and to hold the reins of that kingdom during the space of three hundred years, without any considerable alteration, excepting now-and-then some wars with their neighbours, but more particularly in time by the upstart *Almoravides* and *Almohedes* successively, both which, in their turns, either reduced them, or contented themselves to keep them under tribute, as we have seen in the foregoing chapter. Yet, under all these disasters, they seldom failed of recovering their liberty, and putting themselves again in *statu quo*.

Becomes rich
and powerful
by commerce.

Reduced by
the Almoravides
and Almohedes.

Ghamrazen
recovers the
crown.

ONE of the most remarkable of these revolutions happened in the time of one *Ghamrazen*, or, as others call him, *Gamazaz*, a man of valour, of the family of the *Beni-zeiens*, who headed a revolt against the *Almohedes*, towards the decline of their government, and recovered the kingdom of *Tremecen* out of their hands, and left it to a series of successors, who took upon them the new name of *Beni-zeiens*, instead of the old one of *Abd'allades*, and reigned there during the space of near 380 years, according to *Leo* and *Grammay**, but of only 160 according to *Marmol*. However, they were forced, during the latter end of that interval, to sustain several very fierce wars from the kings of *Fez*, who had once driven them out of the greatest part of their dominions, making some tributary, obliging others to flee for refuge among the barren and inhospitable mountains, and holding the rest under a severe subjection. They were no less harrassed by the kings of *Tunis*, under whom they fought several unsuccessful battles, and endured many obstinate sieges in their capital and other fortresses, besides other dreadful ravages they committed in their frequent incursions.

Tremecen be-
sieged by the
king of Fez;

BUT the most dreadful siege this capital of *Tremecen* underwent was under *Yusef*, king of *Fez*, which lasted seven whole years successively; that prince, having built a strong fort on the east side of the town, reduced it to such distress and want, that the citizens began to labour under an intolerable famine. Upon this they all agreed to apply to the king in a body, and, in the most pathetic terms, to beseech him to have compassion on their distress, and not to deliver them up to the dreadful effects of a general assault, after having sustained this obstinate siege in his defence. The king, who was then at supper upon a piece of horse-flesh, stewed with barley, admitted them to his presence, and pointing to his homely fare, plainly shewed them how little better his condition was than that of the meanest of them. This allayed their clamours for the present; quickly after which, having called them together to an assembly, he exhorted them, in the strongest terms, to consider how much more noble and glorious it was to die sword in hand, in defence of one's own country, than to submit to a life of the basest and most ignominious slavery? This alternative the generous prince displayed in such lively and affecting colours, that they unanimously resolved to sally out upon the enemy, with a becoming bravery, on the next day, and either conquer or die. This noble resolution was immediately put in execution, and all proper preparations were made with all possible diligence, against the next day, which they all now waited impatiently for. However, before the wished-for morning appeared, they were surprised with the sudden news of a more effectual deliverance, as well as more suitable to their singular bravery, beyond what their most sanguine wishes could have surmised or expected. The *Fezian* king was murdered that very night by one of his own subjects; the news of which, being brought to the city, inspired the king and its citizens with fresh courage; upon which they followed him out of the gates, and fell upon the enemy's camp, then in the utmost confusion and disorder, with the utmost fury and resentment, killed vast numbers, and totally dispersed the rest, who left their camp, with all its plenty and variety of provisions, as well as immense store of other rich plunder, behind, as

who is mur-
dered by one of
his own sub-
jects;

a a spoil to the starved *Tremecenians*, and a due reward of their singular bravery and constancy ; and the wealth they found in their camp helped to repair, in a great measure, the damages which they had received during that long and dreadful siege †.

ABOUT forty years after, *Abu'l Hassan*, the fourth king of *Fez*, of the *Marinian* family, built a fortress within two miles westward of *Tremecen*, after which he began that long thirty months siege, lately mentioned, making daily some fresh and obstinate assaults, and every night erecting new forts against it ; so that, at length, the *Fezians* made a sufficient breach to scale and enter the place ; and, having made themselves masters of the *Tremecenian* king, carried him captive to *Fez*, where he was quickly after murdered, and his body cast among the common filth of the city, by order of his inhuman conqueror ‡.

Is besieged and taken by Abu'l Hassan.

King of Tremecen basely murdered.

b THIS did not, however, prevent the *Tremecenian* crown continuing in the same family about 120 years, without any considerable alteration, excepting that they were constrained for a short space to become tributary to *Abu Ferez*, king of *Tunis*, and to his son *Hutman* ; but the tribute was withdrawn on the demise of the latter. They continued in the quiet possession of their dominions, and of a most advantageous commerce with the *Genoese* and *Venetians*, who yearly resorted with their merchant-ships to the two considerable sea-port towns of *Auran* and *Marsalquibir*, till the time of *Ferdinand* king of *Spain*, in the reign of *Abu-Chemen* ; upon which the *Tremecenians* rebelled, and drove him out of his dominions. This last was no better than an usurper, who had revolted from his uncle *Abu-zeijen*, and kept him confined several years ; but, upon the expulsion of the traitor, he was again restored to the crown. He did not, however, enjoy his kingdom long before he was slain by the *Turkish* pirate *Barbarossa*, who had, by this time, made himself master of this kingdom, as we shall see more fully in our history of *Algiers* ; upon which *Abu-Chemen* resolved to make a second effort to wrest it out of his hands. But as he had neither power nor interest sufficient for such a bold enterprise, he applied to the emperor *Charles V.* for assistance ; offering to become his vassal and tributary, and to entail the same tribute on his successors, from the moment he had acquired the quiet subjection on his possession of it. The emperor easily listened to this proposal, and furnished him with men and money for that purpose, so that he was soon put in a condition to attack *Barbarossa*, and to drive him out of his new conquest ; after which he severely revenged himself on such of the *Tremecenians* who had been accessory to his expulsion. He likewise gratified the *Spanish* soldiers who had assisted him, and sent their officers home laden with tokens of his gratitude and generosity, and allowed the emperor a large yearly revenue, as long as he lived. But, after his death, his brother *Abd'alla*, who succeeded him, relying on the power and friendship of the *Turkish* Soltan, *Soleyman*, then on the throne, refused to continue that tribute any longer ; and kept quiet possession of it till the year 1526, when it was again reconquered by the *Turkish Algerines*, and has continued in their hands ever since, as will be seen in a subsequent chapter.

† LEO, MARMOL, GRAMMAY, & al. plur.

‡ LEO, GRAMMAY, MARMOL, & al.

C H A P. II.

The modern history of Morocco and Fez.

*The empire of
Morocco, &c.*

Situation.

Extent.

Climate.

Short frosts.

*Scarcity of
timber.*

*Abundance of
springs and ri-
vers.*

*Famed for
horses and
horsemen.*

THESE two kingdoms, which now compose one empire, were once part of the an-
cient *Mauritania*, described in a former part of this work ^a, and are situate on the
most western borders of *Barbary*, being bounded on that side by the ocean, on the
east by the river *Muluya*, which parts it from *Algiers*, on the north by the *Mediterranean*,
and on the south by the great *Atlas*, or rather by the river *Sus*, which divides *Morocco* from
the province of *Darbas*, and by part of the kingdom of *Tafilet*. The whole empire extends
itself from 28 to 36 degrees of north latitude, and from the 4th to the 9th degree of west
longitude from *London*. Its greatest length is from the north-east to the south-west, amount-
ing to above 590 miles (A); but in breadth not above 260, according to the most recent ob-
servations, where broadest, but not above half of that where narrowest.

EACH of these kingdoms retains still its old name, though the empire and emperors are
chiefly called by that of *Morocco*, or, as the *Spaniards* write it, *Marruecos*, as the most con-
siderable of the two. Each of them is likewise divided into inferior provinces, of which
Morocco contains seven; viz. *Hea*, *Sus*, *Gefula*, *Morocco proper*, *Ducala*, *Escura*, and
Telda; and that of *Fez* seven more; viz. *Azgar*, *Chaus*, *Errif*, *Fez proper*, *Garet*,
Hazbat, and *Temefine* ^b. Some only divide the whole empire into three principal provinces;
viz. *Morocco*, *Fez*, and *Sus*; and others again enlarge its boundaries beyond the last-mentioned
province southward, as far as the river *Niger*, which would give it near 1200 miles in length
from north to south; but if any of the *Sharifs* of *Morocco* ever extended their dominions so far,
all that lies beyond the river *Sus* is so desert and barren, that it hardly deserves being looked
upon as a part of that empire; especially as it is inhabited chiefly by wandering *Arabs*, who ac-
knowledge no submission to any but their own *Cheyks* ^c.

THE climate is every-where hot, and much more so as it extends itself more to the south, yet
is generally healthier than those of *Algiers* and *Tunis*, being pleasantly diversified and moderated
by mountains and plains, and cooled by the sea breezes, which fan it, especially on the west,
from the *Atlantic* ocean; so that it is reckoned much more temperate than one would imagine
it from its situation. The great mount *Atlas*, which surrounds it on the south like a crescent,
hath its tops covered with snow a great part of the year; and even in the vallies it freezes
sometimes very hard in the night, during the winter months, but the next day's sun com-
monly melts it away; so that there is scarcely any to be seen by noon-tide. Their rainy sea-
son usually begins about *October*; and if it continues too long in summer, it seldom fails of
producing some pestilential fevers: the north-west winds likewise, which begin to blow about
March, prove sometimes so sharp and violent as to affect the lungs, nerves, and limbs, as
well as their fruits, and other products of the earth. In other respects they enjoy a clear and
serene sky, and wholesome air, as they have but very few woods to stagnate it; and those they
have are in some measure destitute of timber trees. The country in general is well watered with
springs, and very considerable rivers; most of the latter have their source on mount *Atlas*,
and empty themselves either in the *Atlantic* ocean, or in the *Mediterranean*, after a course
of windings of some hundreds of miles ^d. These mountains likewise abound in mines of sundry
metals, especially copper, breed vast quantities of cattle both small and great, as well as of
horses, mules, and asses, all useful in their kinds.

THIS country hath been always famous for its horses; which, though inferior in size, make
up that defect by their fine shape, fleetness, and particularly by their peculiar docility. The
inhabitants have been no less celebrated for their dexterity in breaking, training, and riding of
them, ever since the time of the *Romans* [†]; and even to this day are allowed to excell all
nations, and to be, in some measure, inimitable in both. They have two other creatures

^a Ant. Hist. vol. vii. p. 139, & seq.

& seq. MARMOL, l. iii. c. 1, & seq. DAVITY, DAPPER, BAUDRAND, & al.

^d Idem ibid.

[†] Anc. Hist. vol. vii. p. 151.

^b Vide LEO AFRIC. l. ii. c. 1, & seq. GRAMMAY, l. ix. c. 2,

^c Vide auct. sup. citat.

(A) This length is variously taken and reckoned; we
have computed ours from the two most opposite points,
in a transverse line, from N. E. to S. W. that is, either
from *Cape Forcas*, or rather from the mouth of the river
Muluya, to that of the river *Sus*; whereas, taking it in
a direct line from north to south, it will be found to be

little more than 500 miles. The breadth we likewise
compute from mount *Miatbir*, near the spring-head of
the *Muluya* above-mentioned, on the *Algerine* side, to the
mouth of the *Ommirabi*, near the seaport of *Azamora*,
where it extends itself from east to west almost six de-
grees (1).

(1) Concerning these limits the reader may collect the different computations from the authors above-mentioned, com-
pared with the map hereunto annexed.

- a which are extremely useful to them, and well suited to those climates ; the one for speed ; viz. their dromedaries, of which we have spoken in some of the foregoing chapters ; and the other for burden, and for long journies over those dry and barren deserts, through which they are forced to travel in their caravans to *Egypt, Arabia, Libya*, and other countries ; viz. their camels, a creature seemingly designed by Providence for those climates, and with which this country abounds more than any other in *Africa*, and which, we are told^c, vastly exceed those of *Asia* ; for they will not only travel ten or more days without water, but without any other sustenance than what each part of their bodies contributes to their preservation ; so that in such cases their bunches will be first observed to decrease, next to that their bellies, and lastly their hinder parts ; by which they become at length so feeble and emaciated, that they will sink under a load of 100 weight ; whereas they could carry one of above 800 or 900 at their first setting out, and would continue so to do, if supported with sufficient nourishment, to the end of their journey (B).

Excellent camels.

- THE lands in general, both upper and lower, are so good, that, if they were cultivated with more industry, they might be made to yield most of the products of other parts of the world, and in as great plenty. But that is not to be expected in a country which groans under such a tyrannic government. They are commonly computed to be capable of producing 100 times more than the inhabitants consume, and, where duly cultivated, will yield two or three crops in a year ; yet lie waste, and without a proprietor every-where, except about three or four leagues about their towns and cities, through the cruel exactions of the government, and the frequent inroads of the plundering *Arabs*. The northern parts, however, are most productive of corn, oil, wine, fruits of all sorts, wax, honey, silk, and the finest wool ; and the southern of dates, sugar, cotton, indigo, variety of gums, ginger, &c.^e

Good soil if better improved.

- THE inhabitants of this empire are, like those of *Algiers* and *Tunis*, a mixture of, 1. *Berebers*, or, as they style themselves, the antient natives, who still follow their old customs, language, and poor way of living in huts on the mountainous parts, for the sake of enjoying their liberty ; so that these have never been entirely subdued. 2. *Arabs*, who are here also of the wandering kind, and range from place to place with their numberless herds, cultivate the plains, sow corn and other grain on the most fruitful spots, and whose chief wealth consists in their cattle, horses, and grain. These are no less impatient of all foreign yoke ; and, tho' they are under a kind of tribute, live under Cheyks of their own race and chusing. Some of their tribes there are, however, who live rather upon plunder than industry, and cannot be easily suppressed, as they commonly live in some of the most inaccessible parts, from which they make their excursions on the low lands, and against the caravans and other travellers. 3. The *Moors*, who are mostly the descendants of those who were driven out of *Spain* ; and, though poor and oppressed, are very numerous, especially along the sea-coast, though they have no trading vessels of their own, nor drive any immediate commerce with foreign nations. These are reckoned covetous and superstitious to a great degree, great cheats, jealous, vindictive, and treacherous, yet inferior to, 4. The *Jews*, in craftiness and villany. They likewise are, for the most part, such as were obliged to flee out of *Spain* and *Portugal* ; and, though the greatest rogues under the sun, are yet suffered to be the chief traders, factors, minters, and bankers, in the realm ; and, by their fraudulent ways and impositions, make themselves ample amends for the grievous taxes and imposts with which they are loaded. But the worst of all are, 5. The renegadoes, who, though not so numerous in these parts as in *Algiers* and *Tunis*, yet make a distinct class of people, though hardly less detested by the rest of the inhabitants, than they are by the Christians ; and for that reason, though not employed like the slaves in the lowest and vilest works, yet are not exempt from hard service, such as the guarding the gates of the royal palaces, and fortified places, and such other employments as they are fit for. Some of them are likewise distributed among the governors of the provinces, to be by them made use of as occasion offers. We are even told, by M. St. Olon, that, in time of war, they place them in great numbers at the front of the battle, where they run the risk of being cut in pieces if they are observed to flinch. 6. The slaves make another considerable class, being here very numerous, and much more inhumanly treated than those of *Tunis* or *Algiers*, whose thralldom and misery, hard as it is, is a state of rest and happiness, compared to that of those in the *Morocco* dominions. These all belong to the king, yet are treated far worse in every shape than in any other country, their labour being

Various inhabitants.

Old natives.

Arabs.

Moors.

Jews.

Renegadoes.

Ill treated by the natives.

Slaves.

Worse treated here than in any other country.

^c De his, vide LEO AFRIC. lib. ix. p. 290, & seq.

^e Ibidem ibid.

(B) The greatest part of these, as well as their fine horses, are bred by the *Arabs*, who live altogether upon those wild uncultivated mountains ; and, having fitted them for use and service, sell them to the townsmen, or exchange them for other commodities with the *Jews* and other traders ; from hence they are transported into other countries, and are commonly known by the name of *Barbary* horses (2).

Hard labour
and fare.

The married
ones better
treated.

The negroes
make the
greatest figure.

Rivers.

Mullooyah.

Taga.

Cebu, Sebou,
or Subro.

Dreadful way
of going over
it.

of the hardest and vilest kind, and almost without intermission, their pittance a pound cake of a coarse barley bread, sodden in a little oil, which yet they are often forced to cram into their mouths with one hand, while the other is employed in some grievous drudgery. Their lodging at night is a subterraneous dungeon, about five fathoms in diameter, into which they go down with a rope-ladder, which is afterwards drawn up, and the mouth of the prison is fastened with an iron grate. Their dress is of a piece with all the rest, consisting of a long coarse woollen coat with a hood, which serves them for a cap, shirt, coat, and breeches. To crown this quintessence of their misery, they are harnessed in carts, with mules and asses, and more unmercifully lashed for every the least inadvertency or intermission of their business, though owing, perhaps, solely to their strength being quite exhausted through labour, hunger, and drought. In a word, those monsters of cruelty take a singular pleasure, and even make a merit, to torment those unhappy wretches; and the only alleviation they allow to their worse than *Egyptian* thralldom is, that they exempt those that are married from hard labour, the women on account of their breeding and nursing a new brood of slaves, and their husbands probably on the same account; but neither the one nor the other are fed, clothed, or lodged, better than the rest. Some of them are, moreover, permitted to make brandy, the materials for which the *Jews* furnish them with, and pay a tax for it to the emperor, who is made to believe that the *Europeans* would lose all their vigour and ingenuity, if they were not revived by that liquor. These are the six different sorts of people who inhabit this large empire (C), and of whose various conditions it may be justly said, that bad is the very best, but the worst hath nothing equal to it on this side hell.

BUT there is still another nation whom we have not yet mentioned; viz. another race of *Moors*, which is the only one that bears the greatest sway, and makes the noblest figure in all those dominions, especially ever since *Muley Ishmael* obtained the government of them, tho' in all respects they are no less exposed to that tyrannic government, and even more to the avarice, jealousy, and cruelty, of a sovereign, merely on account of the wealth and privileges they enjoy under him. A danger which the rest can more effectually ward off, by concealing the little they have, and letting nothing appear among them but poverty and misery ^b.

WE have formerly given some account of the principal rivers of this country, and endeavoured, notwithstanding the variety of names by which some of them are called by antient d geographers, to ascertain their correspondence with their modern ones ⁱ; and shall now only supply what is wanting there in the descriptions, or omitted in the enumeration of them. We begin with the *Mulwyah*, *Molucha*, *Mulvia*, by *Marmol*, *Mulvya*, but more properly *Mullooyah*, which divides the kingdom of *Fez* from that of *Algiers*. It springs from the foot of mount *Atlas*, in the province of *Cbaus*, runs through the desert of it, and between those of *Garret* and *Angued*; then winding round the mountain of the *Benizeti*, falls into the *Mediterranean*, near the town of *Cassaca* ^k. *Taga*, by the antients *Taluda*, *Tamuda*, and *Tanuda*, springs from the same mount, and discharges itself into the *Mediterranean*, but much nearer to the streights of *Gibraltar*, to the eastward of the promontory of *Gebha*. These two are the only ones of note that fall into that sea; and the last is only remarkable for e a city of its name built on the banks of it, and supposed by *Dupin* to be the *Tanudajensis Episcopatus*, under the jurisdiction of *Carthage*.

THOSE that fall into the *Atlantic* are the *Sebou*, or *Cebu*, and *Subro*, which runs from mount *Atlas* through the provinces of *Fez* and *Asgar*, and in its course cuts its way through two steep rocks of a prodigious height, near the mountain of *Beni-yazga*, and falls into that sea near *Mamor*, a city destroyed by *Almanzor*, about twenty miles north of *Salée*. The method which the mountaineers have to convey themselves from one side of this dreadful chasm to the other, is no less singular than hazardous, which is by seating themselves in a strong basket, big enough to hold about ten people, and runs by a pulley along a stout cable, which is

^b LEO. AFRIC. l. ix. p. 190, & seq. Vide & Hist. Morocco, 1750, p. 363, & seq.

ⁱ Anc. Hist. vol.

vii. p. 144, & seq.

^k MARMOL, lib. iv. c. 96.

LEO, lib. ix. DAVITY, DAPPER, & al.

(C) To these we might add another sort, that seem to differ wholly from the rest in every thing but their human shape, and who lie dispersed in most provinces of the realm, especially in that of *Hea*. These are always in arms, live wholly upon the plunder of their neighbours, and of every thing that comes into their way. They have no notion of justice or probity; can neither write nor read; climb up the steep rocks, and ravage the plains like wild beasts, and eat, lie, and fight, like them. They use lances, bows and arrows, but without

method or order; and, when closely pursued, flee to the tops of the mountains, or narrow defiles, whence they endeavour to overwhelm their pursuers with their weapons and volleys of stones. They are very robust, and their wives very handsome, which makes them extremely jealous of them, and use them with the utmost cruelty, upon the least occasion. They profess the *Mohammedan* religion, but know no more of it than what their *Alfakis* are pleased to teach them, which cannot amount to much, seeing these are for the most part ignorant of it (3).

a fastened at both ends to two beams fixed in the rock, and is drawn by the people on the opposite side; so that, if the basket or any of the tackle chance to break, as it hath sometimes done, by the weight of the passengers, they fall into the river from a height of above 1500 fathom¹. This river, which *Marmol* styles the largest in all *Mauritania*, abounds with the most excellent fish, the farm of which brings in to the emperor above twenty thousand ducats^m.

b THE next in rank is the *Ommirabib*, or *Ammirabea*, corruptly *Marbea* and *Umarabea*. It hath its spring-head on mount *Magrau*, one of the heads of the *Atlas*, in the province of *al. Marbea*. *Tedlez*, near the confines of *Fez*, whence it runs through the plains of *Adachson*, through sundry strait vallies, in one of which it hath a beautiful bridge built by *Abu'l Haschen*, the fourth monarch of the branch of the *Beni-merini*; thence, winding southwards, it waters the spacious plains between *Dukala* and *Temesena*, after having received the *Dernu* and *Niger*, as *Marmol* calls it, or, according to *Leo* and *Sanfon*, the *Quadel* or *Huedei-abid*, that is, the *River of Servants*; from thence it widens considerably in its approach to the ocean, into which it discharges itself, and forms a capacious bay, on the east side of *Azamor*. This river is fordable neither in summer nor winter, so that the inhabitants are forced to ferry their effects over by the help of baskets, fastened to leathern pontons, or over rafters. Its fish furnishes not only all that country, but even *Spain* and *Portugal*ⁿ.

c THE *Tensift* is deep and large, and springing from the heights of the *Atlas*, near the town of *Animmey*, or rather *Hanim-mey*, runs through the provinces of *Morocco* and *Dukala*, and enters the ocean near the port of *Saffi*. It receives a considerable number of other rivers in its course, the most noted of which are the *Gicfelmel Agmed*, and *Hued Nefus*, or *Neffis*, which have their spring near the same mountain; and, having watered the fertile plains of *Morocco*, fall into the *Tensift*. This last, though, for the most part, very deep, is yet fordable in many places, during the summer season, and hath, in the neighbourhood of *Morocco*, a most stately stone bridge, of fifteen arches, built by the great *Almanzor*, which is justly esteemed one of the noblest structures in all *Africa*. But three of these arches have been demolished by *Abu Dubu*, one of the last kings of the *Almohede* race, to prevent his rival following him over it, and have never been rebuilt since. The *Tensift* parts the provinces of *Dukala* and *Hea*, and is supposed to be the *Phut* of *Ptolemy*, who places the city of *Asama* at the mouth of it^o. *Its stately bridge.*

d THE last river of note in this empire is the *Sus*, which gives its name to the province which it waters in its course from the *Atlas* to the *Atlantic* ocean, and is the southern boundary which divides it from the province of *Darba*. This river is very large, and is, by the inhabitants, cut into a vast number of chanel, which renders the province one of the most fruitful, tho' the most southern, of all. Each side of its banks is variegated with rich corn and pasture lands, gardens, and orchards; it turns a great number of sugar mills, so that the inhabitants of this province, who are chiefly *Berebers*, of the tribe of *Musamoda*, are very numerous and wealthy, and live much more comfortably than those of *Hea*, especially those who live in the towns, and are employed in the sugar manufacture. Most geographers take the *Sus* to be the *Una* of *Ptolemy*, who places it in the 8th degree of longitude, and 28 degrees 30 minutes of latitude. It is commonly full and rapid, and often overflows the low lands in winter, but in summer is both shallow and narrow^p. *The Sus.*

e BESIDES these six principal rivers, there is a prodigious number of others that fall into them, some of which are also cut into variety of chanel, and greatly enrich the lands on both sides, but have nothing else remarkable, if we except that of *Hued Agmed*, which hath its fountain-head on the mountain of that name, and whose water is always clear. It waters the fertile territory of the city of its name, once the capital and seat of the empire, and about eight leagues east of the city of *Morocco*. It runs through some vast fertile tracts, quite to that metropolis; soon after which it sinks under ground for some space, and then rises again, and falls at last into the *Tensift*^q. *Hued Ag-med.*

f WITH regard to the mountains of this empire, we have already observed that the great *Atlas* surrounds it on the south, in the form of a crescent, and divides its dominions from the province of *Darab*, or, in a larger sense, divides *Barbary* from *Biledulgerid*. This large chain, which stretches itself from west to east, that is, from the city of *Messa* on the *Atlantic* ocean, in 9 degr. 30 min. of west longitude, and 30 deg. 15 min. of latitude, quite across *Barbary*, to mount *Meys*, in the desert of *Barca*, about 80 leagues west of *Alexandria*, is called by the natives *Ayduacal*, but changes its name often, according to the multitude of territories it runs through, and the vast chasms of plains and vallies that intersect it, in the same manner as the *Pyrenees*, *Alps*, *Apennines*, and many other ridges of that kind, are found to do, though they bear one general *Mountains.*

¹ LEO, l. ix. MARMOL, l. iv. c. 127, & al.
DAPPER, BOUJET, & al.
DAVITY, DAPPER, & GRAMMAY, lib. ix. c. 2, & seq.

^m MARMOL, ibid. c. 22.

ⁿ Id. ibid. DAVITY,

^p LEO, l. ii. & ix. MARMOL, l. iii. c. 20.

^q Id. ibid. GRAMMAY, l. ix. c. 2.

Great and
lesser Atlas.

name. This we are upon is called great *Atlas*, to distinguish it from the little one, which is another ridge that extends itself along the *Barbary* coast, from the streights of *Gibraltar* quite to the district of *Bona*, in the kingdom of *Algiers*, and is, by the natives, called *Erriff*. Both chains being of such a vast height, and, for the most part of the year, so covered with snow, as to be seen at a vast distance off at sea, are called by the *Spaniards*, *Montes Claros*, or *Bright Mountains*^r, and by the natives, formerly, *Dyris*, and *Adyris*, according to *Strabo*^s, who hath probably given that *Greek* termination to the *Phœnician* *Dyrim* and *Adyrim*, which, in that language, signifies any thing that is mighty^t.

Some parts of
the great At-
las unin-
habitable.

THE great *Atlas*, though running through so warm a climate, that is, almost under the 30th degree of latitude, is, nevertheless, in many parts, uninhabitable, either through their extreme heat and coldness, their ruggedness and inaccessibility, or the vast forests which cover the eminences, and shade and darken the vallies below, from which such a number of springs and rivers flow. The highest and most difficult of access are those which run along the confines of the kingdom of *Tremecen*, and the coldest, those that extend themselves along those of *Morocco*. As to the generality of the rest, they enjoy a much kinder climate, and are not only inhabited by the various tribes of *Berebers*, *Arabs*, and other *African* people, but, in many places, well cultivated and fertilized, and a number of towns and villages dispersed in them, well inhabited, and stored with abundance of cattle: though in many of these they are obliged not only to retire into their vast caverns all the winter season, which is there very long, but to take in with them all their numerous herds, which would otherwise perish with excessive cold, and deep snows, as well as those who were left to take care of them (E). But as soon as the snows begin to melt, the mountains yield such plenty of herbage, besides good barley and other grain, that they appear quite covered again with men and cattle, all severally expressing their joy at their return to a kind of new life, and the all-reviving summer season. For in all these parts they can hardly be said to have any more than these two; the former of which, and a most dismal one it must be supposed to be, begins about *October*, at which time the snows begin to fall, and force them into their gloomy retreats till the month of *April*, when the other begins; and, by a gradual thaw, discovers the grass, barley, and other herbage, which had grown up under the snow, in their most delightful verdure, and ready to raise into a stalk, as fast as the warmth of the weather comes on. Some of the inhabitants are even so industrious, as to form terrasses on the declivity of the bare rocks, and to build a kind of wall on the bottom, to prevent the earth being washed away^u.

Others popul-
ous and well
cultivated.

Men and cattle
live in ca-
vernous all the
winter.

The branches
of the Atlas in
this empire.

As the several branches or parts of this great chain are more or less dispersed through all the fourteen provinces of this empire, as well as through the kingdoms of *Algiers*, *Tunis*, and *Tripoli*; and we have, in these three last, given an account of the most remarkable of them; so we hope the reader will not be displeased if we do the same, in a few words, in this chapter, both with regard to the mountains themselves and their inhabitants. We have already taken notice of those wild ones that inhabit the mountainous parts of the province of *Hea*, who prefer a plundering wretched life to industry; and though those are not the only mountaineers who do so, yet there are a much greater number of a different character, especially among the antient *Berebers*, about whose lofty habitations we find plenty of the necessaries of life produced by their labour. Such is the mountain called *Beni Mager*, so called from the vast numbers of pines, cedars, and jubeb trees, which grow upon it, but which, by the industry of the inhabitants, produces great quantities of corn and barley, and other necessaries of life. This mountain, which is in the province of *Dukela*, hath a lake at the foot of it, filled with the greatest variety of fish^v. That of *Morocco* hath no less than eight such mountains, whose inhabitants are equally fit for the sword and the plough, and abound with grain, fruits, cattle, and pasture grounds. The chief is called *Deren-deren*, whose inhabitants were with great difficulty subdued by the Sharifs, though headed by a young heroine, who behaved

Beni Mager.

Deren-deren.

^r TORRES Hist. of the Sharifs.
Travels, p. 7.

^s Geogr. l. xvii.

^t See BOCHART Phaleg. l. ii. c. 13. SHAW'S Travels, p. 7. ^u LEO AFRIC. l. i. GRAMMAY, l. i. c. 2. MARMOL, l. i. c. 7, & 8. SANUT. DAVITY, DAPPER, SHAW'S Travels, p. 18, & al. pass.

^v LEO, MARMOL, GRAMMAY, DAPPER, DAVITY, &c.

(E) The snow falls so thick, in the vallies especially, that their houses, or rather huts, will be covered with it in one night, so that, by the next morning, they are obliged to set all hands to work, to sweep or shovel it in heaps, to open a way out. And there is a long and narrow streight near the town of *Agmet*, through which the caravans from *Numidia* pass into *Barbary*, with their camels loaden with dates, about the month of *October*, where the snow sometimes falls above a rod deep in one night, and overwhelmeth both man and beast.

The most considerable rivers that spring from mount *Atlas*, are the, 1. *Sus*. 2. *Tensiff*. 3. *Tecchino*. 4. *Hued el Abid*. 5. *Burregreg*. 6. *Bekth*. 7. *Subu*. 8. *Lucus*. 9. *Melulo*. 10. *Melucan*. 11. *Mulowyah*, or *Mulwya*. 12. *Zos*. 13. *Tefn*. 14. *Mina*. 15. *Kel*. 16. *Hued Jaer*. 17. *Hued el Quibir*. 18. *Suf-Jemar*. 19. *Yadok*. 20. *Hued yl Barbar*. 21. *Megerad*. 22. *Magro*; besides a much greater number of others that fall into them (4).

(4) Sanut. Intr. Leo Afr. lib. i. Marmol. lib. i. c. 7, & 8. Davity, Dapper, & al.

a with surprising valour and conduct. The mountain of *Zalag*, or *Seleg*, in the province of *Fez proper*, and near the capital of it, is covered with vines, which yield excellent grapes, and so pleasant, that many of its citizens have their country seats upon it. That of *Zarbon*, or *Zaranban*, resembles a kind of forest, from the prodigious quantities of olive and other fruit-trees that grow upon it. The men are martial and stout, and the women handsome and polite. There is an old castle upon it, which they pretend to have been built by *Pharaoh's Pharaoh*, king of *Egypt*, who pursued *Moses* in his flight, quite to these parts; but which is *cajile*. more likely to have been the work of the *Goths*.

b THE mountain of *Aaron*, in the province of *Habat*, is mostly inhabited by *Berebers*, who are famed for their valour and indefatigable industry, and are accounted the best soldiers in all *Barbary*, but are, on that very account, so heavily loaded with taxes, that they can just barely live by their labour. The Sharifs allow them neither arms nor horses; but if they are obliged to it, on some particular occasions, they take both away from them as soon as the campaign is over. They are reckoned about 10,000, all fit to bear arms.

c THE next to it, called *Beni-zeker*, is still larger, and contains 15,000 men fit to bear arms. *Beni-zeker*. But these are richer, and drive a good trade in honey, wax, and hides, which they exchange *Their traffick*. for wheat and barley, which are here very scarce. *Amegara*, in the same province of *Habat*, though covered with timber-trees fit for shipping, doth yet produce great quantities of corn and wine. And that of *Hued-Idris*, called also *Guadres* and *Vatres*, situate between *Ceuta* *Hued-Idris*. and *Tangier*, is inhabited by such warlike people, that the kings of *Granada* chose them above all others for their guards. And it was upon this mountain that the celebrated *African* warlike *Buba-lul* was born, whose memory and name are still held in the highest veneration. The province of *Errif* hath above 24 of these spacious mountains, though not equally fertile and populous. That of *Beni Oriegan* is covered with vines, cedar-trees for building of gallies, *Oriegan and Beni Manzor*. olive and other fruit-trees. The women are arrant sluts, and very lewd, and their husbands no less jealous and vindictive. That of *Beni Manzor*, contiguous to it on the east side, is of a larger extent, but nothing near so fertile. The inhabitants gather scarce any thing besides a little barley and millet, which are their chief food; but hold a yearly fair for the bringing of d other provisions to them.

e THE province of *Guaret* hath, among others of less note, those of *Quizna*, or *Teuzin*, *Quizna and Teuzin*. and *Guadan*; the former inhabited by *Berebers*, and the latter by *Arabs*; both of them rich and warlike, and enjoying, by means of some small tribute, a greater share of liberty and politeness than any in the empire. Those of the province of *Cutz*, or *Chaus*, about fifteen in number, spread themselves above 35 leagues from east to west, and about 14 from north to south, and are inhabited by *Zeneguas*, a different tribe of *Berebers*, stout and valiant in *Zeneguas, a deed*, but fierce and cruel, who put all to death that fall into their hands, and to whom the *cruel tribe*. caravans are forced to pay a tribute, to avoid their fury. Some of these mountains have mines of silver; but those barbarians chuse rather to get that metal ready coined out of the pockets *Silver mines*. of travellers, than to dig it out of the bowels of the earth. That of *Miath byr*, or *Hundred wells*, so called from the great number it hath of them, is not so famous upon that account, as for a superstitious tradition, which was current among the *Fezans*, that those wells were *A superstitious* filled with treasure; and thousands of idle fellows were continually sent by them in quest of *folly*. it, for a long series of years, without being discouraged by the ill success of those that had gone before them, or deterred by the many lives that were lost in that dangerous search, till a lucky accident, which happened to one of them, convinced the rest of their folly, and put an end to that stupid notion (F). This mountain hath neither village nor house, but some ancient ruins on the top, and a well so deep, that the bottom could never be found out *. We shall conclude this article with observing, that many of these mountains are so high, and the night f so piercing cold, that the inhabitants, who breed up great quantities of cattle, are obliged to gather them about their huts, and to keep a constant fire all the night, which preserves them at once from being frozen to death, and from the jaws of the lions, which haunt these mountains, but are kept at a distance by the fires *Fires made in the night for the cattle*.

* DAVITY, DAPPER, MARMOL, &c.

† Idem, *ibid*.

(F) These wretches were forced, in their search after this pretended hidden treasure, to pry into those subterraneous places from one hole to another, by the help of lighted torches, but which were often put out, by the flutter which the bats, owls, and other such creatures, made with their wings; after which they wandered in the dark, till they were almost perished with hunger and cold. But one of them at length having the good fortune, in groping his way out, to take hold of a creature

which they call *Dabuh*, and is, according to *Leo Africanus*, of the bigness of a wolf (5), he followed him through a long cleft in the rock, which opened into a thick wood, at the bottom of the mountain. This aperture was no sooner perceived, than multitudes came on purpose to dig on each side of the cleft, but had the misfortune to see their works overflowed with water; which put an end to their proceedings and hopes, though not to their notion of hidden treasure (6).

(5) *Leo Africanus*, l. ix.

(6) *Marmol*, l. iv. c. 122. *Boulet Histoire des Chérifs*, 1733.

Chief cities of
the empire.

IT is time now to leave these poor and cold eminences, to take a more delightful view of their cities, those at least of every province which have any thing worth notice in them ; which is the case of so few of them, that our readers will be glad enough to be eased of the dull round of all the rest, especially as they have little else to present to their view, but some few melancholy monuments of their antient splendor, and these mostly destroyed by time, wars, and *Mohammedan* fury, and half buried in the common ruins. We begin with the capital, from which the whole empire now hath its name.

Morocco.

MOROCCO, by its pleasant situation, and the number and variety of its noble edifices, may be justly esteemed the richest and most considerable city in *Africa*, though much sunk from its pristine grandeur, both with respect to the number of its houses and inhabitants, and the magnificence of its palaces and other public structures (G). It is conveniently seated between two rivers, the *Nephtis* and the *Agmed*, and upon that of the *Tenist*, all spoken of before, on a spacious plain, reckoned above 50 miles in length, about 16 north of mount *Atlas*, 170 from the *Atlantic* ocean, and near the same spot where *Ptolemy* places the antient *Boccanum*

Walls, towers,
&c.

Hemerum, if not on the ruins of it. The city is encompassed with very high stone walls, the cement of which resists the force of the pick-ax, and will even strike fire ; inasmuch that, though it hath undergone such frequent and obstinate sieges, and been so often plundered and damaged within and without, there is not the least token of a breach to be seen in them. They are likewise flanked with strong and lofty towers, with bastions and other bulwarks, and

Decayed from
its pristine
grandeur.

surrounded with a wide and deep ditch. The gates are still 24 in number, and retain some tokens of their pristine strength and beauty, though not of their use ; and the houses are dwindled from 100,000 to less than one third of that number, the rest lying now waste, or turned into gardens, orchards, and corn fields, and many of the noble structures that adorned

Antient in-
scriptions.

it, either destroyed or gone to ruin. However, there remain in the part which is inhabited many stately buildings, particularly the royal palace, three magnificent mosks, some few baths and hospitals, together with some antient inscriptions in *Arabic*, which seem to indicate the name of the founder, in words to this effect : *Under the reign of Jausiph Ebn Texifn, &c.* (H) ².

The castle and
imperial pa-
lace, its for-
tifications.

THE *Al Cassava*, or *Michowart*, within whose cincture is the imperial palace, is a large fortress on the south side of the city, and capable of containing above 4000 houses. The walls that surround it are high and strong, flanked with lofty towers, bastions, and other works, and surrounded with a good ditch. It hath only two gates, one on the south, facing the adjacent country, and the other on the north, leading to the city ; both of them very grand, and guarded by a company of soldiers, to prevent any Christian slaves going out without their keepers. This gate faces a strait handsome street ; at the end, and in full sight

Stately mosk.

of which, in the center of a spacious court, stands the magnificent mosk built by *Abdalmu-*

Lofty tower.

men, king of the *Almohedes* ; but which, they tell us, being too low for its bulk, was raised 50 cubits higher by his grandson *Al Manzor*, who also built the great tower of it ; which, for height and beauty, is only to be equalled by those of *Rabat*, in the kingdom of *Tremecen*, and of *Seville*, in *Spain*, which were the works of the same architect. This noble building was moreover embellished with carvings of jasper, marble, and other costly stone, which, together with the rich stately gates of the cathedral of *Seville*, covered with bas-relievo work in brass, and bolts of the same metal, that conqueror caused to be brought from *Spain*, by way of trophies, to enrich this new fabric. On the top of the tower above-mentioned were fixed

Golden balls.

through an iron spike four large balls of copper, plated so thick with gold, that they were supposed to be all of that rich metal. These were of different sizes, the largest capable of containing eight, the second four, the third two, and the uppermost one, sacks of wheat, all the four together weighing 700 pounds. Their origin, and many other particulars relating to

² LEO, l. ii. GRAMMAY, l. ix. c. 1. MARMOL, l. iii. c. 40. DAVITY, DAPPER, & al.

(G) The founder of *Morocco* is supposed to have been the famed *Abu Techifn*, and his warlike son *Joseph* the finisher of it, after the many signal victories which he gained in *Spain*, whence he brought 30,000 slaves, whom he employed in surrounding it with walls, 12 miles in circumference. It is affirmed to have contained 100,000 houses, 24 stately gates, and a vast number of palaces, mosks, and other magnificent buildings, many of which have been destroyed by civil wars, or left to go to ruin. So that it comes far short now of what it was in its most flourishing state, notwithstanding the new buildings and

other ornaments which have been added to it since by many of the Sharifs (7).

(H) *Marmol* mentions a strange one which he saw over a tomb, without one of the gates of the city, which runs thus : *Here lieth Haly, the son of Attia, who commanded over 100,000 men, had 10,000 horses, and caused 101 wells to be digged in one day, to supply them with water. I married 100 maidens, was victorious and faithful, and one of the 24 generals of Al Manzor. I ended my life in my 40th year. Let him that readeth this epitaph pray to God to forgive me* (8).

(7) Conf. LEO, l. ii. Grammay, l. ix. c. 1. Marmol, l. iii. c. 40. Sarut, Davity, Dapper, &c. (8) Marmol, lib. iii. c. 40.

a them, the reader may see in the margin (I); they being either so little credited or minded by the late *Muley Ishmael*, that he made no scruple to take them down, and convey them into his treasury ^a.

UNDER this large mosk is a deep vault, of the same length and breadth with the building, *Large cistern.* in which is repositied an immense quantity of corn, belonging to the emperors; but it was at first designed for a capacious cistern, to receive the rain-water which fell upon the leaden covering, and was conveyed into it by pipes of lead. The battlements of the tower are of such an uncommon height, and offer to the view such a vast prospect round, as seldom fails of striking the beholder with sudden dizziness, from which one cannot easily recover one's self; whilst the tallest men below appear like so many little children: and from thence upwards arises a spire of about seventy feet high, on the top of which were fixed the four *(Leo says only three)* balls above-mentioned. The royal apartments, the seraglios for the Sharif's wives and concubines, the state-chambers, halls of audience, and the galleries leading from one to the other, are no less splendid and lofty; pillars, moldings, cieling, and other ornaments, all shining with gold, and the furniture answerable. *Royal apartments.*

THE gardens within, if not so regularly designed and variegated, do nevertheless shew something of an uncommon magnificence; being adorned with terrasses, fountains, spacious fish-ponds, shady pavilions, &c. great variety of fruit and other trees, fragrant verdures, and every thing that is curious and delightful. But in the midst of all this splendor, one sees other noble buildings, such as palaces, colleges, baths, hospitals, halls, and other antient edifices, with all the marks of their former splendor, running or run to decay. About 400 aqueducts, some broken down, others tottering, and all of them shamefully neglected (K). *Other fabricks going to decay.* The houses of the rich and noble are indeed built of stone, but much out of repair, and, which hath still a worse appearance, stand at such a distance from each other, as hardly to form one contiguous street in any part of the city; whilst the chasms between are filled up either with

^a DIEG. DE TORRES Relat. de los Xarifs. BOULET, & al. sup. citat.

(I) Some writers affirm these four balls, or golden apples, as they style them, to have been the dowry of some queen of *Morocco*, who was daughter and heiress of the king of *Gagoa*, who, to eternize her memory, caused them to be thus planted on the top of that tower. Others say, that one of the wives of the famed *Jaacob Al Manzor* sold all her jewels to defray the expence of this whimsical ornament.

However that be, the notion that went for current among them was, that they were set up by some extraordinary conjurer, under a proper constellation, and that it was either impossible, or at least extremely dangerous, to attempt the taking them down, and would be attended with some fatal calamity. This notion, the *Al-fakis* tell you, was so impressed on the minds of the people, that several of their kings had essayed it to their cost; and particularly that, *an. 1500, Naker Beuchentuf*, being exhausted by an expensive war with the *Portuguese, Arabs, and Fezans*, having ordered one of them to be taken down to pay his troops, the people surrounded him in a tumultuous manner, and told him they would sooner sell their all, even to their wives and children, to raise him money, than suffer it. *Beuchentuf* was soon after treacherously poisoned by *Muley Hamed*; and the people interpreted it as a just judgment for his avarice and irreligion. This did not deter *Hamed*, in a little time after, from attempting the same thing, and with better success, because he went more cunningly about it: for having caused it to be taken down in the night, and the gold to be taken off by a *Jew*, who gave him 25,000 pistoles for it, he ordered it to be barely gilt, and set up again in its place, and the *Jew* to be hanged near it; and caused it to be given out, that the demon to whom the care of these balls was committed had inflicted that punishment on him, for having attempted to take it down. After this report had been spread abroad, which was readily swallowed down by the populace, there seemed to be a final end put to their fears of their being ever taken away: and after such a severe example on the impious *Jew*, they rested themselves satisfied, that those

precious apples were too powerfully guarded ever to become objects of the like furtive attempt. And they were not undeceived in this superstitious notion till a long while after, when *Muley Ishmael*, who reigned when *Marmol* was a slave in that capital, caused them all to be taken down, and turned to better advantage (9).

(K) Among those once noble structures, we may reckon near a dozen palaces (for such they were) built by the great *Al Manzor* for his several ministers of state, guards, treasury, exchequer, halls of audience, judicature, arsenal, magazines, granaries, &c. A little further stands a magnificent pile, which served formerly for a school to the young princes of the royal blood. Another large one, where the kings gave audience to foreign ambassadors. A third, where these held their conferences with the ministers of state. Others for their wives, concubines, children, &c. To these we may add a great number of halls or colleges, where the sciences were taught, and where the doctors and scholars were lodged in stately apartments; together with hospitals no less sumptuous, and richly endowed.

In the first court of the royal palace, the apartments, though built in the *moresco* style, appeared with a surprising grandeur, adorned with basons and fountains of the finest marble and workmanship, and shaded with citron, lemon, and orange trees, and other odoriferous verdures. The next was embellished with galleries and colonades of white marble, so exquisitely wrought, that some of the nicest judges in architecture, of ours and other nations, have beheld them with the greatest admiration, even in their decaying condition. In this court stood likewise a great number of marble basons and vases, full of water, in which the *Moors* made their frequent ablutions before prayer. The stables both for riding and carriage horses, mules, camels, &c. were no less splendidly built and roofed; near them were two granaries, capable of containing each 30,000 loads of corn. These were two stories high; the lower for the wheat, and the upper for oats and barley, which were conveyed, by an easy ascent, on mules, to the top of the building, and

(9) *De his, vide Leo African. l. ii. p. 60, & seq. Grammay, l. ix. c. 1. Marmol, l. iii. c. 40. Dieg. de Torres Relat. de los Xarifs, Davity, & al. ubi sup.*

with such mud houses as all the meaner sort are forced to take up with, with kitchen gardens a and orchards, or with old ruins and houses uninhabited and ready to tumble down. This is the present state of that once opulent metropolis, which in *Leo's*, and even *Grammay's* time, contained no less than forty-five wide spacious streets, intersecting each other at right angles from end to end, all finely built, and well inhabited, as well as the prodigious number of lanes that ran parallel and collateral to them^b. All which doleful dilapidations are, in part, owing to the frequent wars it hath been exposed to, the change of sovereigns it hath gone through, but most of all to the tyrannic government it hath groined under ever since the Sharifs made themselves masters of it.

Other gardens. THE gardens, which stand at the farther end of the castle towards the country, and the park almost contiguous to them, shewed both some eminent tokens of their former elegance b and costliness, when *Mouquet* was there; the former of which, besides a prodigious variety of fruit and other trees, shrubs, flowers, &c. was adorned with a noble square spot, railed in with a marble balustrade, in the center of which stood a column that supported a lion, both of the same stone. This last threw a fine stream of water out of his mouth into a large basin within the rails, on the four corners of which stood four leopards, curiously carved, likewise of white marble, beautifully spotted with round spots of a green colour, and natural to the

Park and wild beasts. stone. In the others were to be seen a great variety of wild beasts, such as lions, tygers, leopards, elephants, gyraphos, deer, &c. Our author adds, that he saw the lions kept in a large ruined building, quite uncovered, and to which one ascended by a flight of steps^c.

The Jewish quarters walled in. AT a small distance from the palace above-mentioned stands the quarter of the *Jews*, inclosed c within its own walls, and with only one gate, which is guarded by the *Moors*. *Mouquet* tells us, that in his time there were at least 4000 of them that lived within that precinct, and paid a certain tribute to the government. The foreign agents, and even ambassadors, chuse to live in that place, rather than in any part of the city. As for the rest of the Christian merchants, they commonly live near the custom-house, which stands about three miles distant from the palace. The *Jews* have always been highly taxed for their liberty of religion and trading; in spite of which there are many of them very rich, as they are the only agents,

Make a mean figure out of policy. brokers, money-changers, and minters, in the empire; and there is no doubt but the number of them is greatly increased since that author wrote. But it is, however, their constant d policy, in all these despotic governments, to make the meanest appearance in their dress, houses, &c. to avoid being still more oppressed: and well may they do so, when the natural subjects are obliged to do the same, for fear of becoming a prey to those rapacious monarchs,

Meanness of people's houses. or their ministers. Hence the miserable show that the houses of the middling and common people make, in all the parts of the city that are still inhabited. As for those of the Al-caydes, nobles, military officers, and courtiers, they are lofty, strong, well-built, and surrounded with stout walls, and flat on the top, with a turret in the middle, where they commonly spend the evening in fresco, after the *African* manner. The river *Tenist* runs through the city, and hath a handsome bridge over it; on its banks are a variety of mills turned by it, for divers purposes, and from it is conveyed a sufficient quantity of water into all the houses, gardens, &c. to serve their necessities. Thus much may suffice to give our readers e such an idea of this famed metropolis, both in its flourishing and declined state, as may enable them to guess at the rest. All we shall add is, that of the twenty-four gates it formerly had, each of which was usually kept by a captain at the head of a thousand horse, there are not now above five or six in use, and guarded by a few rascally *Moors*; whilst the inhabitants, who, we are told, are reduced to about 25,000, occupy but one or two quarters of the place, which lie between the gates of *Dukela* and that of *Zoco*, the one facing the south, and the other the north; all the rest being either turned into gardens and orchards, or, which is worse, into a wilderness^d.

Fez. FEZ, the next in dignity, as being the capital of the once powerful kingdom of its name, is divided into the old and new city. The first of which is the most worthy of notice, f as being computed near nine miles in circuit, and is not only the largest, but the most populous, wealthy, and best governed, in all *Africa*. The immense riches of all sorts which the

^b Conf. LEO, GRAMMAY, & al. sup. citat.

^c TORRES, MOUQUET Voyag. DAVITY, & al. ubi sup.

^d D. DE TORRES Relat. 27. vid. & DAVITY, MOUQUET, DAPPER, & al. sup. citat.

thence thrown into their proper chambers by trap-doors, and thence, with the same ease, distributed again into the stables and mangers, by proper conduits. The reader may see a more copious description of the beauty and

splendor of all these grand edifices in *Leo Africanus*, who saw them when they were in their full perfection, and *Mouquet*, who viewed them in their decline (10), but which our limits will not permit us to dwell longer upon.

(10) *Leo Afric. l. ii. vid. & Grammay, Marmol, Mouquet, & al. sup. citat.*

- a *Moors* brought thither from *Spain*, contributed not a little to restore her to her pristine greatness, after a long series of destructive wars had brought her to the lowest ebb. And next to that, the great concourse of scholars, who come from all parts of *Africa* to study the *Mohammedan* law, hath helped at once to augment the opulence as well as the number of her inhabitants; to which if we add, that it is the center of commerce in this empire, our readers will not wonder at its so far eclipsing its rival of *Morocco*, nor at our confining our description chiefly to it; that which is called *New Fez* having scarcely any thing worth our taking notice of, in a work so extensive as this (L). *Old Fez* stands on the declivity of two mountains, and the valley that lies between them, and is surrounded by a strong wall of square stone, flanked with stately towers. The houses are square, terraced on the top, and without any windows fronting the streets, like all the rest in *Barbary*. Those of the rich and wealthy, as well as the colleges, hospitals, mosques, cloisters, baths, &c. have spacious courts, adorned within with sumptuous galleries, fountains, basins of fine marble, fish-ponds, &c. shaded with lemon and orange trees, which are loaded with fruit all the year; all which are plentifully supplied with water from the river *Fez*, which here divides itself into six branches, and turns about 400 mills for grinding, fulling, and other uses, as well as for conveying water into all those public buildings, and into every house.

THE city hath seven stately gates, but no suburbs. The streets are narrow, but mostly strait; and are shut up at night, to prevent people going out at that time, except upon extraordinary occasions. Most of the houses have turrets on the top, in which the women have neat apartments, and delight themselves with the fresh air and the fine prospect of the city and country. The river here hath no less than 250 stone bridges over it, some of them very beautiful and grand. There are 336 ovens, which are daily employed from morning till evening.

THE mosques are computed to amount to 500, fifty of which are reckoned of the first rank; among which there is one that exceeds all the rest. It is called the *Caruvin*, and is affirmed to be near a mile and a half in compass, including the college and cloister belonging to it. It hath 30 stately gates, a roof 150 cubits long, and 80 in breadth. The minaret, or tower, is of a stupendous height, supported in its length by thirty, and in its breadth by twenty pillars. The body of the roof is divided into seventeen arches, besides a good number of inferior ones, and the whole supported by 1500 pillars of white marble. Every arch hath lamps burning in them, of a large size, and curiously wrought, particularly that which hangs over the *Alfaki's* desk, which is of a prodigious size, and surrounded with 150 smaller, all finely cast in brass. They reckon 400 cisterns in the cloister, in which the people repair to make their usual ablutions before prayer, and forty-two galleries, where they keep the sacred utensils belonging to the mosque. Within the cincture of the mosque is a noble spacious college, in which divinity, philosophy, and other sciences, are taught by their most learned men, the chief of whom is chosen president over the rest, and raised to the dignity of Grand Mufti. In this college is likewise one of the most valuable and largest libraries in all *Africa*; a thing one would hardly expect in this country.

WE have no room to go through their other public buildings, which are very numerous, spacious, and stately; the colleges and hospitals are richly endowed; the magazines and warehouses of the merchants are plentifully furnished with all sorts of merchandizes, both domestic and foreign. We are sensible that Mr. *Braithwait*, who had an opportunity of seeing

^c LEO AFRICAN. lib. iii. GRAMMAY, lib. x. c. 1. MARMOL, lib. iv. c. 5 & 22. D. TORRES, DAVITY, DAPPER, & al.

(L) Most authors make three cities of it, as being built at different times, the most antient of which is called *Beleyd*, and stands on the east side of the river *Fez*, and is said to have been built by an *Arabian* king called *Muley*, or, as *La Croix* and others will have it, by *Idrisi*, the son of *Idris*, an *Arabian* patriarch, about an. 801. However that be, it is computed to have above 4000 inhabitants, and is adorned with the noble gardens and fountains of *Zingiford*. The other old city, built on the opposite side of the river, and founded by prince *Hossem*, the grandson of the patriarch above-mentioned, is called *Ain Alu*, and is computed to contain above 40,000 inhabitants. But in time both cities became subject to different masters, who were often at war, till *Jos*, an *Almoravide* king, conquered them both, and put them to death; and, to prevent all future quarrels between the two cities,

broke down the wall that parted them, built a bridge over the river, and joined them into one city (11).

The third, or new city, built by *Jaacob* king of *Fez*, of the race of the *Benimerini*, to serve as a citadel and place of residence, stands about a mile distant above the old, and is computed to contain near 10,000 inhabitants, who are divided into fifteen quarters, or wards, according to their different trades and occupations. Besides which it hath a royal palace, which is a noble structure, some stately mosques, colleges, baths, and other public edifices; is very well fortified with walls and other works, and is comprehended with the other two under the common name of *Fez*; which name, signifying gold, some suppose to have been given to it on account of a great quantity of that metal, said to have been dug up in the laying of its foundation, but which it more properly took from the river on which it is situate (12).

(11) Leo, l. iii. Grammay, l. x. c. 1. Marmol, l. iv. c. 22. Dieg. de Torres, Davity, Dapper, &c.
(12) *Ibid.*

this famous city, in his way to the court of *Mequinez*, ann. 1727, not only gives a more dis-
 advantageous account of it, with respect to its populousness, magnificence, &c. but cries
 down the descriptions that have been given of it by most authors that have written before him,
 as greatly exaggerated in all those respects *; and it is not unlikely that the vicissitudes it had
 undergone since its becoming subject to the Sharifs of *Morocco* might have greatly diminished
 its grandeur by that time, especially at this present juncture, when it held out against the
 forces of the emperor on the throne. However, we cannot reasonably suppose, that if so
 many learned authors, some of them natives, had so greatly exceeded the bounds of truth,
 some of those many *Europeans*, who have since then been in the place long enough to be
 better informed, would not long ago have contradicted them, and given us a more exact
 state of it. But be that as it will, we are farther told, that there are no less than 200 inns,
 both large and beautiful, for the entertainment of strangers, which pay a certain tribute to the
 government for their licence. The misfortune is, that, excepting those which are frequented
 by the Christians, all the rest are a downright sink of unnatural abominations, acted not only
 impunely, but barefaced; insomuch, that the masters of those *Sodoms* in miniature are per-
 mitted not only to entertain a number of catamites for the use of their customers, but even to
 stand before their doors, or rove about the streets, some in womens cloaths, to entice people
 by their effeminate voice, and lewd gestures and songs, into their houses. It is true, indeed,
 that the Musti, to shew his abhorrence of those prostitutes, in a city which is looked upon
 as one of the chief sanctuaries of the *Mohammedan* religion, debars them from entering into the
 mosks; but that is all the penalty he can inflict upon them; whilst the emperor, who draws a
 considerable revenue from those houses, openly tolerates and protects them (M).

Inns most scan-
 dalous.

Protected by
 the government.

Magistrates
 subordinate to
 a governor.

Punishments.

In other respects the government of the city is under very good regulations, and the ma-
 gistracy very strict in keeping it up; and so they had need to do, considering the vast num-
 ber of its inhabitants, amounting to near 300,000, besides the great concourse of merchants
 and other foreigners with which it seems to swarm. The prime magistrate, who is stiled provost
 of the merchants, and is much like our lord-mayor, hath several inferior ones under him, and
 usually resides in some of the most populous streets, that he may be near at hand to punish
 all delinquents. Those streets are crowded all the day long with merchants, tradesmen,
 farmers, custom and other officers, cryers, &c. This chief magistrate is chosen from among
 the citizens, not by rotation, but merit and ability; but, besides that, there is a governor ap-
 pointed by the emperor, who hath a Kadi, or judge, under him, to try criminal causes.
 When a person is condemned to death, if he be a plebeian, he is led through the chief streets
 of the city, with his hands tied behind, to the place of execution, and is obliged to proclaim
 his punishment, and the crime for which he has been condemned; and when he is come to the
 gallows, he is hanged by the feet, and hath his throat cut. But if a gentleman, or person of
 higher rank, his throat is cut before hand, and the hangman marches before the body, and
 proclaims his crime. A man that is guilty of murder, is immediately carried to the nearest
 relation of the deceased, who may either condemn him to what death he pleases, or compound
 with him for a sum or fine. But if he denies the crime, he is tortured either by the bastinado
 or scourging, which is done in such a severe manner, that most of them die under the execu-
 tioner's hands (N). These severities are, nevertheless, in some measure unavoidable in such
 populous cities, and among people so naturally given to all manner of pilfering, villainy, and
 lewdness.

Fez being the emporium and common magazine of *Barbary*, to which all manner of com-
 modities are brought and exchanged, either for import or export, all the streets swarm either
 with merchants, or men of all trades and professions ^f.

* *Revolutions of Morocco*, p. 162, & seq. & 353, & seq.
 MARMOL, l. iv. c. 5 & 22. D. TORRES, DAVITY, DAPPER, & al.

^f LEO, l. iii. GRAMMAY, l. x. c. 1.

(M) We meet with a flagrant instance of this infa-
 mous sordidness in Sharif *Mohammed*, who being reprov-
 ed for making war against the king of *Fez*, who was of his
 own religion, answered, that he did it to punish him for
 tolerating such an unnatural crime within his dominions.
 So that he had no sooner made himself master of that ca-
 pital, than he ordered a great number of those catamites
 to be put to death, and their bodies to be thrown to the
 dogs. But finding soon after what a wide chasm that se-
 verity was likely to make in his revenue, he suffered those
 monsters to resume their abominable practices with im-
 punity (13).

(N) There is still one circumstance more inhuman at-
 tending this kind of ordeal; which is, that when the ac-
 cused stands proof against it, and is declared innocent, if
 he hath not money enough to pay the Kadi's and his se-
 cretary's fees, the former condemns him to such an addi-
 tional number of blows or lashes as he thinks will be an
 equivalent to them (14).

This punishment is likewise for lesser crimes; and
 often, for want of a present to the Kadi, is executed
 with such severity, that the person dies under it, or soon
 after, in the same manner as it is done at *Algiers*.

(13) *Vid. int. al. D. de las Torres Relat. ubi sup. Monquet Voyag. Marmol, lib. iv. c. 22, & al. ubi sup.*
 (14) *Idem ibid.*

a THE imports chiefly consist in spicery, cochineal, vermillion, iron, brass, steel, wire, arms, *Imports.* ammunition, drugs, watches, small looking-glasses, quicksilver, tartar, opium, allom, aloes, *English* and other linen and woollen cloths, muslins, calicoes, fustians, gold wire, silks of all kinds, brocades, damasks, velvets, red woollen caps, toys and trinkets of all sorts, *Guiney* cowries, combs, paper, and a great variety of earthen wares.

THE exports consist in hides and leather of all sorts, particularly the *Moroccin*, which is *Exports.* the manufacture of the country, skins, furs, wool, dates, almonds, resins, figs, olives, honey, wax, silks of their own manufacturing, cotton and flax, cloth of the same, horses, ostrich feathers, terrass, variety of pot-ashes, gold-dust, ducats, &c. of both which the *Jews* have the sole brokerage, for which they pay a considerable tribute to the government. The city *Two castles.* is defended by two castles, the one old and decayed, and the other of a much newer date and form; but neither of them have any cannon, or any defence but that of a guard of a few companies of *Moors*. Besides those two castles the city walls have two acute bastions built on two of the highest parts of it, which have only a few old pieces of cannon, and an inconsiderable guard ^s.

FEZ stands in 38 deg. of latitude, and 4 deg. of west longitude.

Lat. and long.

MEQUINEZ, or *Miquinez*, is another considerable city, situated on the river *Sebu*, or *Subro*, *Mequinez.* in a large and delightful plain, about twelve leagues westward of *Fez*, and three to the east of *Sallee*. It is three miles in compass, surrounded with stout walls, at the feet of which are very delicious gardens, which spread themselves out into the country all around. ^a The inside c of the city is full of mosks, colleges, baths, and other public buildings. It hath a continual *Market.* market, to which the *Arabs* resort in shoals from all parts, to sell their hides, honey, wax, butter, dates, and other commodities. The palace resembles another city; and, though built *Stately palace.* in the *Moreasco* style, hath something surprisingly grand, though much out of repair. The apartments, offices, &c. which are almost without number, are interspersed with parks, gardens, pavilions, and other decorations. It stands on the highest part of the city, and is surrounded with stately white walls, and consists of a great number of spacious squares, and two noble mosks. In one part is the seraglio, a vast extensive edifice; in another the halls of state, audience, council, &c. a third is for the handicraft trades that work for the armory; and in a fourth are lodged the king's artillery, magazines, and a number of his guards. The d galleries of all these grand apartments are adorned with variety of mosaic work; the walks, pavements, alleys, gardens, &c. are all kept in good order; and the whole fabric is inclosed within a cincture of three miles in compass.

THE *Jews* have their quarter in the heart of the city, and have here, and in most parts of the empire, the privilege of shutting their gates up at night, on account of their usefulness in carrying on the commerce (O). *Mequinez* is parted only by a road from *Negro-town*, so called *Negro-town.* from the king's black troops which are quartered in it ^h.

SALLEE, *Saley*, or *Cele*, a city mentioned by *Ptolemy*, stands on the banks of the *Gueron*, *Sallee:* now *Buragra*, or *Buregreg*, which divides it into two parts; the northern, called by the natives *Sela*, and by us *Sallee*, is encompassed with a strong wall, about six fathoms high, and half a e fathom thick; on the top of which are battlements, flanked with towers, of a considerable height and strength. The southern part, on the opposite side of the river, is called *Ravat*, or *Rabat*, and is of a much greater extent, but incloses a great number of gardens, orchards, *Rabat.* and corn fields, in which they may sow wheat enough to serve 15000 men. This is likewise surrounded with high walls, said by the natives to have been built by those Christians *Walis.* which *Jaacob Al Manzor*, king of *Arabia Felix*, brought hither from *Europe*, after his conquest of *Spain*. On the south-east quarter stands a very high tower, from which they can see *Watch tower.* a ship at a great distance. It is much lower than it was at first (P), yet serves still for a land-

^s Vid. auct. sup. citat.

^h Ibid. ibid.

(O) Or rather, perhaps, to prevent their being robbed or insulted by the pilfering *Moors*, six of whom were some time ago crucified here, for the murder of a *Jew*. In other cases they suffer them to be abused by every rascally *Moor*, as they go along the streets, who call them *Cornados*, cuckolds, and dogs, and even pelt them with dirt. The noblemen and princes of the blood beat them severely with their whips, if they dare to come in their way as they ride along; and, as a still greater mark of contempt, suffer them not to go out of their quarter with either shoes or boots, but bare-foot and bare-legged. All

which they are forced to bear with singular patience, it being sure death to them to lift up a hand against a *Moor* or *Negro* (15).

(P) This was owing to a clap of thunder, which struck off some part of the top, and caused a wide rent on the south side, which runs from top to bottom. The tower is 50 feet square, built of stone, jointed by a strong cement, and opens towards a stately mosk 1400 paces long and 300 wide; in the cincture of which is a well 100 feet wide and 30 deep, for the ablutions of those that go to prayers there (16).

(15) *Braithwait Revol. of Morocco*, p. 198, & seq. *Hist. of Algiers, Morocco, &c. an. 1750*, p. 351.
(16) *Dawity, Dapper, & al. ubi sup.*

mark in the day-time, and for a light-house in the night; and under it are the two docks ^a belonging to the town, the one for building of ships, and the other for them to winter in. The ascent between these and the tower is so easy, that a man may go up it on horseback.

Harbour.

THE harbour is large, but shallow, seldom rising to above twelve feet at high-water; so that the corsairs which belong to this place are obliged to put into the island of *Fedal*, at a small distance from it; the entrance of the harbour having a bar across it, which prevents any but the lighter sort of vessels from sailing into it. The town is now guarded by two

Old castle.

castles, the old and the new; the one stands directly at the mouth of the river, next to which the walls are built on rocks, and high enough to shelter the governor's house from cannon-shot. The fortifications of it are very irregular, but such as the ground would permit; ^b and within its walls, which are mostly of square stone, is a fort, just before the principal gate, which commands the whole town. Below it, next to the sea-side, near the point of the rock, facing the bar, is a bastion, mounted with five pieces of cannon, to secure the vessels that come to anchor in the road, or to shelter themselves from the pursuit of the enemy.

New castle.

THE new castle is seated on the west side of the town, and of a square figure, flanked with towers and battlements, like the walls of the city. There is a communication between one castle and the other by a high wall, flanked with two towers, and built upon arches, under which the people pass and repass to and from the strand. On the west side, before the breach in the town-wall, stands another bastion on a rock, but much neglected of late, which renders the taking of this part of *Sallee* very easy. The emperor sends thither a governor, ^c who presides over the city council, which is chosen from among the citizens. All merchandizes, imported or exported, pay a tenth part of their value to the governor: but the chief wealth of the place arises from the piratical trade carried on by the corsairs, who are the expertest and boldest of any on the *Barbary* coast ¹.

Government.

Tefeu-sara.

FROM *Sallee* one may behold, in a most spacious plain, about eight or nine miles distance, the noble ruins of the antient city of *Tefeu-sara*, situate on a fertile territory, and inhabited by the *Arabs*, who have hitherto prevented it, as they have *Marmora*, *Almodine*, *Alcassar*, and a great many more from being rebuilt, that they may have the greater freedom to range about with their herds. ^d

Mazagan.

MAZAGAN, by some *Masignan*, stands on the same coast, and about ten leagues south-west of *Sallee*. It is a strong and well-built town, in the hands of the *Portuguese*, who keep a good garrison in it, to prevent the *Moors* retaking it from them, as they did the strong city of *Larach*, situated on the same coast, near the mouth of the river *Lucus*, or *Lucerio*. *Mazagan* is surrounded with a stout wall, so thick that six horsemen may ride abreast upon it all around, and well furnished with cannon. The worst is, that the pirates often intercept the provisions that are sent to the garrison, which obliges it to make incursions on the neighbouring *Arabs* for subsistence. It was this inconvenience that caused the loss of *Larach*, though much more strongly fortified ^{*}.

Alcassar.

ALCASSAR, *Alcazar*, or *Alcaçar*, formerly *Cæsar Al Cabiris*, is on the same western coast, ^e and was once the residence of a governor. It is said to have been built by the famed *Jaacob Al Manzor*, during his war with *Spain* (Q), and was formerly a town of good trade, till the *Portuguese* made themselves masters of it, *an.* 1458. But though it did not continue long in their hands, it is since gone gradually into decay, and lies now in a ruinous condition ^k. It is called *Alcassar Quibir*, or the great castle, to distinguish it from *Alcassar Zequir*, or the little palace, in the same kingdom.

Arzila.

ARZILA stands upon the same coast, within eight leagues of the straits of *Gibraltar*, and about forty-eight from *Fez*. It is another of those cities that were taken and held for some

¹ LEO, ubi sup. GRAMMAY, ubi sup. c. 4. MARMOL, ubi sup. c. 14, & al. sup. citat. VOYAG. I. p. 23. ST. OLAN, p. 136.

^k Ibid. ibid. vid. & Hist. Moroc. an. 1750, p. 355.

^{*} MOUQUET

(Q) The occasion of its being built, we are told, was that conqueror's being likely to have perished in a tempestuous night, among the marshes, in pursuit of his game, and at a great distance from his retinue; when perceiving a fisherman's hut, he went into it, and was kindly entertained by the poor man. He asked him whether he could not conduct him to some adjacent town; and was answered, that it could not be done without imminent hazard of both their lives: and, on the next morning, the king being fully satisfied of the truth of what he had told him, bid him ask some recompence for his hospitali-

ty; to which he modestly answered, that he should be very thankful to have a better house built on that spot. Upon which that generous prince caused a noble palace to be built there, and made him keeper of it, with a handsome pension, and used often to resort thither for his diversion, and called it by his name *Abdul Kerim*. He afterwards fortified it; from which time it grew to a considerable town, had a good market resorted to by the *Arabs*, who brought thither their dates, wax, honey, corn, cattle, &c. (17)

(17) LEO, l. iii. GRAMMAY, l. x. c. 6. MARMOL, l. iv. c. 41. D. de Torres, Dacity, & al.

a time by the *Portuguese*; but being afterwards abandoned by them, have been decaying ever since. It was antiently called *Zitia*, and supposed to have been built by the *Romans*, about twelve leagues south of the streights ¹.

TANGIER, on the same coast, but about two miles within the streights above-mentioned, Tangier was antiently called *Tingis*, and was the capital of the *Mauritania Tingitana* ^m. It stands on a handsome bay, and was once a very considerable place, and is said by the *African* fabulists to have excelled all the cities of the world for largeness and magnificence, and to have been surrounded by walls of brass. It had, however, many sumptuous edifices and palaces, and a considerable number of noblemen who resided there in the time of the *Goths* and *Arabians*; but being taken by the *Portuguese*, an. 1471, or 1473 according to others ^{*}, grew more considerable for its strength than beauty. At length finding the expence of keeping it exceed by far the advantage they reaped by it, it was readily yielded to the *English*, as part of the dowry of the princess *Catherine* of *Portugal*, upon her marriage with king *Charles II.* who, at an immense expence and labour, made it one of the strongest places on all those coasts, and built a deep mole, which ran 300 fathoms into the sea. But finding it too chargeable to keep, and the parliament refusing to vote him the sums demanded for its maintenance, caused all those fortifications to be blown up, after twenty-two years possession, an. 1684. Since which time the *Moors* have endeavoured to repeople it; but have not hitherto been able to raise it above the degree of a mean fishing town ⁿ.

CEUTA, no less considerable for its advantageous situation at the entrance of the *Mediterranean*, than for the beauty of its public buildings, and the strength of its walls and bulwarks, by which, and a good garrison, it held out, not indeed a vigorous siege, as the *Spaniards* style it, but an obstinate blockade, against an army of *Moors*, is situate on a rising ground, at the foot of the mountain of *Apes*, which juts out into the streights, and makes the nearest point to the *Spanish* coasts. It is still very considerable, and a bishop's see, hath a good palace, and noble cathedral. Near it stands the celebrated mountain with seven summits, known to the antients by the name of *Septem fratres* ^o. The *Moors* laid siege to it, an. 1697, and have kept it blocked up ever since, without intermission, though without any great likelihood of their ever mastering it.

THE extreme indigence of the natives round about *Ceuta* makes them so surprisngly active, that they will go, we are told ^p, from *Tetuan* to *Mequinez*, which is 150 miles, for a ducat, without minding heat or rain, in less than twenty-four hours. A river in their way causes no delay, because they swim across it with the same expedition that they make on land; and their whole support is only some meal, a few figs or raisins, which they carry in their goat-skins; and their richest liquor water, mixed with a little honey.

SEVEN leagues south of *Ceuta* stands the city of *Tetuan*, al. *Tetegin*, or *Tetteguin*, upon the rising of a rocky hill, on the streights mouth. It is neither large nor strong, being surrounded by a wall made of mud and mortar, framed in wooden cases, and dried in the sun, without any mixture of broken bricks or stone. Here are not above 800 houses; but the inhabitants, what with piracy and a good trade for leather, wax, honey, raisins, &c. are most of them in good circumstances, without daring, however, to make any shew of it, lest that should give occasion to the government to fleece and oppress them. Its chief strength consists in a stout garrison of about 1500 foot and 400 horse; and the port is guarded by a square castle, flanked with towers of the same materials with the town walls, and, in time of danger, can entertain a garrison of 500 men; and, though it is commanded by the adjacent mountains, yet of great security, and affords a safe shelter to the corsairs, who resort here in great numbers, to take in provisions. On which account the *Spaniards* attempted to choak up the mouth of the river, by sinking vessels loaded with stones, but the *Moors* found means to open it again.

THERE is in the heart of the city a large musmorra, or dungeon, wherein they lock up their Christian slaves at night, which are here very numerous, and as hardly used as in any part of *Barbary*. The inhabitants are mostly the descendants of those *Moors* and *Jews* who were driven out of *Spain*; the latter of whom carry on here a very considerable commerce. The houses are kept so continually white-washed, outside as well as in, that the reflection of them quite dazzles the beholders eyes in the sun-shine.

THE Basha's palace is not only a curious but a magnificent structure, as is also his villa, about two miles out of the town. The mosks and other public buildings are likewise very grand, though in the *moresco* taste. There are likewise about a dozen cloisters belonging to their Santons, or monks, which are asylas for all manner of crimes, except those against the government. The *Jews*, who are computed to be about 5000, are allowed to make wine and

¹ *Ibid. ibid.* ^m *Ant. Hist. vol. v. p. 493. vii. p. 139.* ^{*} See BRAITHWAIT *Revol. of Morocco*, p. 320.
ⁿ *Idem ibid. & al.* ^o *Idem ibid.* ^p *History of Morocco*, an. 1750. BRAITHWAIT *Hist. Revol. Moroc. & al. sup. citat.*

brandy, by the help of which they often cozen those they traffick with. They have seven synagogues, and no more than 170 houses. The people here, as at *Algiers*, and other parts of *Barbary*, visit one another from the tops of their houses, which have handsome turrets on them, in which they regale themselves in the cool of the evening, and which add much to the beauty of the town.

Noble prospect. BUT what completes the delightful prospect is the fertile territory that surrounds it, and which is covered with fine gardens, orchards, villas, with shady walks, avenues, and other fine vistas, especially a spacious burying-ground, on an adjacent eminence, which is adorned with such a beautiful variety of cupolas, pyramids, and other monuments, that it looks like a fine city in miniature. To which, if we add its fine prospect towards the sea, and adjacent hills and plains, and the courteousness and affability of the people, beyond what they are even in their most noted capitals, we shall not scruple to pronounce it one of the most agreeable cities in all *Barbary*.

The province or kingdom of Suz. WE have now taken a review of the most considerable cities of the two principal provinces, or kingdoms, of this empire; viz. *Morocco* and *Fez*; it is now time to say something of those of the third and last; viz. that of *Suz*, *Sous*, or *Sowz*, the most southern of all the three. The river of its name, which, as we observed before, was the southern boundary of the whole empire, divides it from the province of *Darah*, of which some part still retains the name of *Farther Suz*, as that on this side of that river is called *Hither Suz*. But whether the emperor receives any tribute from the former is not certain, nor very material.

Produce. THE province of *Suz* is mostly, more especially on the south side, intersected by several ridges of the *Atlas*, from which the many springs that flow render the whole country very fruitful in pasture, corn, rice, sugar, indigo, &c. dates, vines, and other fruits. The river *Suz* in particular, which, like the *Nile* in *Egypt*, overflows all the low lands, and is, like that, cut into canals, doth exceedingly enrich all the territories it runs through. Some of the mountains yield copper and allom, and those of *Tibar* gold in great quantities, which is called by the negroes *Nack-naki*, and is conveyed away by the caravans that trade here, and deal likewise in slaves and other merchandizes. The *Suz*, and other inferior rivers, drive a vast number of sugar mills, as well as for grinding of corn, &c. and the indigo, which grows wild in all the low grounds, without art or culture, is of a most vivid colour, and is made and exported in great quantities. The warmth of the climate, joined to the richness of the soil and plenty of water, makes the harvest very forward, it seldom beginning later than the month of *May*. The inhabitants, who are mostly *Berebers*, are very industrious, and many of them live in towns, and are wealthy, and much more polite than those in *Fez* and *Morocco*.

Cape Aguer. THE two most remarkable capes are those of *Aguer* and *Nan*, or *Non*; the former on the north-west of the mouth of the *Suz*, near which the *Portuguese* built the town of its name, which was at first taken by the famed *Diego Lopez de Segueria*, who made afterwards a memorable voyage into the *East Indies*. This adventurer finding the town to have a convenient harbour, famous for its fishery, built a stout fort to defend it. Soon after which *Emanuel* king of *Portugal*, having bought it of him, added several other fortifications to the old ones, and put a strong garrison into it. But they were afterwards driven from it by *Mohammed*, the youngest of the two Sharifs, who became soon after emperor of *Morocco* and *Fez*, as will be seen in a subsequent section. The other, about seven miles more south on the same coast, was called *Non* by the *Portuguese*, by whom it was imagined the *Ne plus ultra*, beyond which none had as yet ventured to sail.

Messa. THE cities of this province are not very considerable, either for strength, bigness, or beauty. *MESSA* is situated on the river *Suz*, where it discharges itself into the sea, and at the foot of mount *Atlas*. It is divided into three distinct quarters, about a mile distant from each other, and each inclosed within its own walls. The inhabitants cultivate the lands about it, which are greatly fertilized by the overflowing of the *Suz*; though, whenever it fails to do so, as it often doth, they are obliged to live mostly upon dates, which are here much coarser than in other parts of *Africa*. As that river forms no haven, they have but little commerce abroad. The shore before it being flat and shallow, it frequently happens that great whales are cast upon it; and there stands a mosk between the town and the sea, the beams, girders, &c. of which are made of the bones of that fish; which induces the people to believe this to be the place where *Jonah* was cast on shore. Some ambergris is likewise found on this shore, which is sold very cheap; the *Moors* looking upon it as no better than the excrements of a whale, or of another fish which they call ambracan.

Tessut. ON the same river, and about three or four miles from *Messa*, stands *Tessut*, *Tecent*, or *Techent*, and, like it, divided into three parts, but much larger, and more populous. In the heart of them is erected a stately mosk, through which a branch of the river runs. The plain

^r See History of the Revolutions of Morocco, ubi sup. TORRES, DAPPER, MOUQUET, BRAITHWAIT, &c.

^s LEO, MARMOL, GRAMMAY, DAVITY, D. DE

a on which the town is seated, is spacious, and fruitful in corn, barley, pulse, sugar, and variety of fruits. The town is supposed to contain 4000 families, most of them industrious and in good case. The sugar manufactory flourishes, and the finest *Morocco* leather is dressed here, and exported in great quantities.

TARUDANT, though not a large place, is in a flourishing condition, and carries on a great Tarudant. commerce with the *Berebers*, who resort to its markets, and are wealthy. Its buildings are handsome, and the adjacent plains fertile. It was once the residence of its own princes, who adorned it with sumptuous edifices, and is now that of the governors of the province, and its inhabitants are reckoned courteous and polite.

b TEDSI hath about 5000 inhabitants; the sugar manufacture is their chief wealth and em- Tedsi. ployment. The great mosk is the residence of the Alfakis, whose chief is sole judge in all religious matters. Its market on *Mondays* is resorted to by merchants from many parts of *Barbary* and *Negroland*, besides the *Arabs* and *Moors*. The traffick consists in leather, cattle, *Commerce.* horses, linen, and woollen cloths, sugar, wax, honey, butter, and a great variety of iron tools. The *Jews* are numerous and rich, and the people much cried up for their singular courtesies to strangers. The Sharif keeps a governor in it, with 400 horse, to protect the commerce, which is one of the richest on that side of the *Atlas*. It was formerly a little commonwealth, governed by six of its chief inhabitants, who were chosen and changed every six months; but was afterwards subdued to the yoke of the *Benimerini*, and since to that of the Sharifs.

c TAGOST, or *Tagost*, the largest city in the province, was built by the natives on a spa- Tagost. cious and fertile plain, and surrounded with walls now decayed. It is computed to have about 8000 families, of which about 400 are *Jews*; the rest, who are *Mohammedans*, preserve nevertheless, a kind of veneration for the great St. *Austin*, whom they affirm to have been born there. It enjoys two markets in the week, to which the *Arabs* and *Moors* resort with their commodities, and the negroes to buy cloaths. *Gared* was built by Sharif *Abd'alla*, who was still reigning in *Marmol's* time, but is only worth notice for its many sugar mills, and its leather manufacture, the exportation of which into *Europe* alone, is said to bring in to the Sharif 34,000 *l.* yearly^t. Thus much may suffice for the geography of this empire, and of its three principal provinces or kingdoms. We have now only to speak of that of *Taphilet*, once d a kingdom of itself, though no very considerable one for any thing; but now become subject to the two emperors, ever since the reduction of its capital of the same name, by Sharif *Muley Hamet*.

THIS kingdom, which hath its name from its capital, situate on a river of the same, is a *Kingdom of* long tract of dry and barren ground, running almost east and west, being bounded on the *Taphilet,* north by *Fez* and *Tremecen*, on the south by the *Sahrah*, or desert, on the east by *Segelmessa*, *sandy and barren.* and the country of the *Berebers*, and on the west by *Morocco* and *Suz*. The extent of it, including the provinces of *Itata*, *Darba*, *Sakrab*, and *Towet*, is of a prodigious extent, and too variously computed for us to adjust the difference, considering the little knowledge that can be had from the helps now extant of those parts. The country is, for the most part, so sandy e and hot, that it scarce produces any thing of either corn or fruit; the only place where they can sow any barley is along the banks of the rivers, and even there it grows with great difficulty, and but in small quantities, through the violent heat and parching drought that reign through all these regions the greatest part of the year; so that the *Alcaides* and persons of distinction are only able to purchase it, the common people being so poor, that they are forced to live mostly upon dates and camels flesh, both which are here in great plenty. Water is likewise so very scarce here, except where they live near some river, that they are forced to save that which falls from the clouds in winter, to serve them the whole year. What grows *Product.* in greatest plenty, and without art or culture, is their indigo, which, however, yields a more vivid and lasting blue than that which is cultivated with so much care and labour in the *Ame-* f *rican* plantations, and brings a very good profit to the inhabitants^u. They have likewise abundance of ostriches, of a prodigious size, and good to eat; camels, which carry vast burthens through these barren deserts, and dromedaries (R), exceedingly swift, and chiefly used for

^t *Id. ibid.*

^u LEO, GRAMM. MARMOL, l. i. c. 23. TORRES, & al. sup. citat. ST. OLAN, etat de Morocc.

(R) We took notice, a little higher, of a particular excellency of these creatures, as their inhuman owners style it, that they will travel with their heavy burden, without food or drink, till they are quite emaciated, and sink under a tenth part of its weight (18). Those of *Taphilet* will do almost the same, and differ only from a

camel in that they have but two bunches upon their backs, one larger than the other, and are more finely shaped. And we much question whether a circumstance, which we are told by a judicious author, concerning their young ones, be not chiefly owing to the hard use they are put to; *viz.* that after they are newly foaled

(18) See before, p. 146. & al. Marmol, Afr. l. i. c. 23:

for expedition, they commonly travelling 120, or more miles, in one day, and with little a sustenance or refreshment. The chief commerce of the *Taphilets* and *Itatans*, besides the indigo above-mentioned, consists in their dates, and in a sort of leather, made of the hides of a creature they call *Dantos*, or *Lantos*, which come from *Numidia*, and are here fabricated into excellent shields *. They likewise make a sort of striped silk of various colours, much used by the *Moors* and negroes, and also fine cassocks and caps for the men, veils for the women, curious carpets, and other such ornaments. Most of the dates that are brought into *Europe* come from *Taphilet*, the emperor not permitting them to be exported from any other place of his dominions, and they are reckoned the best that grow in his whole empire. We are told moreover, that the fine leather that is made here is tanned with the stones of that fruit.

Governed by young Sharifs. *Taphilet* has always been put under the government of one or other of the emperor's sons, b not so much, perhaps, on account of its having been formerly under its own kings, or *Cheyks*, as because *Muley Ishmael* and other *Sharifs* were natives of it; though it is the least coveted by those young princes of any in *Morocco*. They entertain here commonly about 4000 troops, mostly horse, to keep the people, who are chiefly *Berebers*, or *Arabs* brought hither by the *Sharifs*, in subjection.

THE emperor, among his other titles, takes that of lord of *Taphilet* and *Darba*, and often permits the prince, whom he sends thither governor, to take that of king of *Taphilet*. And it is likely that the boundaries of this tributary kingdom, which are so variously fixed, extend only as far as these governors think it worth their while to send their troops to levy the usual tribute; but what that amounts to is beyond our power to tell. c

City of Taphilet.

Inhabitants.

Manufactures.

Road through Atlas.

Province of Gefula.

Situation.

THE city of *Taphilet*, the capital of this kingdom, is situate upon a river of its name, and hath a stout castle, the common residence of the young *Sharifs*. It is supposed to have been built by the old *Berebers*, and is inhabited by about 2000 of them, who are distinguished by the name of *Fitelis*, and are industrious and rich in date-trees, camels, horses, and other cattle. And it is chiefly here that the leather, silk, and linen manufactures, lately mentioned, are carried on. *Taphilet* hath a large concourse, and may be stiled the rendezvous of merchants, not only from *Barbary* and *Africa*, but even from *Europe*. The people are affable and civil to strangers, but the *Arabs* extremely addicted to superstition, and several kinds of witchcrafts; some of the most notorious may be seen in the margin (S). Other towns worth our notice we find not in this kingdom, nor any thing except the river of its name, which descends from the d land of *Sagara*, upon mount *Atlas*, and directs its course from north-west to south-east; and, after having watered the city and plain of *Taphilet*, and received, among others, the *Segora* and *Haded*, loses itself in the lands of the desert of *Darba*. Between *Taphilet* and *Darba* is a high road, which crosses part of mount *Atlas*, through which the caravans go to and fro with their merchandizes.

UNDER the kingdom of *Taphilet* is included the province of *Gefula*, or *Guzula*, perhaps a corruption of the antient name of *Gætulia* *, part of which, if not all, the *Sharifs* have found means to bring under their obedience. This large territory hath *Taphilet* on the east, *Morocco*

* De his, vide LEO AFRIC. lib. ix. & al. sup. citat.

* De hoc, vide Anc. Hist. vol. vii. p. 159, & seq.

they will be motionless for a long while, and as in a deep sleep, sometimes about eight days, notwithstanding their running with such incredible swiftness, when they are come to their full strength (19).

(S) This weakness is not confined to the *Arabs* of this city, but extends to all the *Arab* tribes throughout this vast tract, and beyond, and hath communicated itself even to the *Berebers*. They are not only strict observers of the *Mohammedan* law, and scrupulous in their usual ablutions before prayer, five times a day, and in their dress and eating, but will not touch a bit of flesh, unless the creature hath been killed by one of their sect, which is done in the following manner. The butcher, turning the throat of it towards *Mecca*, speaks these words: O God, behold this victim which I am going to slay, and grant that we may eat the flesh of it to thy glory. They are no less scrupulous in freeing the flesh from any the least remains of the blood.

They pretend to be the only true observers of the *Koran*; which they say is but a sequel of the law of Jesus Christ, who ordained even the very dress they were to wear. They have therefore neither gold nor silver among them, wear neither linen nor silk, but wrap up their bodies in a woollen cloth, two or three times round, leaving the arms and legs uncovered. This they call a

Hock, which, they say, ought always to be of a white colour.

In their morning prayers, after the usual washing of their feet up to the knees, and their hands to the elbows, they turn their faces towards the sun-rising, and sitting themselves down on the ground, call upon *Cidy Mohammed*, their prophet, and afterwards on *Cidy Bellbeck*, by whom they mean St. *Austin*, and some other of their saints, among whom they number *Cidy Nayssa*, which is the name they give to Jesus Christ, whom they believe to have been born of a pure virgin, and conceived by the breath of God; but acknowledge only one person in the Godhead.

With respect to their more ridiculous superstitions, we shall only say in general, that they pay a singular regard to a sort of pretended conjurers and charm-mongers, without whose advice they undertake not any thing of moment, and are by them furnished with amulets, and other pretended preservatives against sickness, fire, water, and other accidents; and these they religiously wear about them, sleeping and waking, and place a greater confidence in them than in their prayers, or other acts of religion. In all which juggling tricks, one may discover a strange medley of astrological and other conjuring cant and superstitious trash, not worth any farther notice (20).

(19) St. Olan, *etat de Morocco*, p. 3, & seq. Vide & Leo, lib. ix. & al. ubi sup. Marmol, & al. sup. citat.

(20) Leo, *Grammay*,

a on the north, *Suz* on the west, and *Darba* on the south. Its extent and boundaries are too vague for us to ascertain; neither is there any thing worth our notice in it, except the few following particulars, with which we shall close this section.

THE country is mostly dry and barren, the inhabitants poor and brutish, and the best part of them employed either in the iron or copper mines of the country, or in the fabrication of those metals into all manner of utensils used in *Barbary*; and these they exchange for horses, linen and woollen cloths, spices, and such other commodities as they want, either by carrying them into other parts of *Barbary*, or by the frequent fairs they hold in their plains, or in their large towns (for they have no cities), some of which contain 1000 houses, or more. Here is one fair in particular, which is kept in a large plain, and lasts two months, and which is resorted to by strangers from most parts of *Barbary* and *Negroland*. During the whole time the *Gesulans*, though naturally brutish, seem to lose their savage temper, and to shew an uncommon courtesousness to all comers; inasmuch, that, though these commonly amount to about 10,000 at least, they are all maintained, during their stay, at the public charge, with their servants and cattle; there being persons appointed on purpose to dress their victuals, and furnish them with all other conveniencies, all which is done without tumult or disturbance; to prevent which, as well as quarrelling, fighting, thieving, and such-like disorders, there is always a sufficient number of soldiers under the command of two captains, who immediately seize and punish the offenders; and, if a thief, he is immediately put to death on the spot, and his flesh is thrown to the dogs. One remarkable custom is here established, and religiously kept, that let them be at war with whom they will, they observe a truce three days in the week with all strangers, for the encouragement of their commerce; and the same is likewise done during the two months of the above-mentioned fair.

THE inhabitants of this province are said to be so numerous, that they are able to bring above 60,000 into the field. Their weapons are the scymitar, dagger, spear, and short gun; which last they are supposed to have taken up since their becoming subject to the Sharifs, whom they serve as foot-guards, armed with that and their broad sword. Their dress is only a short striped linen or woollen jacket, with half-sleeves, over which they throw a kind of long coat or gown of coarse woollen cloth, and under which hangs either a dagger or a short two-edged sword. Some suppose them to have no religion at all, at least not that of *Mohammed*, not so much on account of their ferocity, but because they chuse to begin their great fair on the birth-day of that pretended prophet. They have neither gallows, wheels, nor crosses; but every capital offender is immediately pierced with darts, and his carcase thrown to the dogs.

THEIR country produces very little corn, but plenty of barley, dates, good pasture, and variety of cattle. The *Portuguese* had once made themselves masters of part of *Gesula*, and brought it under tribute, but they soon recovered their freedom again, and held it till the Sharifs subdued them; which second loss seems to have been owing to their frequent hostilities against them, and their often plundering their metropolis. But since their reduction, we are told, they have continued very faithful to them, though rather under the name of allies, than subjects and tributaries².

² LEO AFR. l. ii. GRAMM. l. ix. c. 8. MARMOL, l. iii. c. 51. D. TORRES, LA CROIX, DAVITY, DAPPER, & al. sup. citat.

S E C T. II.

The government, laws, religion, trade, learning, and customs, of the empire of Morocco.

f THERE is not, perhaps, under the cope of heaven, a more despotic and tyrannical government than this, especially since the Sharifs have made themselves masters of it; though it was not much better even before that time. Religion, laws, antient customs, and inbred prejudices, all conspire to render the monarch absolute and arbitrary, and to confirm the subjects in the most abject and miserable state of slavery. The former is not only allowed to have an uncontrollable property and power over the lives and fortunes of the latter, but, in a great measure, even over their consciences too; inasmuch as he is the only person who, as successor of *Mohammed*, sets up for the principal interpreter of the *Koran*, and appoints all the judges under him, of whom those of *Morocco* and *Fez* are the chief, whose business is to explain and dispense all matters relating to their religion; and, being his creatures and dependants, dare not steer otherwise than as he directs (A). Whenever, therefore, any of his laws

(A) This is not, however, to be stretched so far as to say that the *Moor*s in general are very strict and zealous observers. For in such cases both priests and laity will dare to blame and condemn

A strange notion about their kings.

Negroes, why become so powerful.

Kings sole heirs of all their subjects.

Their will the only law.

The titles of the emperors of Morocco.

His ministers ecclesiastical, civil, and military.

laws are once enacted by him, and proclaimed by his governors in all places of his dominions, as it is commonly done, that none may plead ignorance, they are every-where received with an implicit and religious submission. On the other hand, the subjects are bred up with a notion, that those that die in the execution of his command, are intitled to an immediate admittance into paradise; and those that have the honour to die by his hand, to a still greater degree of happiness in it. After this we need not wonder at finding so much cruelty, oppression, and tyranny, on the one side, and so much submission, passiveness, and misery, on the other.

THIS latter, however, extends no farther than the *Moors*; for as to the *Arabs*, the subjection and tribute they pay to those tyrants was always involuntary, and altogether forced; and as for the negroes, their zeal and attachment is owing merely to the great sway and power which they had gained in the government during the last reign, both on account of their being better soldiers than the *Moors*, but more especially out of a particular regard which *Muley Ishmael* had for them, on account of his mother being a negro; so that, being now grown in a manner too strong to be suppressed, their loyalty and affection to those monarchs, whom they strive to imitate in all their vices, must be supposed to rise and fall, according to the favour and encouragement they receive from them. And they are now the only ones to whom those tyrants intrust their persons, their treasure, and their concubines, and whom they raise to the highest posts of authority and trust (B), and whom they suffer, not to say encourage, by their own example, to tyrannize and oppress their native, as well as their most faithful and submissive subjects^a.

BUT we shall, perhaps, find less reason to wonder at this connivance, if we consider, that, sooner or later, all the extortions of those blood-suckers come in course into their own treasury, either by the heavy fines they impose upon them upon any complaint preferred against them, or upon any other, whether real or pretended, mal-administrations, or by seizing on all their ill-gotten wealth at their deaths. For the emperors here have found means to establish another branch of despotism, which renders them still more powerful and formidable to their subjects; viz. their making themselves their sole heirs, and, in virtue of that, seizing upon all their effects, and making only such provision for their families as they think proper; and often, on some frivolous pretence, leaving them destitute of any, according to the liking or dislike they bear to the deceased; so that, upon the whole, they are the only makers, judges, and interpreters, and, in many instances likewise, the executioners, of their own laws, which have no other limits than their own arbitrary will. To preserve, however, some specious shew or shadow of justice, they allow their Mufti a kind of superiority in spirituals, and a sort of liberty to the meanest subject to summon them before his tribunal. But the danger which such an attempt would bring upon a plaintiff, perhaps no less than death and destruction, is of itself sufficient to deter any man from it; especially considering the little probability there is that the judges of it would run the risk of declaring themselves against a monarch whose creatures they are, and on whom their lives and fortunes so absolutely depend^b.

THE titles which the emperors of *Morocco* assume, are those of *Most Glorious, Mighty, and Noble Emperor of Afric, King of Fez and Morocco, Taphilet, Suz, Darha, and all the Algarbe, and its territories in Afric; Grand Sharif* (or, as others write it, *Xarif*, that is, successor, or vicegerent) *of the great prophet Mohammed, &c.*

THE judges, or magistrates, that act immediately under him, are, as hath been already hinted, either spiritual or temporal, or rather ecclesiastical and military. The Mufti and the

^a D. TORRES Relat. de los Xarifs. MOUQUET Voy. c. 2. BRAITHWAIT Hist. of Morocco, 1750. c. 1.
^b Ibid. ibid.

demn a prince, though not openly, much less make it a pretence for rebelling against him. Witness the reign of that monster of cruelty, oppression, drunkenness, and debauchery, *Muley Hamet Dabibly*, who, though he lived in open contempt of the *Koran*, and encouraged it in all his ministers (1), insomuch that he preferred pork, so strictly forbidden by their law, and so detested by all *Mohammedans*, to all other flesh, except a roasted fox, which was his beloved dish; yet was never disturbed by any opposition, except what was raised by his brother *Muley Abd'al Melek*, who, being older than he, had the fairer title to the crown, and with it all the opposite virtues to his brother's vices. But though these advantages procured him the good wishes of all the *Moors*, yet it was not without great difficulty that he wrenched the sceptre from him; nor was it long before that tyrant was recalled and re-enthroned by his subjects, in spite of all the

opposition his brother could make against it, as shall be shewn in a subsequent section (2).

(B) These negroes, ever since their adhering so closely to *Muley Ishmael*, have been in high request with his successors, and make the main branch of the soldiery, both of horse and foot. They are brought so young out of *Guiney*, that they quickly lose the memory of it; and having no relations or friends, nor dependance, but on the emperor's favour, are the more ready to obey his orders in all things. They are at first brought up to be foot soldiers, and after so many years service in it, or sooner, if their behaviour deserve it, are advanced to the cavalry, which is a great honour in that country. They are taught little else except the exercise of arms, and to obey the emperor's orders; and, by the readiest compliance with his views, politics, and inclination, advance themselves to the highest posts under him (3).

(1) Braithwait Revol. of Morocco, pass.

(2) Ibid. p. 153, & seq.

(3) Id. p. 350.

- a Kadis are judges of all religious and civil affairs; and the Bashas, governors, Alcaldes, and other military officers, of those that concern the state or the army. All of them the most obsequious creatures and slaves of their prince, and no less the rapacious tyrants of his subjects, and from whom neither justice nor favour can be obtained, but by mere dint of money, and extortionate bribery, from the highest to the lowest. Neither can it, indeed, be otherwise, in such an arbitrary government, where the highest posts must not only be bought of the prince, at a most extravagant price, and kept only by as exorbitant a tribute, which is yearly paid to him, but where no one is sure to continue longer than he can bribe some of the courtiers to insinuate to the monarch that he pays to the utmost of his power, and much beyond what was expected from him. Add to this, that those Bashas, governors, &c. are obliged to keep their agents and spies in constant pay at court, to prevent their being supplanted by higher bidders, flanderers, or other artful underminers.

All a rapacious crew.

- FROM what hath been said under this head, it may be reasonably concluded, that this branch of the imperial revenue must be very considerable, though there is no possibility to make any other conjecture of its real amount, than that it must be an immense one. Another considerable branch is the piratical trade, which brings the greater income into his treasury, as he is not at any expence either for fitting of corsair vessels out, or maintaining their men, and yet hath the tenth of all the cargo, and of all the captives, besides which he appropriates to himself all the rest of them, by paying the captors fifty crowns *per* head; by which means he engrosses all the slaves to his own service and advantage. This article is, indeed, a very considerable addition to his revenue, not only as he sells their ransom at a very high rate, but likewise as he hath the profit of all their labour, without allowing them any other maintenance than a little bread and oil; nor any other assistance, when sick, than what medicines a *Spanish* convent, which he tolerates there, gives them gratis; and which, nevertheless, is forced to pay him an annual present for that toleration, besides furnishing the court with medicines, and the slaves with lodging and diet when they are not able to work. Another branch of his revenue consists in the tenth part of all cattle, corn, fruits, honey, wax, hides, rice, and other products of the earth, which is exacted of the *Arabs* and *Berebers*, as well as of the natives; and these are levied, or rather farmed, by the Bashas, governors, Alcaldes, &c. with all possible severity. The *Jews* and *Christians* likewise pay an income, or capitation, the former of six crowns *per* head; on all males from fifteen years and upwards, besides other arbitrary imposts, fines, &c. that on the *Christians*, for the liberty of trading in his dominions, rises and falls according to their number, and the commerce they drive; but which, whatever it may bring yearly into his coffers, is yet detrimental to trade in general, seeing it discourages great numbers from settling there, notwithstanding the artful invitations which the emperors and their ministers make use of to invite them to it; for, besides those arbitrary exactions, there is still another great hardship attending them; *viz.* that they cannot leave the country without forfeiting all their debts and effects to the crown. The duties on all imports and exports, of which we shall speak under a subsequent article, is another branch of his income, the amount of which, *communibus annis*, no author hath yet given us any account of; only consul *Hatfield* hath computed the whole yearly revenue, including ordinaries and extraordinaries, to amount to 500 quintals of silver, each quintal, or 100 *lb.* weight, valued at somewhat above 330 *l.* sterling; so that the whole amounts to no more, according to him, than 165,000 *l.* a small revenue, indeed, for so large an empire, if the calculation may be depended upon. But *St. Olan*, tho' he doth not pretend so much as to guess at the yearly amount of it, doth in general represent it as so considerable, that *Muley Ishmael* was reckoned to have amassed out of it a treasure in gold and silver of about 50 effective millions, but whether of crowns or livres he doth not tell us*, nor how he came by his knowledge of it; because that politic prince, even by his own confession, not only caused all his riches to be buried in sundry places under ground, his gold and silver to be melted into great lumps, and laid in the same privacy under ground, but likewise all those whom he intrusted with the secret to be as privately murdered. However that be, we shall, upon the whole, have the less cause to wonder at these exorbitant exactions which he extorts from *Christian* princes and states, whenever they are obliged either to seek his alliance, or to obtain some redress in favour of their trading subjects; much less at the shameful delays, insults, extortions, indignities, and injustice, which their ambassadors must be content to put up with, to obtain the least favour from their rapacious ministers; of which we need not a more flagrant instance than the strange treatment which *Mr. Russel* met with at that rapacious court.

Revenue.

The emperor takes a tenth of all cargoes, captives, products, &c.

Jews and Christians taxed.

Dangerous for them to settle there.

The British ambassador ill treated.

* Vide auct. sup. citat. *St. OLAN*, *etat de Morrocc.* p. 106, & seq.
 † *BRAITHWAIT*, ubi sup. p. 377.

* *Etat. de Morocc.* p. 105, & seq.

† *Ibid.* *ibid.* & al. sup. citat.
 ‡ *Ibid.* p. 160, to 281, &

Emperor's
navy incon-
siderable, for
want of ports,
timber, and
tackle.

THE navy of this empire hath been always inconsiderable; neither is the number of their ships fixed, but rises or sinks according to the present emergency. In *St. Olan's* time it consisted of no more than twelve sail, one half of which belonged to the emperor, and the other to private subjects; most of them in bad plight, carrying at the most 18 or 20 cannon, and about 200 men, poorly armed and accoutred^g. In Mr. *Braithwait's* time their whole naval force consisted only of two ships of 20 guns each, the biggest not above 200 tons, a *French* brigantine they had lately taken, and a few row vessels; and yet with these, well filled with men, they sailed out of *Sallee* and *Mamora*, and made a great number of prizes. And it is a constant maxim with them, if they find, in a ship of a nation with whom they are at peace, a man of a different nation, to make a lawful prize of her. And it is a singular happiness for Christian traders that the *Morocco* dominions do not afford one tolerable good harbour; that of *Sallee*, which is by far the best, being almost dry at low water: besides a very inconvenient bar, of which we have already taken notice (C), which prevents ships of any burthen from entering^h; for if they had better ports, it might be an inducement to them to make a greater figure at sea, and become a greater annoyance. Another want they labour under, besides that of timber trees for building of ships, is that of tackle to rigg them with, and with which, as well as powder and shot, they are furnished by *England* and *Holland*. And such is their prowess at sea, that, about 34 years ago, a single small *English* frigate of 20 guns, with an active commander, by taking some of their ships, and running others on shore, had struck such terror among them, that the name of captain *Delgarro*, like that of other formidable warriors, was used by the *Mamora* and *Sallee* women to still their peevish childrenⁱ. And, if so, what might not six ships of the like force do, were they stationed at *Gibraltar*, and kept in such readiness, that there might be always two clean upon their coasts, and off their harbours, to be relieved by two others who should successively take their stations; by which means they might always have our ships in their sight? Might not this prove the most effectual method to frighten that rapacious and barbarian court into better manners, and more equitable terms?

Strange work
made among
them by cap-
tain Delgar-
ro.

Land forces,
how levied
and main-
tained.

THE land forces would, indeed, make a much greater figure, were they not dispersed in small numbers throughout this large empire, or were they better disciplined and accoutred than they mostly are. We have already hinted, that the greatest part of their renegadoes are forced to lift amongst the foot, and sent to distant parts to garrison castles and forts on the frontiers. Their pay is only 20 Blankits, that is 40 pence, *per* month, and a small allowance of flour. However they are commanded by an *Alcaide* of their own, that is, one who is a renegado, and hath but a small allowance. Those whom our author saw at *Fez* were drunken profligate fellows, half-naked and half-starved^k. The *Moors* are not much better paid, or equipped; but the choicest troops, both of horse and foot, are the negroes, who, being brought here from *Guiney* very young, and trained up for the army, commonly make the best soldiers, and are most relied on, as having signalized themselves upon several occasions, particularly at the sieges of *Oran* and *Ceuta*, of which we shall speak in the sequel. These are computed to amount in all, horse and foot, to about 40,000, and the *Moors* pretty near as many (D). He might, indeed, easily increase that number in a war against the Christians,

^g ST. OLAN, *etat de Morocco*, p. 14. ^h See before, p. 157, & BRAITHWAIT, p. 343. ⁱ BRAITHWAIT, p. 343. *Hist. of Morocco*. ^k Idem, *ubi sup.* p. 349.

(C) This bar, joined to the shallowness of the harbour, hath induced the late Mr. *Braithwait* to propose a method whereby it might be intirely stopped up, as well as that of *Mamora*, and both rendered unfit for any service; which would very much distress their trade, and humble that proud and faithless people (4). The misfortune is, that the Christian powers are diverted from exerting their art and strength against those piratical nations, lest their suppression should prove an overbalancing advantage to any other state but their own. And it is chiefly owing to this narrow piece of policy that the late *Muley Ismael* was suffered, with a couple of ships, of twenty guns each, and a few row-barks, to keep the streights mouth locked up, as well as the liberty they have ever since, till very lately, enjoyed, of carrying on their piratical trade with such success, to the great detriment of the *European* commerce, and of reducing some thousands of Christians to the most miserable state of slavery.

(D) These forces, however, are neither raised, paid, nor armed, at his expence, but, upon any concerted expedition, are sent to him by the *Alcaides*, every one of which is to furnish his particular quota, according to the extent or capacity of his government; every town and village under him being obliged to maintain a proportionable number to their bigness, to be ready to march, upon the first warning, ready armed; of whom those who are picked out to serve in the horse are furnished with horses, which they are obliged to maintain, as well as themselves, out of the allowance they receive from their town or village, and both horse and foot are thereby exempted from taxes during the war. They only oblige the married to serve, and let the unmarried, and those who have no settled home, go free. In urgent exigencies, they can press a greater number of the former than the usual quota, and take two out of three brothers; but these generally come armed with only a sword, or lance, and some of them only with a staff (5).

(4) *Braithwait, ubi sup.* p. 343. *seq. Davity, & al. sup. citat.*

(5) *St. Olan, ubi sup.* p. 113, & *seq. Braithwait, ubi sup.* p. 350, &

- a wherein they come more voluntarily, than when it happens to be against any of the *Mokāmedian* princes. But how to arm one quarter of them would be very difficult, his armory being *Arsenal poorly furnished* scarcely sufficient to furnish above 10,000 with firelocks and scymitars, besides 150 pieces of cannon, part of which were taken in the *Spanish Capitana*, and the rest were brought from the fortrefs of *Larrach*, when the *Spaniards* were driven out of it: all which are there laid up, as well as his treasure, for the use of that son whom he designs for his successor, against any of his contending brethren, or any other competitor. For he that can make himself master of these two repositories, is, in a great measure, sure to gain the crown¹; which being neither wholly elective nor hereditary, commonly falls to the share of the strongest and best provided with those two main sinews of war, especially if he hath had the address to make himself beloved or esteemed by the negroes, who, as was hinted before, are the sole guards of the king's person, palace, treasure, wives, concubines, and whole family, and who have the government of the most considerable provinces and cities in the empire, next to the princes of the blood^m.
- b

THERE is little or no foreign commerce here, but what is carried on either by the *Jews* or *Christians*. The *Moors* neither understand it, nor have any trading vessels of their own; so that the whole navigation is carried on by *European* ships, but chiefly *English* and *French*. But the want of convenient harbours on the one hand, and the exorbitant duties laid on all imports and exports, to say nothing of many other frauds and exactions, with which the foreign merchants are oppressed, is such an obstruction to it, that it is not the fourth part so extensive as it would otherwise be.

c THE chief exports are copper, tin, wool, hides, honey, wax, dates, raisins, almonds, olives, indigo, gum-arabic, sandric, cordovans, ostrich feathers, elephants teeth, and fine mats; as for corn, none is suffered to be exported, that being expressly forbidden by their *Koran*, though the *Tunisians* and *Algerines* usually dispense with it.

THE usual imports are cloths, linen, lead, iron in bars, hard-ware, arms, bullets, and gun-powder; all which paid a duty of 10, but now only 8, *per cent.*ⁿ; besides which, the ships trading to these dominions pay one barrel of gun-powder for entrance, with twelve for lading and anchorage, and twelve more to the captain of the port. But vessels sailing to or from *Gibraltar* pay but half of that duty, by a former indulgence, granted by the late *Muley Ishmael*, who had a particular regard for the *English* above all other *Europeans*. *English* and *French* consulage is eight dollars; and every *French* and *Spanish* ship pays three more to the hospital, or convent, of *Spanish* friars, founded there for the benefit of Christian slaves. It is a politic maxim among the *Moors* of this empire, and might be universally observed every-where, to trade with any ship that comes into their ports, though belonging to a state at war with them, and trade with them for all such commodities as they have occasion for. They will even permit their consuls and merchants to live with them in the same security as if they were at peace with them^o.

d

BUT they have another which is as detrimental as that is beneficial; *viz.* to cheat all the strangers they can, both in weight and measure, particularly in their silver coin, which, besides its wear, is commonly clipped or lessened by the *Jews*; so that, if a man doth not carry a pair of scales to weigh, as well as a good pair of eyes to examine, what he receives, he is sure to be cheated.

BUT besides their commerce by sea, they carry on a very considerable one by land by their caravans, which set out twice a year from *Fez* to *Mecca* and *Medina*, and carry variety of their woollen manufactures, some of which are exceedingly fine and beautiful, besides cochineal, indigo, ostrich feathers, and *Morocco* skins; in return for which they bring silks, muslins, and variety of drugs^p (E). They likewise send large caravans into *Guiney*, consisting of many thousand camels, which the length of the way, and the difficulty of the passage, through deserts void of provisions and water, render absolutely necessary, every other camel being loaded with those necessaries. The others carry thither salt, cowries, woollen and silk manufactures, oil, &c. which they exchange with the negroes for gold dust, ivory, ostrich feathers, and negro slaves^q.

f

¹ ST. OLAN, *ibid.* p. 117, & seq. ^m BRAITHWAIT, *ubi sup.* ST. OLAN, *ibid.* ⁿ ST. OLAN, p. 140, & seq. BRAITHWAIT *Hist of Morocco*, p. 356. MOUQUET, *ibid.* c. 15, & al. ^o *Ibid.* *ibid.* ^p *Ibid.* *ibid.* ^q BRAITHWAIT, *ibid.* p. 358. *Hist. of Barbary.*

(E) This branch of trade from *Mecca* might be easily put a stop to by *England*, by our transporting silks from *Turkey* to *Barbary* by sea; and the emperor would most probably encourage it, for the sake of the duty of 10 *per cent.* on goods imported on *English* bottoms, as it would

likewise prevent many of his subjects going to *Mecca*, where the *Turkish* government, which is much milder than his, invites many of those traders to settle themselves, as under the least tyranny of the two (6).

Coin of three
sorts.

Clipped and
debased by the
Jews.

Gold coin.

Learning
much ne-
glected.

Confined to
reading and
writing.

Much ad-
dicted to astro-
logy.

Schools.

Martial disci-
pline defective.

THE coin of this empire is of three sorts ; the lowest of which, called a Fluce, is a small piece of copper, somewhat less than our farthing, twenty of which make a Blankit, another small coin of silver, of the value of about two-pence *English*. This last, for want of being milled, is so liable to be clipped by the *Jews*, and, being most in use, grows so very thin, that, if one does not take care to weigh them, one is sure to be a loser by them. For though both *Jews* and *Moors* will strive hard to put them off; yet, if they be light, they will refuse to take them, except by weight, in order to be melted again. For those *Jews* are both melters and coiners, and get considerably by both. They likewise exchange good money for bad ; for which, besides the payment of the difference, they extort an extravagant premium. This makes it very troublesome and chargeable in marketing, because, if one of these pieces be but cracked, it will be refused ; and yet most large payments are made in that coin, gold being both scarce and kept up.

THE gold coin is the ducat, not unlike that of *Hungary*, worth about nine shillings sterling, three of which make a moidore, and are generally so changed. Merchants accounts are kept by ounces, each of which contains four Blankits, and four of which make a ducat account, or, as they style it, a Metical. But, in payments to the government, they will take no less than seventeen and a half for a gold ducat. These three last ounces and ducats, or Meticals, are imaginary. As for the three real species above-mentioned, the *Mohammedan* religion not permitting them to bear the prince's or any other effigy, they are only stamped with some *Arabic* characters. As for foreign coin, whether gold or silver, it is valued according to its weight, and as if it was to be melted ; and the *Jews* make a considerable profit not only in the exchange of it, but in filing, lessening, and even debasing it, which makes it dangerous to take any from them without the scales or the touchstone.

WE have already said something of their learning, in speaking of the university of *Fez* ; and all that we can add to it is, that it is in a great measure wholly confined to their priests and doctors of their law. As for the rest, they think themselves learned enough if they can but read, write, and cast accounts ; and even these are much neglected, even by their princes and nobles, many of whom, like the late emperor *Muley Ishmael*, can neither read nor write. Though this seems to be a degeneracy of no longer standing, perhaps, than since their falling under the subjection of the Sharifs, and quite opposite to the proverbial saying of theirs, *A horse, a woman, and a book* ; which expressed their three predominant inclinations. The two former of which they retain as much as ever, no nation being more expert and dexterous in all kinds of horsemanship, nor more addicted to women than they. But at present their appetite for learning, for which they were so famed heretofore (F), seems wholly extinguished among them in every respect, except, perhaps, in the great regard they still pay to their doctors and professors. They are likewise much addicted to astrology, and place great confidence in charms, magic, and other superstitious trash. They have no physicians except quacks, who deal much in simples, amulets, and other pretended conjurings. Their surgeons are not much better ; which gives the renegadoes an opportunity to set up for physicians and surgeons, when they can pretend to nothing better.

THEY have regular schools in all their cities and towns, and teach children to read, write, and cast accounts ; and all the books they are taught are some short catechisms of their faith, and last of all the *Koran*. And when a boy hath once gone through this last, he is handsomely dressed, and set upon a horse and led in triumph through the city by the rest of the school-boys. The children never receive any chastisement, either at school or at home, but on the soles of their feet, with a small rod or flat rule. All other punishments of them, especially some in use amongst us, are abhorred by them.

THEIR martial skill and discipline, notwithstanding their continual wars at home and abroad, and the care which the late Sharifs have taken to breed their negro troops to arms from their

* See before, p. 155. * BRAITHWAIT, p. 346, & seq. & 351. ST. OLAN, p. 81. Hist. of Morocco, p. 362, & al. * Ibid. ibid.

(F) We have formerly shewn, that these countries, barbarous as they were called by the *Romans*, were not without their arts and sciences, at the time they were conquered by them (7). Since which, both the *Moors* and *Arabians*, especially the latter, have rendered them still more considerable by the branches of learning they cultivated among them, such as philosophy, astronomy, physic, history, &c. as well as by the many learned authors they have produced, such as *Abu'lfaragius*, *Algabal*, *Albumazar*, *Maimonides*, *Abu'lfagar*, *Avicenna*,

Averrhoes, and a great many others, whom we have had occasion to mention through the course of this Modern History (8). So that this great decay of learning among them can hardly be ascribed to any other cause than to the many long and dreadful wars, vicissitudes, and devastations, they have since undergone, and to the tyrannical government they still groan under. Those very causes having every-where, and in all ages, produced the same effects (9).

(7) See *Ant. Hist.* vol. vii. p. 152, & seq. (8) See before, vol. v. pass. may, *Marmol*, *Davity*, *Braithwait*, *St. Olan*, &c.

(9) *Leo Africanus*, *Sanut*, *Gram-*

- a infancy, is still amazingly rude and imperfect in every respect, excepting, perhaps, their dexterity in riding and horsemanship; and even in this they rather shew an unusual agility than any military skill, their horses being now rather remarkable for their docility and fleetness than for true martial exploits; and yet, in antient times, the *Mauritanian* cavalry was reckoned of all others the most formidable. The foot is still worse disciplined, and worse armed and accoutred. When they engage the enemy, their method is to place the horse on *Way of fighting.* the two wings, and the foot in the center, which extends itself in the form of a crescent; and, where the ground will allow it, never consists of above two ranks, which are the more easily broke by the horse, whenever these can come to attack them, because the foot have neither discipline nor order to prevent their breaking in upon them; and what is still worse.
- b stand in such dread of them, that 500 foot will be put to flight by 50 horsemen. They make but a poor figure at best, either in marching, encamping, or fighting; and the only mark of courage they shew, is when they are going to engage the enemy; at which time they begin the onset with a loud shouting, which is followed with some short ejaculatory prayer for victory. The cavalry which is nearest to the emperor, and chiefly consists of negroes, is armed *Arms.* with guns, pistols, and scymitars; and that which is farthest from him only with muskets and lances. The infantry is variously armed, some with guns, others with bows, slings, short pikes, clubs, and broad-swords. With these weapons they engage the enemy, especially Christians, rather with a kind of enthusiastic fury than like a well-disciplined army; but if they meet with a brave opposition, or an unexpected repulse, they are the more easily put to the rout; and when so, are with great difficulty rallied again, if at all, especially if the enemy be of the same religion with them; in which case, they usually engage them with an ill-will, and will fight no longer when they think themselves in danger of being killed, or when they can see a way of saving themselves by flight ^w. As to the *Arabs*, or *Berebers*, they are seldom *Arabs furnish the army.* called in as auxiliaries, because, being under a kind of forced subjection, they cannot be safely trusted by either side; but what is required of them is, that they furnish the emperor's troops with provisions of corn, barley, meat, butter, oil, honey, &c. under pain of military execution, where-ever they encamp. They are very numerous, and for the most part brave and stout, and fond of liberty, and would soon shake off the irksome yoke, if they were not kept under by oppressive taxes, and the want of good arms. But as they are all of the *Mohammedan* religion, the Sharifs, when at war with any Christian powers, will venture to oblige them to send a certain quota to fight under their banner; at which time they will furnish them with fire and other arms, and even with horses; all which they strip them of again, as soon as the campaign is over, before they are suffered to return to their own homes ^x.

WE have already hinted that the established religion throughout this empire, both among *Moors* and *Arabs*, is that of *Mohammed*, of which, and its four principal sects, a full account hath been given in a former volume ^y. These are strict followers of that of *Melech*, whose extravagant and superstitious doctrines they have adopted, and without the belief of which they think a *Mohammedan* cannot be saved. We shall have further occasion to mention some of those strange tenets in a subsequent chapter, as they are still more strenuously held at *Algiers*, *Tunis*, *Tafilet*, and other parts of *Barbary*, where we shall speak more fully of them; all that we shall observe concerning them here is, that, of all others, those of *Morocco* and *Fez* are not only the most zealous sticklers for them, but have introduced several others, equally impertinent and ridiculous, and of which they are no less strict observers; such as sending on *Various superstitions.* certain days variety of victuals to be placed on the tombs of their deceased relations; their burying gold, silver, and jewels, and other conveniencies, with them, that they may live the more at their ease in the other world; the digging their graves narrow at the top and broad at the bottom, to give the deceased more room, and greater facility to gather up his bones at the resurrection: on which account, and to prevent any mixture or collusion, they never *Veneration for their dead.* inter two persons in one grave. They pay a great veneration to those sepulchres, embellish them with tomb-stones, cupolas, and other ornaments, and forbid all Christians, even ambassadors, to approach them. Every *Friday*, which is their sabbath, those sepulchres, which are commonly out of town, are crowded with men and women, in a blue dress, which is the colour for their mourning; but mostly by the latter, who are allowed to repair thither, to pay their tribute of tears and prayers for the dead; and by marabouts, who commonly have their cells in that neighbourhood, and, for a little money, join in their devotions with seeming zeal and fervency, this being a considerable branch of their trade. They all ply here with their beads in their hands, and repeat a certain number of passages out of the *Koran*, more or less, according to the generosity of their devotees ^z.

^w *Ibid. ubi sup. vid. ST. OLAN, p. 113, & seq. BRAITH. p. 350.* ^x *MARMOL, LEO AFRICANUS, GRAMMAY, DAPPER, & al. sup. citat.* ^y *See vol. i. p. 15, & alib. pass.* ^z *LEO, GRAMMAY, MARMOL, & al. sup. citat. vid. & ST. OLAN, p. 50, & seq. BRAITHWAIT, p. 364, & seq.*

*Hatred of all
Christians.*

THEY profess a more than common abhorrence against all Christians, and breed up their children to the same. The usual name they call them by is that of dogs; and they seldom make mention of any without tacking some hearty curse to it. The very ambassadors themselves are not exempt from their insults and curses as they go along the streets, and are often pelted with stones and dirt by the populace ^a.

*Strange re-
gard to Mecca
pilgrims;*

*extends even
to horses, &c.*

THEY not only pay a great veneration to their marabouts, an idle pack of priests, who live and thrive on the folly of the superstitious laity, as they do at *Algiers, Tunis, &c.* but to those who have made their pilgrimage to *Mecca*, whom they style Hedges, or saints, and allow them several considerable privileges. But what is still more singular, the very camels and horses that have been there are esteemed so holy, that they are exempted from future service, well fed and kept, and when they die are allowed the same kind of burial as they do to their nearest relations (G). ^b

*Absence from
their mosks
how punished.*

*Women ex-
cluded from
them.*

*Sepulchres
esteemed sanc-
tuaries.*

*Games of ha-
zard forbid-
den.*

*Their faith-
lessness how
palliated.*

*Wretched cha-
racter of the
court and
people.*

*Strict ob-
servers of lent.*

THEIR worship in their mosks is much the same as we have already described in other parts of the *Moslem* dominions. They enter them bare-footed, and behave with great decency and seeming devotion. If a man be convicted of having absented himself from them during eight days, he is, for the first fault, rendered incapable of being a witness in any court; is mulcted for the second, and burnt as a heretic for the third. As for the women, they being looked upon as only created for procreation, and apt to inspire men with impure thoughts at their devotions, they are not permitted to enter those places, but pray at home, or at the sepulchres lately mentioned ^b. They allow salvation for all, of what nation or religion soever, that die before they are fifteen years of age; but to none beyond it, unless to the *Moslems* of their own sect. And those females of other religions that die virgins under the age above-mentioned, are reserved to make up the compliment of seventy females which every male will be intitled to in paradise. They reckon ideots, madmen, and pretended forcerers and charm-mongers, among their saints of the first class, and build chapels to them after their deaths, which are visited with great devotion; and those places, as well as the sepulchres of their Hedges, or *Mecca* pilgrims, whether men, camels, or horses, are allowed sanctuaries for all crimes, except treason ^c. The *Koran* forbidding all games of hazard, that prohibition is so strictly observed in these dominions, that the people of all ranks content themselves with playing at chess, draughts, and other such like games, and express an utter abhorrence for cards, dice, &c. If any person hath lost his money at any game, and complains of it to the Kadi, he will order it immediately to be restored to him, and the winner to be bastinadoed or fined. The same punishment is assigned to all those that are caught playing at any chance game, or for any money, except a mere trifle by way of diversion. They suffer neither *Jews* nor Christians to enter into their mosks, or to have any carnal conversation with their women; and if any of them are found guilty of either, they must either turn *Mohammedans*, or be burned or impaled alive. They have one settled maxim among them, which is religiously observed by all, from the highest to the lowest; viz. not to keep faith with infidels; in consequence of which they make no conscience to lye, forswear, and violate the most solemn engagements. For which shameful practice one of their Talbes, or priests, did not scruple to give this reason to the *French* ambassador, that they would soon become slaves to the false religion and idolatry of the Christians, if they were, like them, as great ones to their engagements with them ^d. But whatever their motives be for it, one may safely affirm, that there is hardly a more rapacious or faithless court and ministry than that of *Morocco*, nor a more cheating and perfidious people than the subjects of that empire. They verify a proverb, current among them, that *given vinegar is sweeter than bought honey*. To close up this article of their religion, they are exact observers of the superstitious part of their law, beyond all other *Mohammedans* in *Barbary*, and especially of their *Ramadan*, or lent, which is kept with such strictness, that they will not, during that whole month, taste one drop of coffee, or a whiff of tobacco, from two hours before sun-rising till after it is quite set; much less will they touch any other victuals or refreshment. Their very children are so enured to the same abstinence, ^e ^f

^a BRATHWAIT, *ibid.*

Morocco, c. 1.

^b History of Barbary, p. 361. ST. OLAN, *ubi sup.* p. 49. MOUQUET State of

^c *Ibid.* *ibid.*

^d ST. OLAN, p. 51, & seq. MOUQUET, *ubi sup.* c. 1. BRAITHWAIT,

p. 362, & seq. History of Barbary, p. 362.

(G) These sanctified beasts are easily distinguished by the beads and other relics and ornaments about their necks, which are commonly some verses out of the *Koran*, upon parchment or paper, and sewn in a piece of rich silk or brocade. If their owners are not in a capacity of keeping them, they procure them a maintenance from the revenue of the mosk or parish they belong to; and there never want some devotees, who take a singular pleasure in visiting and feeding them.

We are told, that *Muley Ismael*, who was a very strict *Mohammedan*, in the first audience he gave the *French* ambassador, had one of those horses led before that he rode on. It was sumptuously clad, and, among other marks of distinction, had a young Christian slave to hold up his tail with one hand, and with the other a pot to receive his excrements, and a napkin to wipe him clean (10).

a that it becomes natural to them ; their very corfairs, though the basest villians under the sun, will keep this long fast on ship-board ; and if a renegado is found to neglect it, as they often do, he is punished with 100 or 200 bastinadoes on the soles of his feet. Strange infatuation this, to imagine that a regular repetition of praying, washing, fasting, &c. shall atone for the vilest frauds, oppressions, cruelty, perjury, and the most immoral and unnatural vices, and the violation of all moral rectitude and virtue ^c !

THEIR punishments are much the same as those we have already seen in other parts of *Barbary*, except with regard to such as flow from the arbitrary sentence of their monarchs ; such as sawing in sunder, either length or cross-wise, burning by slow fires, and others which they seem to delight in, but which are a shame and abhorrence to human nature ; especially considering how often the most cruel of them fall upon the innocent, and are the mere and sudden effects of jealousy, revenge, detraction, and often of drunkenness or disappointment. The renegadoes are here likewise punished with fire, but with some additional severity, they being stripped quite naked, and anointed all over with tallow, and having a chain fastened about their loins, are dragged from prison to the place of execution, and there burned. *Jews* who debase the coin, or wrong the king, and slaves that attempt to run away, are likewise punished with greater severity here than in any other parts of *Barbary*, though inhumanly enough every-where ^f.

THE dress, customs, marriages, burials, food, drink, baths, houses, &c. having nothing particularly worth notice, we shall refer our readers to the general account we shall give of them in a subsequent chapter. Only one custom we cannot pass by, which seems to be peculiar to them, is, that it is reckoned so shameful a thing for a man to make water in a standing posture, that those that are found guilty of it are excluded from being evidence in any trial. *A strange custom among the men ;*

Whether this be to prevent any drop of their urine from falling upon their cloaths, which is esteemed a legal defilement, or upon any other account, we cannot determine ; only we are assured by most writers that they are very careful to squat down, like the females, whenever they have occasion to empty their bladder ^e. The women have likewise a strange superstitious custom when in labour, which is, to send to the school for five little boys, four of whom *another among the women.* are employed in holding the four corners of a cloth, in each of which is an egg tied, and running with it through the streets, singing some prayers alternately ; upon which the *Moors* come out of their houses, with bottles or pitchers full of water, which they throw into the middle of the cloth ; by which means they expect to be more easily and quickly delivered.

THE language of this country is, without all peradventure, one of the most extensive in the whole world ; namely, the *Arabesk*, or modern *Arabic*, which is here spoken not only in towns and cities, but in all the villages, adowards, tents, and mountains, of this empire ; nay, those western *Barbary Moors* are understood all over the *Turkish* dominions ; the reason of which may be their frequent pilgrimages to *Mecca*, from this and other parts of *Barbary* ; by which means that language is so naturally kept up, that *Turks*, *Moors*, *Algerines*, *Tunisians*, *Tripolitans*, *Fezans*, and *Moroccans*, understand one another perfectly well ^h. What that language is, and what affinity it hath with the antient *Arabic*, *Hebrew*, and other eastern tongues, the reader may see in the history we have already given of the antient and modern *Arabic*, and in other learned authors quoted by us there ⁱ.

HITHERTO we have mentioned little relating to the religion, manners, &c. of the *Moors* *Some laudable of this empire ;* but that we may not be thought partial in exposing only the worst part of *customs among them.* them, we shall now, in justice to them, acquaint our readers with what we find to be most commendable among them. And first, they cannot be too much admired for the great regard they pay to the name of God ; that great abhorrence which they bear to the impious custom, so much in vogue among Christians, of swearing upon the most trivial subjects, which the greatest aggravated resentment cannot provoke them to ; much less to blasphemous and indecent expressions of him, not having so much as a word in their language to express *Aversion to swearing and fighting.* blasphemy by. Neither do they suffer their quarrels and contests with each other ever to transport them so far as to come to blows, much less to stab and murder one another, as is too common in ours and other Christian countries. They never kill but in war ; their religion allowing of no pardon for murder : and it is with the utmost reluctance that they engage in battle against those that are of their own religion.

THEIR respect and obedience to their parents, superiors, and even of a younger brother to an elder, is no less exemplary and praise-worthy ; before whom they neither dare to sit or speak without being bid. They are extremely jealous of the honour of their wives, and impatient of the least blemish or suspicion that is cast upon it. We likewise took notice, at the beginning of this section, of their extraordinary loyalty to their princes, even to the most brutish and abandoned of them ; and we may add to it here, their singular zeal and bravery

^c *Iidem* *ibid.*
368.

^f BRAITHWAIT, p. 366, & al. sup. citat.
^h BRAITH. p. 371.

ⁱ *Ant. Hist.* vol. vii. p. 255, & seq.

^e ST. OLAN, p. 53. BRAITH. p. 364—
^k BRAITH. *ubi* sup. p. 354.

in defence of their country, though the small property they enjoy in it one would hardly think a worth the tenth part of the trouble and hazard they go through to preserve it. They are moreover very moderate in their eating; and as for their drinking, wine and other intoxicating liquors are forbidden by their law. And though this prohibition is perhaps the least observed by them, many even of their great men indulging themselves in drinking them privately, yet in general those persons, of whatever rank, that abstain from them, and regale themselves only with such liquors as sherbet, coffee, and such sober beverage, are the most esteemed. And even in their licensed houses for wine, brandy, &c. if any *Mohammedan* is proved to have drank to excess of these, not only he, but the retailer, is severely punished, either by fine or bastinado, and the Kadi's officers come and stave all the vessels. They have indeed a much better succedaneum at hand upon such occasions; viz. their opium, which, b moderately used, hath all the invigorating, cheering, and healing qualities of the noblest wines, without any of their pernicious effects.

THEIR visits are commonly short, lasting no longer than the business which occasions them requires; and the visited only treats his visitor with coffee or sherbet, and a pipe of tobacco, unless on particular occasions. The women have their particular apartments, where they receive their female visitors, and from which the husbands are excluded. We have already mentioned their forbidding of all games of chance, or playing at any other, except for a regale of coffee, sherbet, or other such small refreshment. But what must they think of our suffering men and women of all ranks, ages, and conditions, to murder their time, waste their fortunes, ruin their families, neglect their own and the public welfare, in those very c games which are moreover rendered more dishonourable and destructive, by the base and scandalous abuses that are suffered to reign impunely, at almost all those places of resort? Lastly, when any person is convicted in any of these states of *Barbary* of a capital crime, he is conducted to the place of execution by two or three officers, without any retinue, or any other crowd of spectators, than a few unruly boys. But what must they think, were they to see the crowds and tumults that attend our most common executions, to see so many myriads neglect their own affairs, hire seats on scaffolds, raised at an extraordinary charge, run the risk of breaking their limbs or necks, to behold some uncommon criminal put to death, and, with as much avidity as they would behold a coronation, triumphant cavalcade, or magnificent spectacle, behold, at their ease, the distresses, dying agonies, and destruction, of an unfor- d tunate person, whom either his crimes, misfortunes, or perhaps his enemies, have brought to an untimely end¹?

WITH respect to the policy of the government, they have one maxim, which we have lately hinted at, and which several eminent civilians have wished was universally observed; which is, that though they are at war with almost all the Christians, except the *English*, and even when they have been at war with us, they nevertheless permit our consuls and merchants to reside in their ports unmolested, and will trade with any vessel that comes bound to their ports, of what nation soever, for what commodities they stand in need of, and suffer every trader to live with them in as much security as in time of peace. It is, indeed, the emperor's interest to suffer his subjects to carry on a piratical war with as many Christian nations as they e can, because it brings him a considerable income, without putting him to any charge to fit out ships; for besides the tenth of all the cargoes of the prizes, he hath, as we hinted before, all the captives to himself; which still adds to his wealth, as well as to his grandeur, by the excessive price he puts upon their ransom, and the profit he makes of their labour, without allowing them any thing but a small pittance of bread and oil. But as the foreign commerce is likewise a considerable branch of his revenue, it is no bad policy in him to preserve and encourage it for the sake of the large duty which he lays on all imports and exports; especially as this last is a great promoter of the inland trade, by caravans, all which help to increase his revenue; whilst the subjects of Christian princes, though at war with him, find their account in making use of this liberty and encouragement of trading thus unmolested in his dominions. f

Another political maxim which the emperors of *Morocco* are obliged to observe, is, at any rate, to keep in friendship with the states of *Tunis*, *Tripoli*, and *Algiers*, but more particularly with the latter, not only as the most powerful and warlike, as they have formerly found to their cost, as will be seen more fully in their history, but as being their strongest barrier against the *Ottoman Porte*, and, on the other hand, screen them from any suspicion from that jealous court. The necessity of this policy will be best understood from their history, which we are now going to give.

¹ De his, vid. MARMOL, DAVITY, DAPPER, ST. OLAN, BRAITH. History of Barbary, &c.

S E C T. III.

The history of the Sharifs, or Emperors, of Morocco.

- a** THIS empire, as well as the rest of the states of *Barbary*, having continued about four centuries under the *Roman* yoke, from their first conquest by *J. Cæsar*, to the declension of the *Roman* empire ^a, fell immediately under that of the *Goths*, who, as we have formerly seen, crossed over from *Spain*, and made an easy conquest of all those provinces, whose inhabitants rather chose to submit to them than make their captivity harder by fighting for their old oppressors ^b. This new government lasted only till about the year 600, when the *Saracens*, a nation no less furious than the *Vandals*, tyrannized over them in their turn, till they were driven out by the *Arabians*, who, besides their natural ferocity, burning with a fiery zeal to propagate their *Mohammedism* every-where by force of arms, over-ran this whole country among the rest ^c, and obliged them to submit themselves to their religion, as well as government. By their quick success Christianity was banished out of *Africa*, which, from that fatal epocha, took a quite different face, and was divided into variety of kingdoms under divers princes, who governed their new subjects with wisdom and mildness; yet, by their frequent dissensions and hostilities against each other, caused those strange alterations and incidents of which we have already spoken in some former chapters ^d, and raised at length the family of the *Almoravides* to the sovereignty ^e. *Yusef*, the second monarch of that line, was the person who built the city of *Morocco*, and conquered the kingdom of *Fez*, and the *Moorish* dominions in *Spain*; all which, together with the sovereignty, were lost by his grandson *Albo Hali*, the same who caused the works of *Avicenna* to be compiled by a set of *Arabian* doctors, in the form we now see them. This prince having been defeated and killed in *Spain*, the crown passed to the *Mohadids*, or *Almohedes*, by the defeat and tragical end of his son *Abraham*. It had not continued in it above three generations before *Mohammed*, the son of *Al Mansur*, a prince no less worthy of the crown than his father, lost the famous battle of *Sierra Morena*, in which 200,000 of his *Moors* were slain, which caused likewise the loss of several *Spanish* conquests, which *Alphonso X.* retook from him immediately after.
- b** MOHAMMED died soon after, and left several sons, whose mutual feuds ended in a bloody war, during which the viceroys of *Fez*, *Tunis*, and *Tremecen*, found means to shake off the yoke, and strengthen themselves so well in their respective governments, that none of his descendants could afterwards reduce them. One of the princes of the royal blood of *Tremecen* having put to death *Cezed*, al. *Ceyed*, one of *Mohammed's* grandsons, and defeated all the *Almohedes*, gave his government a kind of new form, and settled himself at the head of it: soon after which *Abd'allah*, of the family of the *Merini*, having made himself master of the kingdom of *Morocco* and of that of *Fez*, intailed these two crowns on his own family. Some of his successors, having chosen the latter for their royal residence, contented themselves with sending their viceroys to the former; who, by their cruel extortions, almost unpeopled that great metropolis. These *Merini*, or *Beni-merini*, having been outed in their turn by the *Oatazes*, or, as they are called by others, *Beni Oatazes*; who, by their ill conduct and government, joined to the wars which *Don Manuel* king of *Portugal* had been successfully waging against the *Moors* for a considerable number of years (A), gave a long wished-for handle to the old Sharif *Hafsen* and his sons to drive them from the throne, and by the most unheard of artifices, dissimulation, and treachery, to make themselves masters of it; and these are they who have kept themselves upon it ever since ^e.

^a See Ant. Hist. vol. v. p. 165. vol. vii. p. 157, & seq. ^b See before vol. v. p. 705, & seq. ^c Ibid. p. 661, & seq. & alib. ^d Ibid. p. 661, & before, p. 128, & seq. ^e A. C. 1068. ^f GRAMMAY, l. ix. c. 1, & seq. MARMOL, l. ii. pass. DIEG. de TORRES, Relat. de los Xerifes, MOUQUET, BOULET, Empire des Cherifs, Paris, 1733. Hist. Barbary, Lond. 1750. p. 319, & seq.

(A) That prince was at this time possessed of most of the strong ports of this empire, both on the *Mediterranean* and *Atlantic* ocean; viz. *Ceuta*, *Tangier*, *Arzilla*, *Alcassarzeguer*, *Azamora*, *Mazagan*, *Saffi*, *Cape Aguer*, and the castle of *Erguen*; in all which he kept very strong garrisons both of horse and foot, and a sufficient quantity of cannon, and other warlike stores. He kept, besides his Christian troops, about 16,000 horse, and near 200,000 foot in his pay, who were either *Berber*s or *Arabs*, and natural enemies to the *Moors*; by which

means he had kept them in continual awe, and gained many signal victories over them: whilst these, being daily weakened by intestine wars, gave him an opportunity of becoming more and more powerful; and he was actually by this time become by far the most formidable prince in all *Barbary*. This was the distracted state of the country, when the Sharifs above-mentioned laid the first plan with their politic father for bringing it under their yoke (1).

(1) Grammay, lib. ix. c. 1, & seq. Marmol, Afric. c. ult. Diego de Torres original de los Xerifes. Histoire de l'empire des Cherifs, & al.

THIS is the sum and substance of the revolutions which have happened in this part of *Barbary*, from the expulsion of the *Vandals* out of *Afric*, to the time in which the *Sharifs* began to lay the foundation of this new empire; an attempt so deeply laid, and so strenuously as well as successfully pursued, that a curious reader will hardly think it inconsistent with our designed brevity to be acquainted with their original, and the various means which those consummate politicians made use of to accomplish it.

Of the empire
of Morocco,
founded by
Hascen, and
his three sons.

HASCEN, or, as others call him, *Hassan* and *Hassen*, who pretended to be of the race of the *Sharifs*, a title affected by the descendants of *Mohammed*, was a native of the city of *Tigummedet*, in the province of *Dhara*, and first projector of this plan, had already acquired such a reputation for wisdom, learning, and sanctity, whilst this country was torn in pieces by intestine jars, and a bloody war against the *Portuguese*, that he was looked upon as the oracle of his time. He had three sons grown up to manhood, viz. *Abdelquibir*, *Hammed*, and *Mohammed*, whom, to raise to the same degree of esteem and confidence, he sent on a pilgrimage to *Mecca*; during which they behaved with such circumspection and seeming piety, that, upon their return, the people came in crowds to kiss the hem of their garments. Both *Hascen* and they pretended to strange ecstatic visions and revelations, and an extraordinary zeal for the *Mohammedan* law, and as such were looked upon as sent by heaven to be the defenders of it. The two youngest of them the old *Sharif*, who moved all this scene as it were behind the curtain, sent to *Mohammed Dalaz* king of *Fez*, where they so far insinuated themselves with that credulous prince, that he immediately raised *Hammed*, the elder of the two, to the professor's chair, and intrusted the youngest with the education of his sons; soon after which they as easily obtained from him the government of the provinces of *Sus*, *Morocco*, *Hea*, *Tremecen*, and *Ducata*. His brother *Muley Nacer*, a person of much deeper discernment than he, and who could better penetrate into their sinister views, tried, indeed, by all proper means, to alarm him against putting so great a confidence in these two artful hypocrites, rather than in his own tried peers and officers. All his judicious representations proved in vain, and the two brothers hastened their departure to the province of *Ducata*, in the kingdom of *Morocco*, where they had a good number of friends; and where, without having ever made any trial of their martial genius, they attempted at once the siege of *Saffi*, then in the hands of, and strongly guarded by, the *Portuguese*. Finding the place too strong for them, they proceeded to the cape *Aguer*, in the kingdom of *Sus*, where they made some successful inroads against the *Portuguese*, in that and some other provinces; by which means, as well as by their affected sanctity and zeal against those enemies of their law, and the strict discipline they maintained among their troops, they gained so far the esteem and confidence of the *Moors*, that when they were just upon the point of disbanding their troops, for want of proper remittances from the court, the people immediately agreed to pay them the tenths of all their income, to help to maintain them. Among others, the inhabitants of *Tarudant* and *Fedji* signalized their attachment to them, by chusing old *Hascen*, their father, for their chief, and assigning him a regiment of 500 horse, with a proportionable stipend, to enable him to defend them from the frequent incursions of the *Arabs*, by whom these and other cities were greatly impoverished, and in some measure unpeopled. In the first of these places *Mohammed*, the most active and enterprising of all his sons, having built the fortress of *Saragza*, and obtained a new commission and supply, led his forces against the city of *Mezoar*, whose inhabitants had sided with the *Portuguese*, and made himself master soon after both of that and the whole province of *Dhara*, then in their possession. These successes raised their reputation to such a height, that not only the king of *Fez* and his subjects, but all the *Moors* in general, congratulated themselves upon it, and began to entertain the greatest prospects from three such successful, wise, and zealous warriors. *Muley Nacer* alone, who penetrated through their perfidious views, was the only one who secretly bewailed the evils which he was unable to prevent; whilst those consummate hypocrites, under pretence of assisting the other provinces against the Christians, made themselves masters, in a short time, of those of *Hea*, *Ducata*, and *Tremecen*: the city of *Tednett*, capital of *Hea*, was the only one that ventured to oppose them, but was quickly forced to submit; and, being the place which the traitor *Mohammed* had pitched upon for his residence, he immediately caused it to be well fortified, built himself a sumptuous palace in it, and took upon himself the title of prince of *Hea*.

Two of them
grow power-
ful at Fez.

The king's bro-
ther opposes
them in vain.

The people
maintain their
troops.

Sharif Mo-
hammed's suc-
cess.

They gain se-
veral pro-
vinces.

Mohammed
defeated by the
Portuguese,
&c.

In the mean while the continual inroads which he made against the *Berebers* and *Arabs* in the *Portuguese* service, obliged *Yajay Ben Taful*, one of their tributary princes, to call in *Nugno Fernandes*, governor of *Safi*, to his assistance; and these two having formed a small army of 400 *Spanish* horse, 3000 *Moors*, and 8000 *Arabs*, of foot, marched directly to *Tednett*, in hopes to surprize that place. But *Mohammed* had timely intelligence of their coming; and trusting more to his fortune than his forces, went out to meet them at the head of 4000 horse; and was scarcely got three miles out of the city, before he saw the enemy's vanguard

^f MARMOL, l. ii. c. ult. & auct. sup. citat.

- a commanded by *Fujay*, who, without waiting for the rest, fell immediately upon him, and put his troops to flight, and him after them. Being thus unexpectedly repulsed, and not daring to return into *Tednett* for fear of being besieged in it, he saw himself obliged to abandon that city to his pursuers, who immediately entered it; but found that the inhabitants, who were wholly devoted to *Sharif Mohammed*, had also forsaken it, and had betaken themselves to the adjacent mountains; and, having with ease reduced all the adjacent country, returned to their respective homes. They had not been gone long before *Mohammed*, in order to repair his *Retakes Ted-* loss, sent for his brother *Hammed*, who joined him at the head of a powerful army: and nett. these two, taking the advantage of an uproar that had been raised in *Tednett*, easily got possession of it again.
- b To this high pitch of power and reputation were the Sharifs grown up, when *Hascen* their A. D. 1516. father died; about which time the *Portuguese* were besieging the city of *Anega*; upon which the three brothers, his sons, marched with a powerful succour to its relief. A bloody fight *Old Hascen dies.* ensued, in which *Abdelquibir*, the eldest of them, but the least active and warlike, was slain; but *Mohammed* and *Hammed* gained the victory, and took *Lopez Barriga*, the *Portuguese* Mohammed commander, prisoner, and with him a good number of other officers of the same nation. *defeats the Portuguese.* Some years after this, they formed the design of making themselves masters of the city of *Morocco*, which, with only a small territory about it, belonged to a prince of *Cyd Heneti*, named *Nazer Buxentuf*; and, to avoid the length and uncertainty of a siege, agreed, if possible, to win the place by treachery. *Buxentuf* was easily captivated by their flattery and Takes Mo- vast promises, and received them into it with all the marks of honour. They soon insinuated rocco. themselves into the esteem and confidence of the inhabitants, by the same artful treachery; and no sooner found them firmly devoted to them, than they got *Buxentuf* to be poisoned at Treachery to a hunting match, without being in the least suspected of it. *Hammed* found no difficulty to Buxentuf. get himself proclaimed king in his stead by the inhabitants, in prejudice to the deceased's children; upon whom he, however, to avoid all suspicion, bestowed some considerable lands and governments in the remote provinces. But not thinking himself yet sufficiently strong to pull off the mask, he thought fit to send a sumptuous embassy to the king of *Fez*, accom- king of Fez. panied with vast presents, and the assurances of an intire submission, and a yearly tribute; which met with a ready acceptance from that weak prince^e.
- d It was not long, however, before an opportunity offered itself to the two brothers, which at once enabled them to take off the disguise, and to render themselves more powerful than ever. Two considerable *Adouars* of the *Arabs*, in the province of *Ducata*, were at war with each other, and both had applied to them for assistance, and received a promise from them. Treachery to the Arabs. *Hammed* and *Mohammed* marched accordingly out of *Morocco* at the head of a powerful army; at the sight of which the two *Arabian* chiefs fell furiously on each other, in full confidence that the Sharifs were come to succour them; but, to their great surprize, instead of assisting either side, they saw them stand only as unconcerned spectators, till, their forces on both sides being nearly exhausted, they immediately rushed upon them, and cut all the remainder in pieces; and, seizing upon all their arms, horses, and warlike stores, returned to *Morocco* in a kind of triumph. Immediately after this open piece of treachery, *Hammed*, resolving to give Hammed's to the *Fezian* monarch to understand that he did not design to continue his tribute and submission the king of any longer, contented himself with sending him twelve of the very worst horses and camels Fez. he had lately gained (B), together with some plausible excuses for it; by which that monarch began to be sensible of his own weakness when it was too late. He expressed his resentment in some severe menaces, which he sent to him; but his treacherous vassal, who knew that this was all he could do against him, regarded them accordingly. *Mohammed Oataz* died soon Who dies of after of grief, as it is supposed, and was succeeded by his son *Hammed Oataz*; who, having grief. been educated under *Mohammed*, the youngest of the three Sharifs, whether he retained any real regard for him on that account, or, which is more probable, for want of sufficient power to punish
- e the perfidy of his elder brother, let him know, that he would be contented with a small yearly tribute from him. This ill-timed condescension easily convinced *Hammed* that he had A. D. 1529. nothing to fear from that side; however, to prevent coming to an open rupture with him, Treachery to he sent him word, that, being descended from their great prophet, it was neither lawful nor Oataz. honourable to pay tribute to any prince whatever; and that, if he thought fit to treat him

^e GRAMMAY, MARMOL, & al. ubi sup.

(B) The tribute which *Hammed* had engaged to pay to that monarch, ever since he was become master of *Morocco*, was the fifth part of all the horses, camels, prisoners, arms, and ammunition, that he took in war (2); so that the sending upon this occasion, where he had

carried off such a vast plunder of all sorts, only six lean camels, and as many horses, could hardly be designed as any other than an avowed insult on that generous, tho' weak monarch; but which the treacherous Sharif knew was out of his power to revenge.

(2) *Marmol, lib. ii. cap. ult.*

as a friend, he would always preserve a grateful remembrance of the favours which he had received from his father and him; but that, if he went about to obstruct him in the wars which he was waging against the Christians, he could expect nothing less than some grievous punishment from God and his prophet, for his impiety; and that, as for himself, he neither wanted courage nor strength to repel force by force ^a.

Hammed
siles himself
king of Sus.

Oataz repulsed
before Mo-
rocco.

Defeated by
Mohammed;

who gains an
immense plun-
der.

Oataz repelled
in Sus.

A. D. 1536.
Mohammed
makes himself
master of
Aguer.

ALL this while his brother *Mohammed*, whom he had made governor of the kingdom of *Sus*, had been fortifying and embellishing the city of *Tarudant*, the metropolis of it: but having lately made an unfortunate attempt against the *Portuguese* at *Capo Aguer*, which had obliged him to abandon *Tarudant*, the king of *Fez*, provoked at the insolence and success of the two brothers, resolved to lay siege to their capital of *Morocco*; but being stoutly repulsed by the garrison, was forced as shamefully to raise it; of which *Hammed* having timely notice, pursued him with such speed, that he cut the greatest part of his rear in pieces, and obliged the province of *Escure* to pay him the tribute which they were wont to pay to the *Fezian* kings. He did the same by several other provinces, whilst *Oataz* was employed in quelling a rebellion a brother of his had raised against him; which he had no sooner done, than he raised a more powerful army than his first was, with full resolution to exterminate, if possible, the two Sharifs and their forces, and marched at the head of them to the banks of the *River of the Negroes*, near the town of *Buacaba*, where the enemy was already posted. Here the two armies met; and though that of the *Fezians* was by much the stronger, yet they continued three whole days, one on one side the river, and the other on the other, without any hostile motion. At length *Oataz*, having given the command of his vanguard to his son *Mohammed*, who had under him *Abdala Zoboibi*, the refugee king of *Granada*, who had been driven out of his dominions by the *Spaniards*, and that of the main army to his brother-in-law *Muley Dris*, or *Idris*, and reserved to himself that of the rear, which consisted of the noblest and bravest persons of his kingdom, *Zoboibi* immediately crossed the river, and stood firm with his troops, to facilitate the coming over of the cavalry. The two Sharifs, who had divided their forces into two bodies, thought it a proper time to fall upon him; which they did with such fury, that they drove him back into the river, poured whole showers of arrows and musquet-shot upon them, and the rest of the king's forces, who, being thus intangled with each other, could neither come over nor fight. The king, who beheld this from the opposite shore at the head of the rear, did what he could to encourage them; but not being able to prevent their betaking themselves to a shameful flight, was forced to flee after them, leaving all his cannon, tents, baggage, and wives, behind. His son and the *Granadan* king lost their lives; and the victorious Sharifs, marching across a branch of mount *Atlas*, with all their immense booty, went and besieged *Taflet* with the artillery they had taken from the *Fezian* monarch, and in a few days made themselves masters of that capital, and its large territory: from thence they spread their conquest over all those mountainous parts, and obliged the inhabitants to become their tributaries; by which they prevented that unfortunate prince receiving any farther assistance from those parts. This obliged him, both by way of reprisal, and in order to support the shattered remains of his army, to send them in two bodies to raise contributions in the province of *Sus*: but here also they were repelled by the superior forces of *Mohammed*.

THIS last, flushed with his success, resolved soon after to take the strong fortrefs of *Aguer*, situate on the cape of its name ⁱ, which was kept by a strong *Portuguese* garrison; and, after a stout defence on both sides, made himself master of it, but lost 16,000 men before it; in revenge of which he put the whole garrison to the sword, except the brave *Mont Roy*, the governor of it, to whom he gave a kind reception, rather on account of his beautiful daughter *Donna Mencia*, than of his valour or merit (C).

THE reduction of this place soon injected a terror among all the *Moors* and *Arabs* of those parts; insomuch, that those that were in alliance or under tribute to the king of *Portugal* came over to the conqueror; and that prince, finding that the towns which he held on the

^a Ibidem ibid.

ⁱ See before, p. 125.

(C) This young lady, no less admirable for her virtue than her beauty, having rejected, with scorn, all the caresses and offers of the enamoured *Mohammed*, and even his promise of marriage to her, was just upon the point to be delivered up to the brutish lust of his *Moors* by the exasperated conqueror. The horror of such a dreadful doom soon determined her to capitulate, and to consent to the marriage, upon condition that she should be allowed the free exercise of her religion, and be regarded as his lawful wife.

Mohammed made no scruple to consent to these conditions, and married her accordingly. But his other wives, exasperated at the preference which he shewed to the young *Portuguese* lady above them, found means to poison her in her first pregnancy: soon after which, to shew his grief and tender regard for her, he restored her father to his liberty, and sent him home laden with presents (3).

(3) *D. de Torres, Relat. de los Xerifes, lib. i. Boulet, Hist. des Cherifs, ibid. Marmol, lib. ii. c. ult.*

a *Atlantic*, cost him more to keep than they were worth, ordered them to be forthwith dismantled and abandoned. By this means our young Sharif easily became master of *Saffi*, *Arzilla*, *Azamor*, and *Alcassar-ceguir*; after which he made no longer scruple to take the royal title and ensigns, and to reckon himself as more than on a level with his brother *Hammed*, whom he now exceeded as much in power, as he had all along in valour and policy. This behaviour failed not to cause a most dangerous rupture between them; which, in spite of all the remonstrances of *Cid Arrabal*, an *Alfaki* of great sense and probity (D), ended in an open war¹.

Hammed takes Saffi, Arzilla, &c. takes the title of king. A grievous rupture betwixt the two brothers.

MOHAMMED, however, wisely forbore all kind of hostilities, till he was attacked by his brother; and till then contented himself with apprising the great officers of his army of *Hammed's* treachery and ingratitude; and giving them such an account of his own actions and behaviour, as he knew would most effectually incline them to his side; and, putting his hand to his beard, assured them, that they should see, in a few days, that haughty and perfidious *Hammed* vanquished and made his prisoner.

ACCORDINGLY, having sent part of his army before, under the command of one of his best officers, to secure a pass on the south side of mount *Atlas*, leading from *Tarudant* to *Morocco*, *Hammed*, who had been apprised of it, marched his army on the opposite side. He had given the command of his vanguard to *Muley Nacer*, his second son; who, being overtaken in a narrow defile by *Harran* the son of *Mohammed*, a prince already experienced in war, a bloody skirmish soon ensued, which was followed by an engagement of both armies, in which that of *Hammed* was defeated, with the loss of 8000 men, and himself and *Bubanzen*, another of his sons, were taken prisoners, as he had foretold. Upon this overthrow, *Muley Zidan*, another of his sons, who had happily escaped, and thrown himself, with the small remains of his army, into the city of *Morocco*, proposed at first, in a kind of despair, to apply to *Charles V.* for assistance; but was dissuaded from it by his friends, as such a step would have rendered him odious to all the *Africans*; and might, perhaps, engage them to join all their forces against him. At length, by the strenuous interposition of his own daughter, who was then married to prince *Harran*, *Mohammed's* eldest son, and of some of the greatest men on both sides, a partition treaty was concluded between the two brothers, in which it was agreed, that *Mohammed* should possess the kingdom of *Sus*, and all provinces on the south side of mount *Atlas*, together with *Numidia* and *Libya*, and be paid one half of the vast treasure, which *Hascen*, their father, had left to them; and that *Harran*, his eldest son, should be declared heir to both kingdoms, and after him *Muley Zidan*, according to their father's last will. *Hammed*, being set at liberty in virtue of this treaty, had no sooner reached his capital of *Morocco*, than he absolutely refused to ratify it, as prejudicial to his eldest son, and began to make great preparations for renewing the war. *Mohammed* did not give him time to do it, but marched directly with his army towards *Morocco*, and was met by his brother's forces at *Quehera*, about seven or eight miles short of that capital. Both armies engaged with unusual fierceness; but whilst that of *Hammed* was employed in disengaging the royal standard, which had accidentally intangled itself in a thicket, *Mohammed* charged them with such surprising speed, that he put them to the rout, and pursued them all the remainder of that day, and the following night, and found himself on the next morning within sight of *Morocco*. He immediately summoned it to surrender, and a report to be spread, that *Hammed* had been killed at the last action; upon hearing of which, *Gibani*, who was left governor of it, afraid to incur the displeasure of the conqueror, delivered it up to him, together with all the garrison, arms, treasury, and seraglio, of his brother. *Mohammed*, upon this occasion, shewed an extraordinary moderation, and forbore laying his hands either on his treasury, or on the effects of the inhabitants; but this did not hinder the fearful *Hammed* from mistrusting him; and, instead of endeavouring to treat with him, he sent his two sons to the king of *Fez*, to beg his assistance against his brother. *Oataz*, who thought this a fair opportunity to recover some of his lost provinces, readily engaged to send him a powerful succour, with all possible expedition; but *Mohammed*, who foresaw how prejudicial such an alliance might prove to them both, chose rather to persuade him to come to a new composition, and easily brought him to agree to break off his alliance with the *Fezian* king.

Hammed and his sons taken prisoners.

They are reconciled.

Hammed refuses to stand to the treaty; A. D. 1543.

defeated, and taken prisoner.

Morocco surrenders to Mohammed.

A new treaty concluded between him and his brother.

¹ GRAMMAY, MARMOL, & al. ubi sup.

(D) This brave officer, who was a sincere friend to them both, having represented to them the imminent detriment which this rupture would infallibly bring to their common interest, as well as to that of their religion, had so far succeeded, as to bring the two parties to an interview. But, upon their first mutual embracing, *Hammed*, the strongest of the two, taking fast hold of

him, threw him flat upon the ground. *Mohammed*, no less nimble and active than his brother was strong, soon recovered himself; and, having upbraided him of his perfidy, in the severest terms, went away full of anger and resentment; and with a full resolution never more to be reconciled to him, but to let the fortune of war decide the difference between them (4).

IN this second interview, which was under a large pavilion, where *Mohammed* was seated a on a stately throne, the vanquished *Hammed* was conducted by his two nephews, and stood some time before his brother, in a kind of gloomy mournful silence, to give him an opportunity to break it first. *Mohammed*, after a short demur, taking him by the hand, caused him to sit down by him, and made him a most pathetic speech, intermixed with severe reproaches, and brotherly affection; wherein he told him, among other things, that he must blame his own unnatural perfidy to a faithful and affectionate brother, if Providence had now delivered him up to the mercy of the man whom he had lately treated as a mortal enemy, and would, if he had got him into his power, have used with the utmost cruelty. “But,” added he, “though I have great reason to be offended at your ungrateful behaviour; yet I cannot forbear looking upon you as my brother, as well as my prisoner, and as such am willing to give you an opportunity of repairing the injuries you have done me, and retrieving your honour and royalty. Restore but to me your brotherly affection and confidence, and I will promise to restore to you your own dominions, and with them my zeal and allegiance; and will be content to obey you in the quality of your grand vazier. One thing only I must beg of you, that you will retire with your whole household for some time to the province of *Taffilet*, that I may acquit myself of my promise to the inhabitants of your metropolis, and free them from the dread they are in of your extreme resentment, for having so easily opened their gates to me. As for the wrong you complain to be done to your children, in yielding the succession of the kingdom to mine, according to our father’s last will, you may assure yourself, that, as soon as you and I join forces, and act in concert together for the interest of our religion, we shall not want for new conquests sufficient to make up that loss to them; and that I shall make it my chief glory, to give them fresh opportunities of displaying their merit, and advancing their fortune.” *Hammed* seemed deeply affected with this speech; and only answered it by some feigned excuses on his past behaviour, and promises of a more conformable one for the future; and, on the next morning, departed with his retinue and family to the kingdom of *Taffilet* ^m. *Mohammed*, having thus far succeeded in all his views, began now to think on some pretence for declaring war against the king of *Fez*, whom he looked upon as not only an enemy, but as an eclipser of his glory, on account of his boasted long series of royal ancestors. He therefore sent to demand of him the restitution of the province of *Tedla*, which belonged to the kingdom of *Morocco*, of which he was now possessed; and had no sooner received his absolute denial, than he raised a powerful force, and laid siege to the castle on the frontiers of *Fez*, but was quickly forced to raise it; partly by the bravery of *Onzar*, who commanded it, and partly on account of the approach of the *Fezian* army; who, with *Oataz* at their head, were in full march against him. It consisted of 30,000 men, among whom were the chief nobility of his kingdom, *Velles* and *Dubdu*; besides some *Arabian* Cheyks at the head of their troops; 800 *Turks*, commanded by a *Persian*; and 1000 archers on horseback, who came and joined the body of his army.

MOHAMMED’s army consisted of 18,000 choice troops, and 1200 archers; nevertheless, trusting partly to his own good fortune, and partly to the inconstancy of the *Arabs* and *Fezians*, marched by slow journies towards him; and had the pleasure to hear, from day to day, that the *Fezian* army continued to decrease, either by the desertion of his own subjects, or the retreat of some of his allies. This obliged that prince to engage him as soon as he could; which *Mohammed* perceiving, only reminded his troops of the great consequence of this present action; which, if crowned with victory, would infallibly open a way to them for the reduction of all *Barbary*; and, as he was leading them to the onset, he farther assured them, that not a man of them should fall, except a negro; and that the king of *Fez* would be taken prisoner; all which, he told them, he knew by his skill in the magic art. The two armies met; and *Mohammed*, having given express orders to his, not to stir till the signal was given, *Oataz* gave the same to his own; but the former only waited till the hot sun, which shone too full against them, was declined far enough to do the same to the enemy; and then gave the signal for the onset. Both sides engaged with equal ardor, till *Mohammed*’s center, where he commanded, opening to the right and left, discovered a battery of cannon, which he had concealed there behind the ranks; which, as soon as it began to play, spread such an universal panic among the *Fezians*, that they betook themselves to flight. The king himself was hurried away by his own officers after them; but in his flight had the misfortune, wounded as he already was, to fall off his horse, and to be taken prisoner, and brought bound to *Mohammed*. The first interview of those two rivals having something singular in it, we shall content ourselves with giving our readers the substance of it in the margin (E), to avoid interrupting the main thread of the history.

AFTER

^m MARMOL, GRAMMAY, & al. sup. citat.

(E) As soon as *Mohammed* saw the unfortunate *Oataz* brought prisoner before him, he addressed himself to him in words to this effect: “Tho’ fortune hath now made you my prisoner, yet the remembrance that I was once your

a AFTER this victory, *Mohammed*, by the consent of his royal prisoner, marched his army directly to *Fez*, where they both supposed the inhabitants would readily yield him the province of *Mequinez*, as a ransom for their king. They were got within two leagues of that metropolis, when they received news, that the *Fezians*, to whom *Muley Nacer*, one of the king's sons, had fled immediately after the battle, had raised him to the crown, on condition that he should surrender it to his father, as soon as he had regained his liberty. *Oataz* thereupon sent his son orders, that *Mequinez* should be surrendered to the Sharif, as the only ransom he would accept of; to whom *Nacer* answered, that he was ready to comply with it; but required a longer time to dispose the council, and others concerned in it, to an agreement. This he did only to gain time, till he could make himself master of the *Honguy*; and, by that means, hinder the Sharif's retreat, himself designing to surprise his camp in the night. *Mohammed*, who had notice of his design time enough to prevent it, marched, with the utmost speed and fury, quite to the walls of the capital; where, having seized upon 200 burghers, who were walking along the walls of it without suspicion or fear, he caused them to be strangled in his sight. Then, taking his two royal prisoners with him, he caused them to be led in chains to *Morocco*; and sent his two sons *Harran* and *Abdel Cader*, with a powerful army, to ravage all the territories about *Fez*.

Mohammed's cruelty to the Fezians.

MULEY NACER, wisely foreseeing that the longer he delayed his father's ransom, the more difficulty he should find to content an enemy, who daily gained ground of him, fell immediately on a negotiation with his two sons, and soon after put them in possession of *Mequinez*; but their father, who pretended to know nothing of this new treaty, absolutely refused to ratify it, unless *Oataz* engaged to surrender the city of *Fez* to him, whenever he should think fit to demand it of him; to which harsh article the unfortunate monarch was forced to agree, though it gave his enemy a specious pretence of renewing the war against him, whenever he pleased. *Oataz*, having upon these hard terms obtained his liberty, returned directly to his own capital, where his sons, upon his arrival, readily surrendered the crown to him.

Oataz ransomed on hard terms;

A. D. 1549.

" your tutor inclines me rather to give you, as I was wont formerly to do, some useful lessons, rather of tendernefs than resentment. You cannot, indeed, be blamed for any thing, but the neglect of punishing a great variety of atrocious crimes, which your subjects impunely commit in your metropolis, once so famed for religion and learning, but now the sink of impiety and every kind of vice. But since it is so, that you had not the courage to make use of the authority which God had intrusted you with, to suppress these enormities; if you see yourself now deprived of all your royalty, do not imagine me to be the author of it, but think rather, that it is God himself, who hath fought on my side against you; and that your defeat is wholly his own work.

" Great kings are seldom able to see truth, but thro' mists and clouds, or to receive the wholesome counsels that are given to them, till some misfortunes oblige them to open their eyes. It is, therefore, to render you more obedient to his voice, that he hath brought you to this low estate; and now enjoins you, by my mouth, to restore religion, arts and sciences, to their antient splendor; by punishing those who are enemies to them, and whom you have hitherto tolerated within your own dominions. As for me, do not think that I will take any advantage of your present ill fortune; for, tho' I have just cause to resent the assistance which you offered to my brother against me, yet I know as well how to forgive, as to revenge, an injury, when I have just cause to do it. Be therefore of good courage, and depend upon it, that it will not be long ere you are restored to your dominions."

Thus far the subtle Sharif, whom *Oataz* heard with as much patience, as the excessive heat of the day, the smart of his wounds, and the insolence of the speaker, would permit him. But, as soon as he had the liberty to speak, he made him a most noble reply, in terms to this effect. " Tho' few victors make so moderate a use of their victory as you do, yet I can hardly believe that you took up arms against me merely to give me this lesson. However, since you give it me as a matter, I will receive it rather as a disciple than a prisoner;

" and, in hopes that my answer may prove as useful to you, as you think your advice is to me, I shall readily own, that many abuses and irregularities may be introduced in a state which it is not in the power of a monarch to foresee, or redress. But, granting that those you charge me with were ever so great and enormous, and entirely owing to my neglect of suppressing them, doth it belong to such a man as you to take the punishment of my misconduct upon yourself? You, whom my father, at my request, had raised from the vile employment of a schoolmaster, to the height of credit and fortune to which you are arrived, upon the ruins of our family? Is it for you, upon whom I have heaped the greatest favours, to repay me now with the blackest ingratitude; and this, under the specious cloak of virtue and religion? But to avoid saying any thing, that may expose the unparalleled dissimulation you are so great a master of, to those that hear us, be persuaded rather, that Providence hath now delivered me up into your power, to try what use you will make of your victory, and whether, after you have violated the most solemn treaties, and broke the most sacred ties of allegiance and gratitude, your heart can be capable of relenting. And, since you have gone so far to make me sensible of my duty, let us now see how well you can perform your own; and whether you can perceive how far the inconstancy of fortune hath made us stand in need of each other. As for your complaint of my assisting your brother against you, I disdain to justify an action so laudable in itself; and which ought only to make you sensible, how ready I should have been to have done the same by you, had you been in his case." This answer, severe and mortifying as it was, was received by the artful Sharif with a smiling countenance. But, to avoid all further replies on either side, he ordered the king, out of a pretended regard to his wounds, to be conducted into a stately tent next to his own; where he had the mortification to hear, that *Abn' Onzar*, to whom he had committed the government of the fortrefs of *Fixtela*, was come to deliver the keys of it to his competitor (5).

(5) *D. de Torres, Marmol, Boulet, ubi sup.*

Lays siege to Fez.

MOHAMMED had no sooner taken possession of the country of *Mequinez*, than he came back to demand the surrender of the city of *Fez*, according to the late treaty; to which *Oataz*, in the utmost perplexity, answered, that it was out of his power to oblige the inhabitants, scarcely recovered out of their fright, at the dreadful slaughter he had lately made of them, to open their gates, or suffer him to enter into their city; upon which refusal, the impatient Sharif ordered his two sons to join him with a powerful army, and came and incamped before the place^a.

Hammed sends a succour to it.

In the mean time his brother *Hammed*, having broke his promise a second time, had sent a powerful succour to the *Fezian* king, under the command of his eldest son *Muley Zidan*. The two armies met, and a long and desperate engagement ensued; in which, though neither party could claim the victory, yet *Zidan* gave such marks of his valour and conduct, that the *Fezian* king began to look upon him as the chief prop of his crown. But this unfortunately raised such a spirit of jealousy between his own sons and that brave young hero, that he retired soon after, in great discontent, to *Taffilet*, where his father still resided. This did not hinder *Mohammed* from carrying on the siege of *Fez*; and though it advanced so slowly, that he had already lain near two years before it, yet was he not discouraged from pursuing it with a surprising assiduity. At length the inhabitants, quite exhausted and tired with the length of it, as well as the want of victuals, found means to treat privately with the Sharif; and, on some advantageous considerations, agreed to deliver up the old city to him. The king, who was in the new city, and had some intelligence, or at least suspicion, of this treacherous negotiation, ordered his general, named *Bubanzon*, to make a sally, with his cavalry, and endeavour to surprise the besiegers camp in the night; but the *Fezians* immediately acquainted the Sharif with it; who caused two ambushes to be laid so closely for him, that he was repulsed with great loss; and with only twelve of his men recovered the city, whilst the rest made the best of their way towards *Velez*.^b

The inhabitants betray it to Mohammed.

At length *Mohammed*, having made himself sure of the inhabitants, approached nearer to the walls, and caused a breach to be made, at which he entered sword in hand, and was received with demonstrations of joy by the treacherous citizens, before the king, who was still in *New Fez*, had any notice of it. He came out, however, time enough to stop his progress; and might, in all likelihood, have repulsed him, if his troops had had no other enemy than he. But, whilst both sides were hotly engaged in the streets, one side crying out, Long live the Sharif, and the other, Long live the *Merini*, at length a new outcry was heard above the rest, Long live the man that gives us bread; upon which, men and women got up to the top of the houses, and threw such volleys of stones on the king's forces, as obliged him and them to retire to the new city; upon which *Mohammed* returned to his camp. *Bubanzon*, seeing the enemy master of *Old Fez*, advised the king to fly with him to *Velez*, and try to obtain some succour from the Christian princes, who were now highly concerned to put a stop to the Sharif's career; but as that could not be done, without abandoning his mother, wife, and family, to the mercy of an exasperated enemy, he rather chose to send *Lela Mahabib*, the old queen, in the guise of a suppliant to him, to obtain, by her prayers and tears, the best conditions she could for herself and her unfortunate son; or, at least, that he might assign him such a maintenance as was suitable to his dignity, and in such a part of his new dominions, as he should think fit. The tyrant at last agreed to it, upon condition that her son abandoned the city to him, and departed out of it, with his whole family, within three days; which being complied with, he ordered the king to *Morocco*, and his two sons to *Tarudant*; threw a strong garrison into the city, and, having taken possession of the royal palace, obliged the king's daughter to marry him; which was done with great solemnity, in order to make himself some colour of a title to that great metropolis, and to the greatest part of the *Fezian* kingdom, which he was now possessed of.^c

A bloody skirmish between Oataz and him.

Oataz forced to sue for a maintenance.

Mohammed grants it, and sends him to Morocco.

Sends his brother to the desert of Zahara.

Tremecen surrendered to his sons. Harran dies at Fez.

HE was no sooner settled in that capital, than he sent orders to his brother *Hammed* to leave *Taffilet*, and retire to *Tagoret*, or the country of *Taguira*, in the desert of *Zahara*; who, to regain, if possible, his confidence, sent him his four sons as hostages. But *Mohammed* sent him back the two eldest, with the same orders, and married the other two to two of his own daughters; and, having thus so far put it out of his power to hurt him, ordered his own son *Abderram*, or *Habdarraman*, to take the government of *Taffilet*, in *Hammed's* room. Not long after *Mohammed* sent his three other sons *Harran*, *Abdelcader*, and *Abdalla*, to take the city of *Tremecen*, which surrendered to them almost upon the first summons. *Harran* gave the government of it to *Abdalla*, intending to surprise that of *Oran*; but was taken ill before he could come near the place, returned to *Fez*, and died there. This we may look upon as the beginning of his misfortunes, as he had been so surprisingly successful hitherto, as well as his sons who had fought under him; but was now bereaved of that whom he designed^d

^a Idem ibid.

^c GRAMMAY, MARMOL, D. TORRES, & al. ubi sup.

- a for his successor, not only on account of his primogeniture, but much more of his conduct and bravery. Not long after his death, a rumour being spread that the *Algerines* were coming, with a powerful force, to retake the city of *Tremecen*, *Mohammed* sent his next son thither, with a strong reinforcement; and, at the same time, dispatched an express to *Habdarraman*, then at *Taphilet*, to join his brother with another body. This last obeyed; but a misunderstanding happening between them (F), the former suspecting nothing of the treachery of the latter, but depending upon his being bravely seconded by him, engaged the enemy with his usual valour; but, to his great surprize, *Habdarraman*, instead of coming to his assistance, stood only as an idle spectator, and saw him fight like a person who was resolved to conquer or die, till he was actually killed, and his brother *Abdalla* dangerously wounded in the arm. *Bahami*, Habdarraman's treachery to his brother;
- b the son of the brave *Abdelcader*, seeing his father and uncle in such imminent danger, went and inquired of *Habdarraman*, why he did not second them with his forces? but received no other answer from him, than a blow with his back-sword across his arm: upon which he went and complained of him to his grandfather; who, to punish his perfidy, caused him to be privately poisoned, as is supposed, for he died about a month after. By this time *Mohammed*, worn out with old age and the fatigues of war, and his late ill success, and more with grief for the death of his two sons, had contracted such a strange moroseness, and brutish jealousy, that he caused the unhappy king of *Fez* and his son to be strangled, merely on suspicion that they had encouraged an insurrection in the province of *Derenderen*, tho' his own exactions and tyranny were the most probable causes of it; which made those brave mountaineers fight with such fury and intrepidity against his son *Abdalla*, that he could not, with all his forces, valour, or policy, reduce them to their obedience. The old Sharif, provoked that his son should meet with so many bloody repulses, resolved to march himself against them, but had no better success; and was forced to return, without any other achievement than plundering some few of their villages at the bottom of the mountain. The king of Fez, and his son, strangled by Mohammed.
- c In the mean time the sad catastrophe of the *Fezian* king had reached the ears of the noble *Bubanzon*; who, ever since that monarch had declined his advice of asking assistance from the Christian powers against the incroaching Sharifs, had retired to the Pennon of *Velez*. This old minister, who was himself of the royal blood, tried in vain to engage the emperor *Charles V.* and other Christian princes, to restore him to the *Fezian* crown, promising them to become tributary to them, and to deliver up the Pennon above-mentioned into their hands.
- d *Mohammed*, who was thoroughly acquainted with every step he took, was no less industrious in breaking all his measures, the last of which was a treaty he had made with the king of *Portugal*, which, instead of answering his sanguine hopes, served only to hasten his ruin. He returned to *Africa* with the small assistance which he had obtained from that monarch; and no sooner landed his forces at the port of *Albuzomas*, than he was forced to defend himself against the neighbouring inhabitants, who had taken up arms against him; and, which was still worse, whilst he was engaged against them, *Salba Rais*, governor of *Algiers* under Soltan *Soleyman*, attacked his forces at sea, towards sun-set, and continued fighting them all that night. On the next day, *Bubanzon* expostulated with him for falling thus upon him, whilst he was waging war against the Sharif, their common enemy; but was answered, that he was justly punished for begging help of the Christians, instead of applying to *Soleyman*, who had send *Sinan*, his admiral, with a powerful fleet, to fight against them, and was ready to restore him to his lost dominions. It is not improbable, that the *Algerine Rais* had some private instructions for what he did and said, either from *Zidan* or the *Porte*; however that be, it made such an impression on *Bubanzon*, that he was easily persuaded to join forces with him against the Christians; upon which they both together began to advance towards *Fez*, whilst the old Sharif was taken up in reducing the revolted *Derenderians*. As soon as he heard of the danger that threatened his capital, he made all the haste he could towards it at the head of his army; and, advancing towards *Tezan*, on the frontiers of *Tremecen*, continued there 50 whole days, expecting the *Algerine Rais*; who, on his side, was advancing by slow marches, in order to avoid his cavalry, which was sent to range along these roads, and gain an opportunity of increasing his forces as he went. But having one day fallen accidentally on *Mohammed's* rear Mohammed marches to secure Fez;
- f

P MARMOL, l. ii. cap. ult.

(F) *Abdelcader* and *Habdarraman*, who were born of different mothers, and always entertained an emulous jealousy against each other, which increased at this juncture, on the following occasion. The former, as being the elder of the two, and whose horse was already quite fatigued, desired of the latter to exchange 2000 of his, which were quite fresh, for an equal number of his own,

which he at first absolutely refused; but, at the desire of *Abdalla*, the other brother, agreed to it with some difficulty. He carried his resentment so far, however, that he would not be present at the battle; and, by thus sacrificing his brother to the enemy, became the just victim of his own perfidy (6).

(6) *Marmol, & al. ubi sup.*

defeated and forced into Fez. guard, commanded by his son *Abdalla*, a desperate fight ensued, in which the young Sharif ^a was totally routed, lost all his artillery and ammunition, and was forced to march night and day to reach the city of *Fez*. But *Salha Rais*, a few days after this defeat, encamping his army along the banks of the *Cebu*, or *Cebro*, soon obliged him to take the field again, to prevent the surrender of a city (G), in which he knew he had so few real friends, and his competitor so many ^q. *Mohammed* therefore was, much against his will, obliged to sally out against him, which he did only at the head of 8000 men; but suspecting the *Turkish* captain of his guard of holding an intelligence with *Salha Rais*, he caused his head to be cut off before he ventured farther; after which he sent the *Rais* word, that he came with full intent to engage him. His whole army consisted of 80,000 horse, 8000 of which he sent to oppose his passage over the river; but they were so briskly cannonaded from the other side, that they ^b were forced to retire, and shelter themselves behind a rising ground; upon which he immediately crossed the river; and, having cast up in haste a slight intrenchment, ordered his army to continue in arms all that night. On the next day both sides prepared for the engagement; in which the *Rais* at the first gained an advantageous post, which *Mohammed* had been possessed of, and which proved a kind of omen or prelude to his victory. The *Turks*, resenting the strangling of their captain, and seeing a body of renegadoes placed before them, lost all patience, threw down the Sharif's standard, and fell on the renegadoes and what other troops stood before them; whilst the *Fezian* troops, disconcerted at the fire of the enemy's artillery, betook themselves to flight; upon which all those, who were in prince *Bubanzon*'s interest, forsook the Sharif, and came over to him. *Mohammed* thereupon immediately ordered his ^c son *Abdalla* to go and force himself, if possible, into *Old Fez*; which he, with some difficulty, did; and, causing the artillery of the ramparts to fire upon the enemy, made the *Rais* suspect that the inhabitants were resolved to hold out against him. He complained bitterly of it to *Bubanzon*, who had assured him that they were all in his interest; upon which that prince, in a fury, took 500 *Janissaries* with him, broke one of the city gates open, and entered the place sword in hand, which obliged *Abdalla* to retire into *New Fez*, where his father was already got. They soon discovered how impossible it would be to hold it out against the victorious *Rais*; and being resolved to abandon it out of hand, *Mohammed* ordered his wives and household to get on horseback, and take with them their most valuable effects; and arming himself only with a sword and shield, hastened with them to a place of safety, whilst *Budcar*, ^d one of his captains, guarded the gate, to prevent his being pursued.

Salha Rais's treachery to Bubanzon. BUHANZON thought now of nothing but of being proclaimed king of *Fez*, and put in possession of the vast treasure which *Mohammed* had been forced to leave behind. But the treacherous *Rais*, under pretence of his being too great a favourite of the Christians; for whose help he had gone a begging so long, caused him to be thrown into a prison, set prince *Meroui* upon the throne, and seized upon the Sharif's treasure. This strange behaviour, joined to a report that he had murdered prince *Bubanzon*, raised such a tumult in the city, that he was obliged to produce him to the people, and settle him upon the throne; but, in revenge, sent a man after *Mohammed*, under pretence of treating with him about some female prisoners of distinction, but in reality to invite him to return, and to promise him his assistance. ^e Finding, however, that he was now too far engaged in another war to accept of his offer, he obliged the inhabitants to pay him a fine of an ounce of silver *per* head, and returned to *Algiers* laden with an immense spoil ^r.

Pennon of Velez and Mequinez taken. BUHANZON, being thus settled on the *Fezian* throne, sent his son *Mohammed* to demand the restitution of the Pennon of *Velez*, with which the Sharif's governor immediately complied. Neither was this the only place of consequence which that prince took from him; *Abdalla* being obliged to abandon *Mequinez*, to join his father, now engaged in a new war, that city fell immediately after into his possession.

Mohammed had at this time two enemies to struggle against under his present ill fortune; viz. *Bubanzon*, now on the *Fezian* throne; and, what grated him still more, his brother ^f *Hammed*; who being informed of all that had passed, and thinking it now a proper time to revenge himself of him, had found means to get out of his desert, and to make himself master of *Taphilet*. He lost no time in deliberating, but sent immediately his son *Abdalla*,

^q MARMOL, TORRES, BOULET, &c. ubi sup. ^r Ibid. ibid.

(G) The city of *Fez*, which, as we have shewn before (6), is situate upon the *Cebu*, hath, from time immemorial, enjoyed this singular privilege, that it can surrender itself to an enemy, as soon as they are advanced within half a mile of its walls, if the king doth not send another army, or is not strong enough to oppose them.

Every monarch, at his coronation, is obliged to ratify this privilege to the *Fezians*; which, it is supposed, was granted to them by some of its founders, who thought it unreasonable that so considerable a place should be lost, out of an ill-timed fidelity to a prince who was not in a condition to defend it (7).

(6) See before, p. 155, & seq.

(7) Marmol, D. de Torres, & al. ubi sup.

a at the head of a strong army, against the former, whilst he led another in person against the latter. His son no sooner advanced towards *Fez*, than *Bubanzon* sent his two sons, *Muley Nacer* and *Mohammed*, against him, at the head of a numerous host : but these two young princes, through an emulous jealousy, refusing to engage the Sharif jointly, *Mohammed* was rash enough to engage the enemy without him, in hopes of securing to himself the sole honour of the victory, and was quickly put to the rout : whilst *Nacer*, more cautious than he, chose rather to retire to *Fez*, than to hazard the loss of his forces by a second engagement, which he easily foresaw would only yield his antagonist the glory of a double victory. However, this did not discourage their father from making a fresh attempt ; who sallying out at the head of those very troops, before *Abdalla* could put his own in order of battle, fell so unexpectedly upon him, that he put him to a shameful flight, and pursued him to the very walls of *Morocco*. It happened luckily for the old Sharif, who then held his brother *Hammed* closely besieged in *Taphilet*, that he heard the news of his son's victory before he did that of his defeat and flight ; which gave him an opportunity to give out, that *Bubanzon*, after a total overthrow, had been obliged to refuge himself in the Pennon of *Velez*, whence he would be quickly dislodged, and sent a second time a begging for help from his old Christian friends. For this so alarmed *Hammed's* dread of his brother's resentment, that he immediately sent his two sons to implore his mercy ; and, upon his promise of it, surrendered himself into his hands, and was sent by him into a *Turkish* monastery, where he was ordered to be kept confined for the rest of his life. *Mohammed*, having thus easily recovered the city of *Taphilet*, left a strong garrison in it ; and taking his two nephews, *Nacer* and *Sidan*, with him, hastened with all speed towards *Fez* ; but, in his way, caused the two young princes to be butchered, to prevent their raising any commotions in favour of their father, or of themselves^a.

A. D.

1555.

A fatal jealousy between Bubanzon's two sons.

Abdalla put to flight by him.

Hammed sent into a convent.

Bubanzon defeated and killed.

In the mean time *Bubanzon*, flushed with his late victory, would not let him come too near his capital ; but went to meet him at some distance, fully resolved and prepared to give him battle. His son *Mohammed*, who commanded his van-guard, consisting of 9000 *Arabians*, made a great slaughter among that of the Sharif, who, coming speedily to their assistance, obliged him to retire. Upon which *Bubanzon*, who knew that his all depended on the success of this engagement, advanced with his other son *Muley Nacer*, and charged the enemy with no less conduct than bravery ; but having received a dangerous wound in his thigh, which had laid him flat on the ground, his troops, who supposed him to have been killed, betook themselves to flight ; *Nacer* was the only one who stood his ground for some time ; but finding himself overpowered, was at length forced, with a few straggling soldiers which he rallied, to betake himself to the adjacent mountains. He was quickly followed thither by his brother *Mohammed*, who seeing their father dead, had immediately retired into *Fez* ; but, fearing lest the inhabitants should betray him to the enemy, had abandoned the place, and fled to the mountains ; upon which *Mohammed* entered the city in triumph.

The two unfortunate princes found no better resource than to retire to *Mequinez*, and thence to *Sallee*, where embarking in an *European* merchantman, they were taken by a corsair, commanded by a renegado of *Bretany*, in full sight of the *Spanish* coasts. *Mohammed* stayed not long at *Fez*, being resolved to go and suppress the mountaineers of *Derenderen*, who had already given him so much trouble ; and, leaving *Abdalla* with a strong garrison in that metropolis, marched directly to *Morocco*, whence he sent a sufficient force against these revolvers ; and having in a great measure reduced them, and nothing now to apprehend from any side, he invited his brother *Hammed* and his whole family to his capital ; and then gave himself up to his old nuptial delights (H). He was again soon satiated with them ; and putting himself at the head of 12,000 *Turks*, of which his guard consisted, besides a great corps of cavalry, he marched directly from *Tarudant* to *Sus*, which proved the most unfortunate expedition he ever took.

His sons embarked, and are taken by a corsair.

By this time *Hascen*, or *Hassan*, the son of the celebrated pirate *Barbarossa*, the late tyrant of *Algiers* (of whom we shall speak more fully in a subsequent chapter) had succeeded him in that kingdom, and was in constant fear of being invaded by the old Sharif, and in no condition to make head against him, resolved, at any rate, to rid himself of so dreaded an enemy.

The Algerine governor hires a ruffian to assassinate the old Sharif.

^a *Iid. ibid.*

(H) The old Sharif, no less uxorious than warlike and ambitious, was accustomed to add every year a new wife to his old ones, and to indulge himself in dalliance with them, whenever fortune favoured him with a vacation from his martial toils. He had now, according to custom, cast his affections upon a beautiful young damsel at *Tarudant*, with whom he intended to solace himself,

being now free from any apprehension from his brother, whom he kept in some measure prisoner in his capital of *Morocco*. But whether his removing now to *Sus* was only designed as a journey of pleasure with his new bride, or, which is more probable from the escort that followed him, to quell some new revolt, our authors have not told us (8).

(8) *Marmol, D. de Torres, &c.*

Mohammed
removes from
Tarudant to
Sus ;

and in the way
is assassinated
by a Turk.

A. D.
1556.

The traitor
seizes on his
treasure,
wives, &c.

Is cut off, and
stript in his
flight.

A. D.
1557.

Mohammed
and his sons
murdered at
Morocco.

He had in his service a *Turk* of his own name, every way qualified for any base exploit; and this desperado he engages, by a large sum, and larger promises, to undertake to assassinate him at all adventures; and engaged to pay his surviving family a considerable pension, in case he perished in the attempt. Fraught with these hopes, the wretch hastens to *Fez*, where he pretended to *Abdalla* to have received some ill treatment from the *Algerine* governor. The young Sharif, who never looked upon the *Turks* but as a set of treacherous villains, without admitting him to his presence, bid him go to his father, who put greater confidence in them, and would readily take him under his protection. He was accordingly received by the old Sharif with singular favour; and in a little while made captain of his guard; which made so deep an impression upon the villainous assassin, that it was a long time before he could prevail upon himself to perpetrate the horrid deed on so generous a benefactor, or to contrive a way to execute it without suspicion or danger. At length, as they were on their march from *Tarudant* towards *Sus*, he discovered such a general murmuring and discontent among the *Turkish* guard, on account of their pay being withheld from them above a year, as left him no room to doubt of his easily engaging a sufficient number of them into his perfidious design, by the prospect of the Sharif's treasure, which he promised to share amongst them, and to secure them a safe retreat in *Tremecen*. The place they pitched upon for the execution of their plot was the *Streight of Bibona*, which crosses part of *Mount Atlas*. Mohammed was then sitting at his tent door in the cool of the evening, attended by a few guards, and a favourite renegado, where *Hascen* and his assassins presented themselves before him, as it were to pay their obedience to him, when the renegado, perceiving the foremost of them to draw their scymitars, cry'd out, Treason, and called to the Sharif to run for his life. He did so; but in his hasty flight fell upon his face; upon which *Hascen*, who was got close to him, cut him across the hand; and the rest falling upon him, pierced him through with their swords, and left him weltering in blood, with his *Portuguese* renegado, who had defended him to the last, expiring by his side. Such was the tragical end of that great warrior and wicked tyrant, who, under the specious cloak of religion, had raised himself to the summit of power and grandeur, by the blackest treason and basest ingratitude. *Hascen* had no sooner perpetrated the horrid deed, than he caused it to be proclaimed through the camp, that they had assassinated the tyrant; and without meeting with the least opposition either from those troops, or, which is still more surprising, from any of the Sharif's sons, seized upon his treasure, wives, and children; and promised his protection to as many of his forces as would come over to him. He thence marched to *Tarudant*, and made himself master of the town and castle, and all the treasure he found in them, the young Sharif, who commanded in it, being fled at his first approach. This young prince had some time caused a renegado *Jew* to be imprisoned for debt, or rather for having found him too dangerous and enterprising a fellow. Him *Hascen* soon released, and made him chief judge of the city; and he, in return for the favour, advised him to fortify himself in that place, till he had received the reinforcement which had been promised from the governor of *Algiers*; which, if he had done, might have greatly embarrassed the measures of the new Sharif. But whether this gave him a mistrust of his fidelity, or his guilt made him apprehend the arrival of some forces from *Morocco* and *Fez*, instead of following his advice, he suddenly abandoned the place, and, marching through all the most desert parts of the country, strove to reach the city of *Tremecen* with all his ill-gotten treasure. The *Jew*, on the other hand, to reingratiate himself with the new Sharif, and maintain himself in his new post, sent immediate notice of his flight to that son of his who had lately fled at his approach; upon which he got together all the *Arabs* and *Berebers* in that neighbourhood, and went at their head in pursuit of them with all imaginable speed. They were fortunate enough to overtake the traitor, and all his accomplices, and cut them all in pieces, except five, whom they took prisoners; and recovered all the treasures and young princes whom they had carried off, and brought them safe back to *Tarudant*. The first thing which the young Sharif did after his return, was to drive all that he suspected of disaffection out of that city; after which he readily surrendered it to *Abdalla*, as the immediate successor of Mohammed. In the mean time the news of the old Sharif's assassination having reached the city of *Morocco*, *Hali ben Budchar*, then grand vazier and governor of it, fearing lest any insurrection should be raised in favour of Sharif *Hammed*, whom his brother had left prisoner with him, caused him, and seven of his sons and grandsons, to be murdered, without *Abdalla's* orders or knowledge; so that these two rival brothers, who had so long contended for the empire, were cut off within a very short space of time from each other by a violent death, and left *Abdalla* in the quiet possession of it. We have dwelt the longer on the reign of that prince, as he was the founder of the new monarchy, in order to shew our readers by what means, and variety of events, he arrived at this excessive height of power and grandeur. Several of those that followed it, having little

a elle worth notice, but the bloody wars that happened between the competitors to the succession, and the oppression and misery beneath which their subjects groaned under each of them, we shall, for that reason, forbear to enlarge upon, till we come to that remarkable one of *Muley Ismael*, the first of this dynasty whose reign hath made any considerable figure in the history of that empire.

To return to that of *Abdalla*; the officious cruelty of *Budchar* on so many young princes, did not go long unpunished. Among those whom that prime minister caused to be cut off were two sons, whom *Zidan*, *Hammed*'s eldest son, had by *Meriam*, *Abdalla*'s beloved sister; at which that princess was so grievously affected, that her resentment soon furnished her with the most effectual means to ruin the murderer. She began with infusing some jealous fears *Their death se-*
b against that designing minister into her brother's mind, as if he had butchered those young *werely re-*
princes with no other view than to deprive his son, then a minor, of the succession, in order *venged.*
to raise his brother to the throne after his death. The Sharif being impatient to have some farther proof of it, she immediately devised a stratagem, which failed not to convince him of it. She took the opportunity of *Abdalla*'s sickness to debar every one from coming to see *Princess Mer-*
him. Among the rest, the vazier *Hali* was very frequent and importunate in his visits; but *riam's strata-*
being still denied access to him, and suspecting him to be really dead, he took the liberty to *gem against the*
tell her, that there was an absolute necessity of his being satisfied on that point, seeing every *grand vazier.*
thing was kept in such suspense, that no matter, how important soever, could be determined without it. The princess thinking it now a proper time to spring her mine, went in to her
c brother, and, with his consent, throwing a covering over his face, called in the prime minister, and told him the king was indeed dead; and asked him what was proper to be done in such a juncture. Upon which *Hali*, throwing off the disguise, told her boldly, that he thought the king's son by far too young to succeed his father; that the state required an intrepid governor, who was capable to hold the reins of it with his own hands, in order to quell the troubles that might arise, punish the crimes which *Abdalla* had connived at, and recompense the services which he had overlooked; that he could see none fitter to restore the peace of it than his brother: and that, notwithstanding his great obligations to the late king, he should be the very first who should oppose the succession of his son in favour of that prince. He was going on, when the king, no longer able to contain himself, uncovered his face,
d and, shaking the stick on which he leaned at him, asked him, whether it was thus that he requited the signal favours he had heaped upon him? adding to it the most severe reproaches and dreadful threatnings; insomuch that the vazier, confounded and terrified beyond measure, *Who runs*
ran home with all the speed he could; and having disguised himself in a woman's apparel, *away in a wo-*
made the same haste out of it. But while he was waiting under an olive tree for some horses, *man's dress.*
which he had ordered to be brought to him there, some huntsmen, who happened to ride by, taking him for some common prostitute, and pulling off his veil, presently knew him, and *Is caught, and*
brought him back to the palace in that disguise; where *Abdalla*, not yet recovered from the *loses his head.*
violence of his resentment, caused him to be beheaded upon the spot^u.

FROM this time *Abdalla*, growing more and more jealous and cruel, as well as more de- *Abdalla puts*
e bauched (I), removed from him every thing that might interrupt either his repose or his plea- *other princes*
sures, caused his nephew *Mohammed*, the son of *Abdelcader*, to whom he had given *Lela* *death.*
Sophia, his sister's daughter, in marriage, to be put to death, merely because his singular merit and valour made him too much beloved by the people. He continued committing the *His horrid*
most horrid cruelties on his ministers and subjects; and though he became thereby more hated *cruelties, de-*
and dreaded by all, yet he was happy enough to keep himself in quiet possession of his vast *baucheries,*
dominions, and at peace with all his neighbours. He began his reign in the year 1557, being *and death.*
then about forty years old, and died *anno* 1574, in the 17th year of his reign. He was possessed of the two *Mauritanias*, and a great part of *Numidia* (K); the former of which con-

^u MARMOL, D. DE TORRES, & al. ub. sup.

(I) *Abdalla* was excessively given to wine and women; and when he had once subdued his enemies around, and secured himself from any further attempts from his brother, he gave himself up intirely to drinking and debauchery. He was seldom sober, but most frequently drunk; and when so, indulged himself in the most flagrant acts of injustice, cruelty, and lewdness; insomuch that he scrupled not, among other modest women, whom he forced to submit to his brutish lusts, to debauch his own sister *Lela Meriam*, though he had above 200 wives and concubines in his seraglio. He was of a brown complexion, middle size, but fat and corpulent towards the latter part of his life, homely and unpolished (9).

(K) According to *Marmol*, who was there in his time, his dominions reached, north and south, from the *Streights of Gibraltar* to the frontier of *Benay Negroes*, on the furthest parts of the kingdom of *Sus*; and, east and west, from the *Atlantic Ocean* to the kingdom of *Tremecen*; which tract included the provinces we mentioned at the beginning of this chapter (10): to which we may add some other cantons which he held in *Numidia* and *Libya*, as far south as to *Tagaost*, which is reckoned eight days journey from the nearest frontiers of *Sus*, and to *Tegurarin* and *Tequia* on the confines of *Guiney*, countries which are inhabited by several warlike nations (11).

(9) *D de Torres, Boulet, &c.*

(10) See before, p. 146, & seq.

(11) *Marmol, lib. ii. c. ult.*

His dominions
and forces,
1574.

tained fourteen large provinces; among which those of *Sus* and *Dbura* furnished him yearly with 15,000 horse, the kingdom of *Morocco* with 25,000, and that of *Fez* 15,000, besides 5,000 more which belonged to his life-guard; the whole amounting to 60,000: he also kept a good number of harquebusiers, both of foot and horse, in his garrisons, particularly in the city of *Fez*, which he made his residence. The *Berebers* and *Arabs* were obliged not only to pay him a constant tribute of corn, barley, dates, and other product, but likewise a certain quota of forces, whom he only maintained during the war, and, after that was ended, dismissed them to their respective *Adowars*. He built several stately palaces at *Fez* and *Morocco*, together with some public buildings, particularly a spacious college, consisting of 400 halls, or schools, for teaching the *Koran*. His successors, who are still possessors of this large empire, have ever since trod in the same track of politics, and maintained the same maxims of arbitrary government, which *Mohammed* his father, as founder of that monarchy, had settled among them; except, perhaps, that all his successors, that have hitherto reigned, have exceeded him in their oppressions and extortions, cruelty and perfidy.

Muley Mo-
hammed,
1574.

ABDALLA was succeeded by *Muley Mohammed*, surnamed *the Negro*, because he was born of a negro woman; who had no sooner got possession of the crown, than he caused one, some say two, of his brothers to be seized and beheaded, and the third, who was still young, to be closely confined, and kept prisoner. But being himself dethroned by his uncle *Muley Moluch*, al. *Melech*, was forced to flee to *Sebastian* king of *Portugal*, who sailed into *Africa* with a powerful fleet and army; but being a prince of more courage than conduct, was defeated and killed at the famous battle of *Alcassar*: *Muley Mohammed* was likewise slain in it, or, as others say, was drowned in his cowardly flight in endeavouring to cross a river ^w.

Slain, 1578.

Muley Mo-
luch's victory
and death.

MULEY MOLUCH, or, as others call him, *Abdel Melech*, who fought against the *Portuguese* king at the battle, being then very ill of some grievous disease, was brought to the field of battle in his litter; and having tried, in spite of his illness, or rather of nature, to assist at it on horseback, was soon exhausted to such a degree, that he was forced to be brought back to his litter, where he expired almost as soon as he was seated in it ^x. Some say that his illness was caused by a dose of poison which a *Granadan Alcayde* had given him. However that be, he shewed to the last more concern for the victory than his life, commanding those about him to conceal his death, in order to save his troops; inasmuch that his brother *Muley Hammed* was so thunder-struck, when, coming to the side of the litter to speak with him, he found him quite breathless and cold, that he could not refrain himself from tears and grievous outcries, if they were not rather owing to the sudden joy he conceived ^y at the prospect of raising himself to the throne, as he actually did immediately after the battle; and was acknowledged by all the officers of his army, and soon after by the provinces of the empire. After this he put himself at the head of an army of 60,000 horse, and a great multitude of his tributary *Arabians*; and taking his eldest son *Muley Cheyk*, he made his four brothers that were with him, viz. *Bal Hascen*, *Bouffers*, *Sidan* or *Zidan*, *Axin* or *Haxyn*, together with all the *Alcaydes* and the whole army, take the usual oaths to him; and then proceeded to the conquest of the kingdoms of *Gago* and *Tombut*. He had already signalized himself by several victories, and almost reduced those kingdoms, when *Muley Nacer*, his nephew, and the son of *Muley Moluch*, returning from *Spain*, where he had been detained seventeen years, that is, ever since his father's death, being now flushed with the promise of a considerable assistance from *Philip II.* came over, and, having raised an army of mountaineers, renegadoes, and other disbanded troops, in the neighbourhood of *Fez*, drew a considerable party over to his side. Against him *Muley Hammed* sent his son, at the head of a powerful force, who engaged and defeated him. *Nacer* being dangerously wounded, was put to flight, and left his camp, arms, and baggage behind. After this victory *Hammed* reigned peaceably and happily, being a great lover and encourager of learning (L), and highly respected by his subjects, and died on the 29th day of *August* 1603, not without suspicion of having been poisoned by his son *Sidan*, after a reign of twenty-six years ^z.

Succeeded by
his brother
Muley Ham-
med.

1595.

^w D. DE TORRES, DAVITY, BOULET, &c.
VITY, & al.

^y P. DE GUADALAZAR, presa del Arache.

^x THUAN. Hist. lib. ii. c. 5, & seq. DE TORRES, DA-
^z Ibid. ibid.

(L) This prince is said to have been a good proficient in the mathematics, and especially in astronomy. His wars and conquests in the two great kingdoms above-mentioned made it, in a great measure, necessary; because there is no other way to cross these vast sandy deserts but by the compass, and astronomical observations;

for which he always carried with him a handsome apparatus of them. He took no less care to make himself amends for the cost and pains of conquering these two kingdoms; from one of which he brought thirty mules loaded with gold dust, and from the other sixty quintals (or one hundred weight) of the same (12).

(12) Vid. Davity, & auct. ab eo citat.

a But immediately after this the empire was torn into so many factions, that, in less than six weeks, there were no less than three kings proclaimed, besides *Sidan*, who, though the youngest of all, had caused himself to be crowned on the very day on which his father died. The other three brothers, equally contending for the throne, were at length overcome, after a great many bloody wars, which he was forced to sustain against them, and more especially against *Muley Chayk*, his eldest brother, a prince of great valour and conduct, highly esteemed by the subjects and soldiery, and who had, besides, procured a considerable assistance from *Spain*. So that it was not till after a great deal of bloodshed, and many considerable losses, both by sea and land (M), that he got the better of him, and was enabled to restore the peace of the state. But a gang of pirates, who had settled themselves at *Sallee*, a famed port in the kingdom of *Fez*^a, soon disturbed it afresh, by the frequent outrages and depredations they committed within the inland provinces: to suppress which, he sent a splendid embassy to king *Charles I.* of *England*, to desire him to send him some ships, ammunition, &c. who readily complied with his request. *Zidan* soon afterwards made himself master of *Sallee*, destroyed all the pirates he could come at, and, in return for the king's timely assistance, sent him 300 Christian slaves as a present. After this he reigned very peaceably all the remaining part of his life, except that he was often pestered by the *Alarbs*, or *Arabs*, of the province of *Morocco*, his inveterate enemies, who had once forced him to abandon his capital to escape their fury. But having at length overcome some of them, and gained others by treaty and presents, he returned to *Morocco*, and there continued in peace till the year 1630, in which he died^b.

c He was succeeded by his eldest son *Muley Abdelmelech*, a prince who soon became odious to all his subjects, on account of his drunkenness, cruelty, and other vices; insomuch that the *Fezians* invited a younger brother of his, named *Hammed*, to come and reign over them; but finding him no less tyrannical and cruel, they dethroned and imprisoned him. *Abdelmelech* was likewise opposed by two others of his brethren: but they were so slow in their preparations, that they gave him time enough to be before-hand with them, and to put them to the rout. He had hardly reigned four years in his debaucheries, before a Christian slave, whom he designed to have castrated, entered his tent, he being then in the field, in the month of *December*, and finding him asleep, and drowned in wine, shot him dead with a pistol^c (N).

d He was succeeded by his brother *Muley Elwaly*, or *Elqralid Elgwaly*, called, by the *Dutch* relations and the *Provencials*, *Muley Lowely*, whom he had condemned to lose his eyes a little before; but his being assassinated prevented the execution; for, on the contrary, and above all expectation, he was fetched out of prison to ascend the throne. He was a prince of so sweet and affable a temper, that he quickly gained the love of all his subjects. He began his reign with the enlargement of several prisoners of state, and raising the pay of his officers and soldiery. Among the prisoners which he had released was an *Andalusian Alcade*, named *Mohammed Zarroy*, who was ingrateful enough, presently after, to join with prince *Semen*, a brother of *Elwaly*, in a rebellion against him; but being defeated and taken, the former was beheaded, and the latter strangled. After which *Elwaly* reigned peaceably the remainder of his life, and died in the 12th year of his reign. It was from him that monsieur *Sanfon*, the

^a See before, p. 157.
& al.

^b P. DE GUADALAZAR, D. DE TORRES, MOUQUET, PURCHAS, DAVITY,

^c *Id.* *ibid.*

(M) Amongst these losses there was one considerable one; namely, that of 3000 *Arabic* volumes on physic, philosophy, and divinity, which the *Spaniards* took from him at sea; which he regretted the more as they fell into such hands. This sea-fight happened in the year 1611, the year after his competitor had delivered up the important fortrefs of *Arach*, or *Larach*, to the count *St. Germain*, the *Spanish* commander, who was sent to his assistance by *Philip III.* of *Spain* (13).

(N) *Abdelmelech* is reckoned the first who took the title of *Emperor of Morocco, Fez, Sus, Taphilet, &c.* He pretended to a great deal of religion. He ordered an universal mourning for his father, insomuch that the subjects were obliged to have their very shirts dyed blue, which is their colour for it. He was very fond of Christian slaves that turned renegadoes, and put more confidence in them than in his own *Moors*. But he was no less cruel and inhuman to those who refused to turn *Mohammedans*, and made it his chief diversion to have them devoured by

some fierce lions, which he kept for that purpose, and sometimes would hack them in pieces with his own scymitar.

The *French* ambassador having made pressing complaints of this to the *Porte*, and of his being still more inhuman to the *French* slaves than to those of other nations; and being answered, that the king his master's arms were long enough to do himself justice, *Abdelmelech* resented it to such a degree, that he swore by *Mohammed* he would destroy the first ambassador that came to him from the court. By good fortune monsieur *Sanfon*, herald at arms, who was sent thither in that quality, had notice given him, by a *French* renegado, of a noble family, who advised him to appear only as a private merchant. He was, however, sent for, and strictly questioned by the king, who had an executioner ready in the next chamber to dispatch him; but he had the address, or rather good fortune, to avert the danger, and got off unhurt (14).

(13) P. Mart. de Guadalazar, presa del Arache, Mouquet Voy. lib. iii. p. 161 & 179, & seq. Davity, St. Olan, etat. de Moroc. p. 35, & seq. & al.

(14) See Davity's Africa Vusim. de Rucier, p. 78.

French ambassador, who had so narrowly escaped being murdered by his brother, obtained a treaty for the mutual exchange of prisoners ^a.

Muley Hammed Cheyk.

HE was succeeded by his brother *Muley Hammed Cheyk*, the last surviving son of *Sidan*, a prince so strongly given to women, that he seldom stirred out of his seraglio, or troubled himself with any affairs of state, but let a few rapacious favourites govern the realm; which gave the *Alarbs*, or *Arabs*, about *Morocco*, the irreconcilable enemies of the Sharifs, a fair opportunity of besieging him in that capital, of which they easily made themselves masters; and having murdered him, elected *Crumel Hack*, one of their princes, to reign in his stead;

Murdered by the Arabs.

Muley Sharif, king of Taphilet.

This last, being soon after at war with *Sidi Omar*, prince of *Illech*, had the misfortune to be defeated and taken prisoner. During his tedious, rigorous confinement, he begot two sons ^b

Muley Archy.

on an ugly negro, whom *Omar* had sent him; the eldest of whom, named *Muley Archy*, succeeded him in the kingdom of *Taphilet*; during whose short reign nothing considerable happened, except that, having drank to excess, and riding furiously on an unruly horse, he fractured his skull in a grove of orange trees. Upon his death, *Hammed*, one of his nephews, then basha of *Morocco*, caused himself to be proclaimed king, whilst his brother took the same bold step at *Taphilet*. But *Muley Ishmael*, the other son of *Muley Sharif*, and brother of *Muley Archy*, found means to overcome those two competitors, and, in a short time, to wrench both kingdoms from them, and to raise himself to an higher pitch of power, wealth, and grandeur, than any of his predecessors had ever attained to.

Muley Ishmael's reign. A. D. 1672.

MULEY ISHMAEL, so famed throughout *Europe* as well as *Afric*, for his policy and cruelty, and what must seem most strange, if not a downright contradiction, his zeal and strict observance of his religion (O), began his reign in the year 1672: but excepting the two victories which he gained over his nephews, lived more like a private man than a king; and took up his residence at *Mequinez*, which was then no more than a castle, situate about twelve leagues from *Fez*, but in one of the most delightful and rich spots in all *Barbary*, where he at first spent his time in cultivating the adjacent lands; and being no less fond of money than agriculture,

Makes Mequinez his capital.

applied himself likewise to commerce. The charming situation of *Mequinez* soon made him resolve to make it not only his chief residence, but the metropolis of his kingdom; and, in order to that, he adorned it with many sumptuous buildings; some of which he would again cause to be pulled down, and rebuilt in some other place; insomuch that it is reported, that if they were all now standing, they would make a contiguous street that would reach quite to *Fez*. But his pretence for building and pulling down in that extravagant manner was, he used to say, to keep his subjects employed: For, added he, *if I keep a bag full of rats, they'll eat their way through, if I do not keep it in constant motion*. And sure it is, that in this, and all other respects, he treated them no better than as so many vermin, whose lives and all were at his arbitrary disposal; insomuch that he made it even a piece of diversion to shoot or behead them, to shew his dexterity: and as for the rest, he loaded them with such taxes and labour, and other oppressions, that their state was much more to be pitied than that of those whom he sent out of the world. So intent was he in heaping up riches, which his sordidness would not permit him to enjoy, that though he was ever levying some new taxes or imposts on the people, yet would he be at no expence in maintaining either his household or his army, but obliged his *Moorish* soldiery to serve him, without allowing them either pay, cloathing, arms, or victuals. He gave a signal instance of this unnatural barbarity to them not many years after his accession to the throne; when, having ordered them to join his son *Muley Sidan*, to go and retake the city of *Morocco*, which *Muley Mohammed*, another of his sons, had made himself master of, upon their officers applying to him for a stipend to maintain them, he gave them this brutal answer; *Do you see, ye MOORISH DOGS, any other of my mules, camels, or*

A great builder.

Cruel, avaricious, and arbitrary.

A. D. 1675. Barbarity to his Moors.

^c ^d ^e

^a D. TORRES, DAVITY, BOULET, & al.

(O) His strictness was such, during his whole reign, that he would never drink any wine or strong liquor. He observed the *Ramadan*, or *Mahomedan* lent, four whole months (15) every year, and with a more than ordinary abstinence. He was no less scrupulous an observer of the usual washings, public prayers, and other branches of his law; and never undertook any thing of moment without prostrating himself a good while upon the ground, and praying for the divine direction and assistance, fully satisfied that *Mohammed* would obtain it from heaven: so that whatever was the result of his devotions, he firmly believed it to be the immediate direction of that prophet.

In his administration of justice, in which province he

always shewed himself very ready and easy of access, he was very rigid and impartial, yet would sometimes run into some wild extravagancies; of which the following instance may serve for a taste. A poor farmer of the *Berebers* race having complained to him, that some of his negroes, whom by the way he was noted for keeping at short allowance, had stolen from him a yoke of oxen, which were his sole dependance, he ordered his whole negro guard to pass before him, and shot every one whom the farmer accused. But asking him afterwards what amends he could make him for the loss of so many stout negroes, and the man being at a loss what to answer, he made him undergo the same fate with the robbers (16).

(15) D. de Torres, Boulet.

(16) History of Barbary, & al.

a other beasts belonging to my empire, ask me for any maintenance? Do they not take it where they can find it, without troubling me about it? Go, march with all speed whither I send you; and do you maintain yourselves as they do. This was, indeed, the most effectual way to set both officers and soldiers a plundering all that came in their way. This, and many other such acts of oppression, the effects of his insatiable avarice, occasioned a general decay of trade, misery and poverty among his subjects, a most shameful corruption among his ministers, and an universal deluge of injustice and oppression throughout every province in his dominions (P).

b HE was no less cruel and tyrannical to his wives and concubines; of which he kept no less than 3000 of the former, and 5000 of the latter rank; and among whom he was looked upon as such a monster of inhumanity, that it was with the greatest dread they approached him; and not without just cause, seeing they often were made the victims of his ill-humour. Some of them he caused to be punished for the least word or action that displeased him, in a most barbarous and shameful manner, by his eunuchs and slaves; others to be strangled, or otherwise dispatched, for the least fault, such as plucking off an orange, or other fruit in his garden. His very children, for some of whom he had an uncommon fondness, were, nevertheless, so much the objects of his jealousy and mistrust, that the least apprehension made the father degenerate into a tyrant; insomuch that those who were his greatest favourites, had the greatest cause to dread him. This was the real picture of *Muley Ismael*, upon which we have dwelt the longer, as it cannot but be looked upon as the most surprising of all, to find c that a person of his hateful character, and detested tyranny, did yet keep himself on his throne during the long space of fifty-five years, in a country where rebellions, dethronements, and assassinations of princes, were so very frequent, without meeting with any disturbance from his oppressed subjects, or his jealous neighbours, or indeed from any quarter but from his own son *Muley Mohammed*, the most beloved of all his children, who openly having attempted to wrench the crown from him, fell an unhappy victim of his ambition and his resentment. *Barbarity to his wives and children.*

d THIS prince was born of a beautiful *Georgian* slave, brought up in the Christian religion, and whose superior charms to all his other wives soon ingrossed his father's affection, as he himself did by the beauty of his person and mind; so that he only had a royal education given him, whilst the rest of his brethren were brought up in the most profound ignorance: but it was this partial fondness that occasioned his ruin. *Laila Ajakab*, a fat negro woman, since stiled *Sultana Sidana*, or *Sultana Queen*, who had a great ascendancy over *Muley Ismael*, beheld with such inward dread and jealousy the preference which he gave to this favourite above her own eldest son, named *Sidan*, that she resolved to ruin both the mother and the son as soon as possible. The first she quickly accomplished by a false accusation of infidelity, for which that jealous monarch caused her to be put to death, though he was soon after undeceived, and highly grieved at his credulity and precipitation. But *Laila* had still a more dangerous victim to sacrifice to her fear; and *Mohammed*, who was become a greater favourite of the king, on account of his innocent mother's untimely death, as well as for all his other good qualities, made her look upon him as a formidable rival to her son *Sidan*, a loose, cruel, and profligate prince, and hated by all that knew him. The king could not but be sensible of her hatred to him; and, in order to put it out of her power to raise any fresh cabals against him, ordered him a sum of 15 quintals, or 100 weight of silver, and to go and take upon him the care and superintendency of his old seraglio at *Taphilet* (Q), where he had not *Muley Mohammed, his favourite son, envied by the Sultana.*

(P) As it was a constant custom with this rapacious monarch to make every thing subservient to his avarice, so, whenever any complaint of theft, fraud, or injustice, came before him, his sentence always was, first, that strict restitution should be made to the amount of the wrong, not indeed to the plaintiff, who in that case reaped no other advantage than the pleasure of seeing the offender punished, but to himself, to whom alone he pretended the satisfaction was due. But this did not excuse the offender from an additional fine, such as he pleased to impose upon him. Sometimes, especially if the accused was supposed to be in good circumstances, he would condemn him to some severe punishment, merely to oblige him to buy it off at the dearest rate. And it was with him such a crime for a man to be rich, that the bare name, or suspicion of it, hath cost the life of a great number of his subjects; which was always followed with a confiscation of their all into his own treasury (17).

(Q) *Muley Ismael* kept there an old seraglio, to which he used to send all his cast-off wives, with all their children, whenever he took it in his head to fresh-colony his new one at *Mequinez*. The government of it was usually given to some favourite officer, or prince of the blood, together with a sufficient annual revenue, or maintenance, for all that were sent thither. But a complaint having been sent to court, that the present governor abused his trust, and sunk the money into his pockets, and suffered those ladies to want their usual allowance, he sent this favourite son with his quintals of silver to take the care of it upon him. It fell out soon after, that the two brothers, being obliged to assist at a public ceremony, had this dreadful contest about the precedence, in which several of their retinue were killed on both sides, which obliged the king to have them both brought in chains before him (18).

(17) *De Torres, ubi sup. Histoire des Cherifs, Paris 1734, &c. al. sup. citat.*

(18) *Ibid. ub. sup.*

Falls out with
his brother
Maimon.

The latter dis-
graced.

The king's
strange beha-
viour to them.

Muley Mo-
hammed re-
fuses the go-
vernment of
Taphilet.

Mohammed
quells a revolt
in Suz.

The Sultana
contrives his
ruin.

Her strange
ascendancy
over the king.

been long, before a very dangerous rupture happened between him and another brother, named *Maimon*, who was then governor of that city, a very debauched prince, about precedency, which occasioned a bloody rencounter to ensue, and they were both ordered to court in chains, by the express order of their father, from whom, upon their first approach, they received a short but very severe reprimand (R). They were next ordered to plead their cause before him, which they did in such a manner, that *Maimon*, whom some of the king's brothers did then accuse of sundry heinous crimes, was sent with disgrace to *Tezami*, a castle about nine miles from *Taphilet*: but, upon his departure, he told the king, that nothing grieved him so much as that that Christian, meaning *Mohammed*, should get the better of him. This raised a fresh contest between them, which grew to such a height, that he at first ordered a scymitar to be given to each of them, that they might have an opportunity to shew which was the better man; but, at the earnest intreaty of some of the nobles that were present, he ordered the scymitars to be exchanged for a couple of cudgels, which they plied against each other with such fury, that they were both quickly covered over with their own blood. The king in vain commanded them to leave off; but *Mohammed*, without regarding it, continued his blows; upon which the king took *Maimon's* cudgel, and struck him with it; which so enraged him, that he seized *Maimon* by the collar, threw him upon the ground, and stamped his foot on him; for which his father was going to pierce him with his spear; but recalling himself, he was contented with giving him a slight blow with it, and, upbraiding him with his Christian blood, bid him go and eat swine's flesh with them. It was not long, however, before his tenderness got the better of his resentment; so that, to make him amends for his harsh words, he offered him the government of *Taphilet*, which he refused for that of *Fez*, where he was better beloved. He had not long enjoyed the happiness of it, before the king sent him orders to go to that of *Taphilet*; to excuse himself from which he pretended to be very ill, and forced to keep his bed; upon which the king immediately dispatched the doctor belonging to the Christian religion to him. The young prince tried in vain several ways to avoid being seen by him, and, when forced to it, to prevail upon him to impose upon his father. The old gentleman, on his return, told him honestly, that his son was quite cured before he could find out his distemper. *Mohammed* was immediately sent for to court, and severely reprimanded for his disobedience and pretended sickness; and yet was easily excused from going to *Taphilet*, and sent to *Montigara*, along with his own brother *Muley Sharif*, whom he dearly loved, and with whom he continued five years in that place with all possible content. But at the end of that time, a sedition being raised in the kingdom of *Suz* by the governor of *Tarudant*, *Muley Ishmael*, who had caused him to be beheaded for it, ordered that favourite son of his to go and take the government of it, as being the most considerable in the whole empire; which he thankfully obeyed, and quickly restored peace to that remote province. But his success and preferment failed not to awaken the jealousy of queen *Laila*, and to make her look upon him as the person designed for the successor, and who, in that case, would infallibly revenge his mother's death on her and her son; to prevent which, and bring on that dreaded rival's ruin the more effectually, she took the advantage of the king's absence, who was then at the siege of *Oran*, procured a letter to be counterfeited under his hand and seal, and sent it to *Mohammed*, wherein he was expressly ordered to put an old venerable *Arabian* Cheyk, whom the king highly esteemed for his signal services, to immediate death; which he accordingly did, and sent the same courier back to acquaint the king with it. The express arrived at the court of *Mequinez* soon after the king's return; and much about the same time came the sons of the deceased Cheyk, who were come to make their complaints to him: at which he was so highly provoked, that he ordered his son to repair to him with all speed. He did so; and, upon his arrival, found his father in the greatest fury, and attended with the Cheyk's children all in tears. The first question he asked him was, in an angry tone, *Art thou Sharif?* To which he, rightly judging at the cause, readily answered, *Thou knowest whether I am or not. I have only executed thy commands, and here they are under thy hand and seal*, giving him the forged letter. The king had scarce read it before he got on horseback, and made such speed towards the palace, that every body concluded that he was gone to sacrifice the Sultana. But she found means to appease him by

(R) The reader will not, perhaps, be displeased, if we give him a specimen of that monarch's behaviour and strange rhetoric upon that occasion. They no sooner appeared prostrate before him, than, with a scornful smile, he welcomed them in words to this effect: "Good-morrow, Good-morrow. How do you both do? I am heartily glad to see that you are both still alive, and that neither of you hath lost his life in your last bloody engagement. I easily perceive,

"either that you think yourselves to be without a father, "or forget that I am he. You appear, indeed, as "meek as lambs before me, but out of my sight you "are worse than roaring lions. If, while I am still "alive, you have the boldness to take up arms against "each other, what will you do when I am dead? Let "me therefore hear, without any disguise, the occasion "of this quarrel of yours, that I may apply a speedy "remedy to it."

some

a some specious pretence ; so that he contented himself with distributing some money among the weeping orphans, and sent them and his son back to *Tarudant*.

It was now impossible for *Mohammed* not to perceive, as well as resent, at once the Sultana's treacherous designs against him, as well as the great ascendancy which she had over his father ; from which he could but too plainly conclude, that she would leave no stone unturned till she had wrought his total ruin. All these sad prospects were fully in his mind, as he was returning to his government, when he unhappily met with the *Alcayd Cader*, on his return from *Guiney*, who guarded an immense quantity of gold belonging to the king, and seized upon it for his own use, and prevailed upon several of the *Alcayd's* retinue to follow him to *Tarudant*. As soon as he was arrived at his government, he sent a letter to his father, conceived in

b such terms as should plainly indicate his revolt ; and another to the Sultana, full of reproaches and bitter reflexions against her and her son *Sidan*. All which so exasperated the old king, that he was upon the point of setting aside for a while his intended expedition against *Algiers*, to suppress this new rebellion before it grew to a head. But his ill fortune made him determine otherwise ; and though his army consisted of above 60,000, and that of the *Algerines* of no more than 12,000, yet those being by far the better soldiers, totally defeated him, killed a vast number of his men, and forced him to a shameful retreat.

By this time *Mohammed* had so far increased his army, and so many discontented *Alcayds* went over to him, especially after his father's defeat, that, though he had neither artillery nor other materials for a siege, yet, trusting in the affections of the people, he marched directly to *Morocco*, and summoned the governor of it, an old experienced officer, to surrender. He

c found, however, an opposition there, which he did not expect, and which made him have recourse to the following stratagem, which succeeded to his wishes. He ordered his army to march off, as he had abandoned the siege ; and was scarcely gone a league, when, as he expected, the governor sallied in pursuit of him, at the head of 8000 men, whom he so closely surrounded by the disposition of his own forces, that he either killed or made them all prisoners, and, amongst the latter, the governor, several other *Alcayds*, particularly *Kali Bouchafra*, a near relation of the Sultana ; all whom he ordered to be conveyed to *Tarudant*.

d After which he entered the city with sword in hand, seized on all the treasure he could find, and gave the plunder of the place to his troops. But hearing, quickly after, that his brother *Sidan* was coming with a great army to besiege him in it, he immediately marched away to *Tarudant* with all his rich spoil. Here the artful *Alcayd Bouchafra*, his prisoner, in order to

betray him the more easily to his father, had so far insinuated himself into his favour, that he became privy to all his designs, of which he gave immediate intelligence to the court, and would in all likelihood have ruined all his measures, had not some of his letters been intercepted and brought to *Mohammed*, who caused them to be openly read in his council, and asked them what the treacherous writer of them deserved ? *Bouchafra*, who was then present at it, to remove the suspicion from himself, was the first who condemned him to death : upon which the Sharif told him, that he had pronounced sentence against himself, and, by a double stroke of policy, ordered *Melech*, the late governor of *Morocco*, to cut his head

e off (S). *Mohammed* being now become more powerful than ever, resolved to go and engage his brother *Sidan*, who was making long marches at the head of a powerful army against him. But when they came to engage, *Melech*, whom *Mohammed* had intrusted with the command of his negro troops, either in revenge for the late affront, or to regain the emperor's favour, suffered himself to be surrounded by *Sidan's* forces, which obliged his brother to betake himself to a shameful flight, after the loss of a great number of his own. The king, as soon as he heard the news of *Sidan's* victory, ordered him to send all the prisoners to him, who, fearing for *Melech*, to whom he owed it, earnestly interceded for him ; the same did his wives and children, but all in vain : the king told them, that he forgave him, but the Sultana and her relations never would his cutting *Bouchafra's* head off. The cruel monarch,

f instigated by his queen and her relations, and some treacherous *Talbs*, ordered that faithful and brave officer to be publicly sawn in the middle with the utmost cruelty (T) ; and, in excuse for

* See *Histoire des Cherifs*, DE TORRES, & al.

(S) *Melech* having displayed so singular a fidelity to the king at the siege of *Morocco*, it is not unlikely that *Mohammed* suspected him to be privy to the perfidious steps of *Bouchafra* ; he, therefore, took this method to gain so valuable a prisoner to his own interest, as he knew it would prove an effectual bar to his being ever forgiven by the king, the cutting off the head of so near a relation to his favourite Sultana. But the sequel will soon shew how much he was out in his politics (19).

(T) To add to the pomp of this dreadful execution, the cruel monarch had obliged the relations and friends of the unfortunate *Melech* to stay at *Mequinez*, in hopes of his pardoning him ; and, on the other hand, caused all the numerous family of the *Loudays*, which was that of the Sultana and *Bouchafra*, to be present at it, to the amount of several thousands. Between these was the prisoner, led by six stout negroes, who held muskets cocked against him, to the mosque called *Gemma*

(19) De Torres, in *Vit. Mul. Ismael, Hist. des Cherifs*, &c.

Kaba,

for his extreme barbarity and ingratitude, alleged, that *Melech*, having proved a traitor to his son *Mohammed*, as well as to him, he had ordered him to be thus lawed into two parts, that each of them might have one half of his body. In the mean time, *Mohammed* having reached *Tarudant* with the shattered remains of his army, the victorious *Sidan* pursued him thither, and laid close siege to it; but was so often repulsed with great loss, that, despairing to get it by force, he retired to *Morocco*, where he contrived such a lucky stratagem, as soon put an end to the rebellion, and to the life of its chief author.

A. D. 1706. *Mohammed* had been to visit his camp out of the city on a *Friday*, which is the *Mohammedan* sabbath, and, on his return, fell into an ambush of negroes, whom the *Alcayd Abdeicary*, a creature of *Sidan's*, had set near the gates to intercept him; at which he immediately cried out, that he was *Muley Mohammed*: to which they answered, *We know thou art; and are ordered by the king to seize thee*: and immediately surrounded him on all sides. He made several efforts to break through them, in order to gain the city gate; but finding it shut against him, he fought so desperately among them, that he laid a good number of them wounded at his feet; whilst they, afraid of shedding a *Sharif's* blood, dared not lift their weapons against him. At length, one of them advised the rest to cut off the legs of his horse; upon which they easily seized on his person, and carried him prisoner to *Morocco*, whence *Sidan* caused him to be conveyed to *Mequinez*, under an escort of 500 horse.

The king meets him with a most dreadful train. THE king, upon the first notice of his coming; whether to avoid the solicitations of his court in favour of his son, or for any other view, set out of *Mequinez*, attended by 2000 horse and 1000 foot, and waited for him at *Beth*, the place where he designed to punish him for his revolt, and, to add to the horror of the cavalcade, was preceded by forty Christian slaves, who carried a monstrous copper, with 100 weight of pitch, and the same quantity of oil and tallow, and were followed by six butchers with large knives in their hands, and a cart loaded with wood; which dreadful apparatus filled the city of *Mequinez*, who had so lately beheld the execution of the unfortunate *Melech*, with the utmost horror and confusion; but more especially *Mohammed's* daughter, who, attended with a number of ladies, and others of his friends, came to implore the king's clemency in his behalf. The very Sultana, his bitterest enemy, could so far disguise her hatred as to become one of his intercessors. All these the king received with an affected coldness, and, by way of comfort, told them, that he designed him no other punishment than pouring a little boiling oil upon him. He was a whole day and night without seeing his son, who was arrived at *Beth* the day before him; but, upon his appearing prostrate before him the day after, the king clapped the point of his spear to his breast; upon which, and seeing the butchers, and the rest of the dreadful apparatus, he cried aloud to him, *For God and his prophet's sake, forgive me, I beseech thee*. But he, without minding his cries, ordered one of the butchers to hoist him on the cart, and cut off his wrist on the rim of the copper. At which the fellow in a fright protested, that he would lose his life sooner than shed his son's blood: the consequence of which was, that the king cut off his head with his own hand, and ordered another of them to go up and perform the operation, who immediately obeyed. Whilst this was doing, the king called the children of *Bouchafra*, and bid them look at the hand and foot of that traitor, and, as soon as the execution was performed, asked them, whether they were satisfied? To which they answered, with great submission, in the affirmative. He then cast his eye on his bleeding son, and, in a surly tone, asked him, whether he knew his father now? Then, drawing his sword again, lopped off the executioner's head at one blow. At which his son could not forbear crying

Kadra, where they made him sit upon a stone, and wait his doom. Here perceiving several of the *Talbs*, or priests, very pressing for his death, he cried out, *Why may I not be brought to the king, and acquaint him with your treason? For the cutting off Bouchafra's head was forced upon me; but you were the treacherous dogs that sent his letters back to Mohammed, which were designed for the king*. For they were the persons who, by intercepting *Bouchafra's* letters, had caused him to be put to death; and it was their fear of his discovery, that made them so urgent with the king to have him haled to execution. This was the reason why he was hurried away to the fatal place with such cruel speed, mounted on a mule, with his hands and body chained, amidst the dreadful cries of his friends, and the shouts of his enemies the *Loudays*, whilst he alone appeared calm and unconcerned, and rode with a pipe in his mouth. Being arrived at the market-place, he was taken down and stripped; and the *Talbs* took care to have all the papers that were

found about him burnt, for fear of a discovery. Immediately after this, the sawyers laid him flat upon a plank, fastened his hands and feet to it, and were going to begin their work at his scull; but *Bouchafra's* children, to whom the king had given leave to order the manner of his execution, to make his torments last the longer, commanded them to begin at the other end, which forced the most dreadful outcries from him. When they had proceeded as far as his navel, they were ordered to draw their saw, and begin now at his head, which they did; and, when they had gone through their work, they divided his body into two parts; after which they went to the king with their saw wrapped up in a cloth, who, seeming highly satisfied with what they had done, ordered two ducats to be given to the two journeymen, and four to their master. This was the dreadful reward with which that inhuman monarch recompensed the fidelity of that brave old minister, and may serve to give a lively idea of that detestable court and government (18).

- a out to the spectators, Behold my father's valour, who equally puts to death those who obey his commands, and those that do not. The king only staid to see his arm and leg dipped in the melted pitch to staunch the blood, after which he mounted his horse, and returned to *Mequinez*; not without leaving express orders with four of his alcaydes, to bring his son alive thither, under pain of death. *and to be brought to Mequinez;*

- b It is impossible to express the doleful cries, and bitter weeping, with which the news of this execution filled the whole palace, especially the women's apartment; insomuch that the king could find no other means to suppress them, than by threatening immediate death to all who should be heard to weep; and, to shew them that he was in earnest, ordered four of them to be strangled, who had not been able to conceal their grief. *Mohammed's* daughter was the only one to whom he indulged that liberty, and whom, for that reason he carefully avoided; whilst one of her brothers, being denied that poor relief, threw himself down a high terrass, and died of the fall.

- c TOWARDS the close of the evening *Mohammed* entered *Mequinez*, mounted on a mule, with his arm in a scarf, and his leg in a wooden box; and, being arrived at the house appointed for him, received the visits of his friends on the next morning, with a seeming cheerfulness, and was constantly attended by the Christian surgeons; though others affirm, that he would not suffer any to come near him, and that he tore off the plaisters, which his servants put on to staunch the blood^d: however that be, thirteen days after the amputation, a gangrene having seized upon his wounds, carried him off; and, according to his desire, he was buried without any other ceremony than was used to the poorest *Negro* (T). *where he died of a gangrene.*

- d SIDAN was no sooner rid of his rival brother, than he was sent back with his army to reduce the remainder of the revolvers, who were still in arms at *Tarudant*; and besieged that capital so closely, that, for want of a fresh supply of victuals, above 10,000 of the besieged died of downright famine; and were at length obliged to surrender themselves at discretion. A bloody massacre of them soon ensued, which set the streets of the city streaming with human gore; whilst those, who had the greatest cause to fear his fury, defended themselves to the last breath, to avoid the exquisite tortures which he committed on those who had the misfortune to fall alive into his hands. He had no sooner glutted his cruelty by the most horrid butcheries, and excruciating torments, which he inflicted upon those unfortunates, than he set himself upon satiating his most rapacious avarice, by making a strict search for those great treasures which his brother had laid up there, as well as those of the great alcayde and principal officers, who were come over to him; and which altogether amounted to an immense value, besides the plunder of the city, and of all the adjacent countries. All which dreadful cruelties and depredations injected such an universal terror all over that province, that *Moors*, *Arabs*, *Berebers*, and other inhabitants, fled to the most inaccessible deserts, mountains, and caverns, to avoid him; insomuch that the city of *Santa Cruz*, tho' at a great distance from it, and very strongly fortified, was abandoned both by the governor and garrison, and none of the inhabitants left in it, but a poor old *Moore*, and a *Jew* blind with old age. The very trading vessels, that rode at anchor there, had likewise taken the alarm, and fled, till a proclamation, issued some time after, gave them fresh assurances, that they might safely resume their commerce as formerly, on condition that they paid the usual duties. *Sidan commits the cruellest butcheries at Tarudant.*

- e In the mean time his great success, numerous forces, and immense treasure, soon alarmed the old king's jealousy, and made him repent that he had ever intrusted him with so much power. He tried, in vain, all the fair means and stratagems to draw him from *Tarudant* to *Mequinez*, or to oblige him to send him some of his forces for the siege of *Ceuta*. *Sidan* was never at a loss for some plausible excuse for his non-compliance, which forced him at length to have recourse to artifice. *The king grows jealous of his son, who refuses to come to him.*

- f HE began with confining himself to his apartment, without being seen by any but the sultana, mother of *Sidan*; a few days after which a rumour was spread abroad, that he was taken ill of the strangury, of which she sent notice to her son, advising him, as a mother, to draw nearer to *Mequinez*, with as little noise as he could, as the most effectual means of securing his succession; to which he sent word, that he knew his father too well to trust himself so near him. The king, continuing still invisible, a diversity of opinions was spread abroad, which put the kingdom into confusion, and obliged her to send a second express to acquaint *Sundry stratagems tried in vain to bring him to Mequinez.*

A. D.
1707.

^d Hist. of Barbary, p. 325. Hist. des Cherifs, & al. ubi sup.

(T) This he did by way of reproach to his father, by whom, he said, having been treated more like a vile profligate than a prince, he desired his funeral might be agreeable to his treatment when living.

The king, however, caused a stately *Mausoleum* to be erected over his grave, supported by four marble pillars,

and covered with a wooden cupola, painted over with green.

He likewise ordered his favourite brother *Muley Sharif*, then in his government of *Montigara*, to bring all the deceased's children to court; on whom he heaped many signal tokens of real tenderness and affection (19).

The sultana
raises a riot
there ;

the king ap-
pears and
quells it ;

hires Sidan's
wives to
murder him.

Muley Abdel-
melech revolts
in Suz.

Muley Ish-
mael alters
the succession ;

his death.
A. D.
1727.

him, that he must come to her immediately, if he designed to pay his dying father the last filial office ; to this he answered, that, let his father live or die, he would not quit his army. After she had used a great variety of stratagems, which rendered him still more inflexible, and increased the general ferment, she sallied out of the palace in her chariot, attended by her women, eunuchs, and a numerous retinue, one of whom carried the sword before her ; and behaved in such a despotic manner, that the people, who concluded from it the king was dead, and that she designed to seize on the throne, and reign lady paramount, rose up in arms, and forced her to retire, and pursued her to the palace gates. The king had not been out of his apartment during the space of 52 days, when this last uproar happened ; but, as soon as he was informed of it, he immediately shewed himself, to the great surprize of the whole city, which was by that means restored to its usual tranquility. His foes, as well as his friends, made public rejoicings at the news of his pretended recovery ; and even the Christian slaves expressed their joy, by one of the finest and most curious fire-works that had ever been seen in his dominions ; which made him say, that the Christians had a greater affection for him than his own *Moors*.

NONE of his stratagems having been able to draw his son out of *Tarudant*, his jealous fears of him rose at length to so great a height, that he resolved to get rid of him at any rate ; and finding that he was grown detested for his continual excesses in drinking, and the horrid murders, rapes, and other unnatural crimes, which he committed in them, not only on his subjects, without distinction of quality, age, or sex, but likewise on his own wives, who lived in constant dread and abhorrence of him, easily prevailed upon these to become his executioners. Accordingly, taking the first opportunity they found him drowned in wine, which he used to be sometimes twice or thrice in a day, they, without difficulty or opposition, smothered him in his bed, and rid the empire of one of the most dangerous tyrants, and monsters of lust, drunkenness, cruelty, and impiety* (U).

MULEY ISHMAEL had not long enjoyed the delightful prospect of a more peaceable reign, by the death of one rebellious son, before it was troubled again by the revolt of another. This last was called *Muley Abdelmelech*, and had been long ago preferred to the government of *Suz*, where he had, for some time, assumed the title and state of a king ; but now broke out in an open refusal of the usual tribute and allegiance. The king had immediately recourse to his usual artifices, in order to allure him to court, being now too old and infirm to engage in a civil war with him ; but, to his great grief, found this new rebel as diffident and inflexible as the last ; only with this difference, that he still continued making the most solemn protestations of his filial affection, of his fervent prayers for his life ; and that he never had entertained the least thought of taking up arms against him, as had been falsely represented to him. The king, doubtless, was too sharp sighted and mistrustful to be satisfied with such specious excuses, but yet chose to appear so, rather than come to extremities with him ; but yet took care to give this mortifying proof of his resentment, that he changed the order of succession in favour of his brother *Muley Hammed*, though two years younger than he. Some people, however, have suspected him to have shewn him this preference, not so much out of dislike to his elder brother, as with a view of obliterating the memory of his own tyrannic and inhuman vices, by appointing for his successor a prince of the most dissolute, vicious, and debauched character. However that be, *Muley Ishmael* died soon after of extreme old age, which had deprived him of his usual exercise of riding on horseback (V), and was succeeded by *Muley Hammed* surnamed *Deby*, or

* *Iidem ibid.*

(U) Our readers will perhaps wonder to find this jealous and exasperated father, after having caused his rebellious son to be so unnaturally dispatched, should so soon after relent so far, as to cause the authoresses of his death to be sacrificed to the furious resentment of the sultana ; and to order the most magnificent obsequies that had been ever seen in his dominions, to be performed to his remains. But it must be remembered, that all this was done in order to pacify his exasperated mother ; who not only had the greatest ascendance over him, but from whose vindictive temper he had every thing to fear, as he was now in his decline : So that, not daring to refuse her any thing, he was forced to deliver up into her hands not only seven of *Sidan's* wives, who had had a hand in his death, but even the wine-merchants, and others, who had furnished him with those liquors, with which he was wont to intoxicate himself ; all whom she sacrificed to her resentment. She shewed a more uncommon inhumanity against three of the former, whose breasts she ordered to be cut off, and, having forced them to eat them, caused them to be strangled.

He was no less obliging to her in the interment of her son, whose body he caused to be embalmed, and brought from *Tarudant* to *Mequinez*, under an escort of 6000 horse (who, by the way, being denied a passage thro' the mountains of *Tedela*, were obliged to obtain it at the price of 2000 piasters), and to be buried with great pomp in the common sepulchre of the Sharifs. What is still more extraordinary, he caused a stately mosk to be erected over his grave, which was to be ever after a sanctuary for malefactors (20). Here a vile debauched prince, guilty of all manner of vices, cut off in open rebellion against his father, and in a most beastly excess of wine, a liquor forbid by the *Mohammedan* law, is raised to the dignity of, and prayed to as, a saint after his death, who, in his life-time, was justly detested by all mankind ; and all this to calm and appease an imperious wife, or perhaps to avoid her suspecting the part he bore in his death.

(V) We are told, that notwithstanding his extraordinary sobriety and temperance, which in every respect, but that of women, no man in his kingdom carried to a greater height, towards the close of his last sickness there

(20) *Iidem ibid.*

steamed

a or *Dehaby*, according to his appointment. His death, pursuant to his order to *Bashia Empsaël*, ^{Succeeded by} the chief of his eunuchs, was concealed during two whole months, in order to give *Hammed Deby* ^{Muley Hammed Deby.} time to secure himself against his two brothers; but this caused such an universal discontent, that *Empsaël*, under pretence of shewing him alive and well on the next day, as if to go to some mosque to return thanks for his recovery, brought him out accordingly in his close chariot, and went himself to take sanctuary in the house of a famed saint named *Muley Idrif*; and the attendants, finding only his dead body, brought it back with the same pomp to *Mequinez*, where he was magnificently interred, and his son caused a stately monument to be erected to him^f.

b In the mean time one of his brothers, named *Muley Abdalla*, who had some time before been ^{Abdalla re-} obliged to retire to avoid his resentment, took the opportunity of the public discontent to get ^{pullid in his} himself raised to the throne, by forcing himself into his father's apartment; but met with such ^{attempt on the} a stout repulse from the guards, that he was forced to retire, but was soon after received into favour.

MULEY DEBY, being now in quiet possession of the crown, soon began to give evident ^{Muley Deby's} tokens of a more rapacious temper than even his father, in whose treasury he found to the ^{immense trea-} amount of 50 millions, besides jewels, and other riches, to an immense value. This prodigious ^{treasure, and in-} treasure was still increased by ten millions more, which he had saved, or rather extorted, ^{avariance;} in that government, which he had enjoyed during his father's life; yet was he so rapacious, as to strip his last 800 wives of all their gold and jewels immediately after his death. To ^{fail into all} avoid, however, the odium of such an unnatural conduct, which began to shew itself every- ^{kings of de-} where, he caused a declaration to be published, by which he promised to exact of his subjects ^{bauchery;} no other tax than the tenth, allowed by the *Mohammedan* law, and confirmed all the ministers of the last reign in their respective offices. By this step having, as he imagined, secured him- self from any rebellious attempts, and seeing himself possessed of such an immense treasury, he immediately plunged into all kinds and excesses of debauchery; insomuch that the people be- ^{ings of de-} gan to curse his father for pitching upon the very worst of his sons for his successor. This ^{bauchery;} discontent shewed itself still more in the kingdom, and more particularly in the city of *Fez*; ^{and the people} where his deputies having been sent to exact the usual oaths of allegiance, the inhabitants an- ^{into a ferment.} swered, that the news of the late king's death had afflicted them to such a degree, that it would ^d require, at least, some days before they could be in a capacity to deliberate upon so important a matter. This excuse, which was only a pretence in order to gain time, joined to the general ferment, drove him upon a new expedient, which rendered him still more odious to his *Moorish* subjects; for, growing diffident of them, he began to secure to himself the affections of the Negroes, not only by large donatives, but by intrusting them with the management of his most important affairs; so that an open revolt broke out immediately after in the city ^{Fez revolts.} of *Fez*, where they massacred his governor, with about 80 of his head officers, and drove all his Negro soldiers away, in revenge of the great exactions and cruelties they had suffered from him.

e THIS was soon followed by another at *Tetuan*, where the governor, being forced by the in- ^{A rebellion at} habitants to abandon the place, caused the magazine of powder to be set on fire, by which ^{Tetuan.} above 60 houses were reduced to heaps of rubbish, and the rest greatly shattered and endangered. In revenge of which the *Tetuaners* sapped the foundations of the *Basha's* palace, one of the noblest structures in *Barbary*, and reduced both it and its magnificent gardens² into heaps of ruin and rubbish.

ALL this while the *Tetuaners* did not pretend to take up arms against the emperor, but against his tyrannic *Basha* (W); and sent a deputation to court against him, where he was summoned to appear, and articles of reconciliation were drawn up; but he, refusing to sign them,

^f D. DE TORRES, BRAITHWAIT, *Revol.* p. 6, & seq. & al. *Revol.* ubi sup. p. 9, & seq.

² Idem ibid. auct. & BRAITHWAIT,

steamed such a stench out of his body, that he was abandoned by all his servants, not one being able to approach him, tho' there was a continual fumigation made of the most aromatic gums, and other perfumes; so that he had not so much as an eunuch or a slave to assist him in his last moments, or to see him breathe his last. The disease of which he died was an inflammation in his bowels, which, turning into a mortification, created that intolerable stench. He had, however, been so far from following the *Mohammedan* doctrine of predestination, which makes most of its professors despise the help of physic and surgery, that he had been consulting all along the most skilful persons in both about his disease, against which he used to receive great ease from riding and

exercise; but quickly sunk under it as soon as that help began to fail him (21).

(W) We must observe here, that the *Tetuaners* generally take their measures from the *Fezians*, by reason of their mutual intercourse; but the adjacent mountaineers were the first who took up arms against the rapacious *Basha*, under the command of the famed *Bollifa*, an old experienced officer, of an antient family in *Andalusia*, who held a private intelligence with *Tetuan*. He began with a powerful descent on the *Reefers*, who were all kindred, tenants, or friends, of the *Basha*; who, to revenge the bold attempt, first asked the *Tetuaners* assistance against those rebels, but was refused, on pretence that it might give them a handle to come and plunder the city during

(21) *Dieg. de Torres, Boulet, Braithwait, 4 & seq. & al. sup. citat.*

Abdelmelech
takes up arms
against the
king.

them, took the direct road to *Tangier*, and they that to *Fez*. The *Fezians*, being informed a by these of the success of their stratagem, resolved to follow their example, in hopes to gain time, being otherwise fully resolved to declare for prince *Abdelmelech*, as soon as they were in a condition to do it. This prince was the king's uterine brother, and by much his most powerful competitor, not only as he was at the head of a potent army, and had the hearts of all the people ; but much more so, as he had just before routed the royal forces commanded by *Hali*, another brother, whom the king had sent against him ; and who, upon his defeat, was disgraced and confined to his own house. *Abdelmelech* was, however, guilty upon this juncture of an indiscretion, which was likely to have been fatal to him, not only in the cruel treatment which he shewed towards his Negro prisoners, but in his solemn declaration, that he would not suffer any of them to come near his person, when he was once got master of the throne ; for that not only made them all declare for the king, but likewise resolve to join with any other competitor against him. b

The Negroes
lay a fatal
snare against
him.

THEY were not long before they made him feel some effects of their resentment. He had, soon after his victory over *Hali*, made himself master of the city of *Morocco*, and by that means fixed the affections of the *Fezians* more firmly in his interest ; when these exasperated Negroes put themselves under the command of *Tariffa*, an old experienced officer, who immediately put the fatal stratagem in execution against him, which failed not to disconcert all his measures and hopeful prospects ; and, under the appearance of coming to besiege him in that capital, drew him and his army into an ambuscade, from which he did not extricate himself till after the loss of a great part of his forces, and receiving three slight wounds. What was still worse, c a report being studiously spread that he was killed in the action, the *Fezians*, losing all further hopes of him, made their peace with the king by means of a magnificent present, and a numerous embassy ; all which was the more readily accepted by that monarch, as he well knew, that his rival brother was still alive, tho' forced to retire out of *Morocco* into some of the neighbouring deserts. The *Tetuaners* were no less alarmed and disheartened at the pretended news of his death. We have already seen what a bold stand they made in his favour, tho' under pretence of acting against their rapacious *Basha* ; to pacify whom the king had sent a new one, named *Abdelmelech Busfra*, who entered the town about the latter end of *July*, and was received with great joy by them (X). They soon after altered their note and behaviour, when, *Basha*-like, he condemned *Paiz*, their governor, to be seized and hanged, for d obstructing his first orders about repairing the fortifications of the place, but which they all refused to obey ; so that he, from that time, contented himself to go their pace, for which they allowed him an honourable maintenance ^h. In the mean while it is supposed, that the old *Basha Hammed* had obtained a secret permission from the king, to take a proper opportunity for surprising the city, and seizing upon his old government ; who appeared accordingly at the head of his *Reefeers*, and attacked the place on that side at which they least expected them ; upon the surprize of which, the citizens all quitted the breast-work, without giving one fire, and made towards the town, which gave an opportunity to the enemy to enter it on all sides. *Basha Busfra* was one of the first who rode off with his brother and servants. But e whilst the *Reefeers* were busied in plundering the town, the townsmen, now recovered from their fright, got up to the tops of the houses ; and, with a little danger to themselves, killed them as fast as they were making off with their spoil, and pursued the rest out of the walls.

Abdelmelech
defeated and
wounded.

Busfra sent
Basha of
Tetuan.]

THEY had no better success against the castle, which the *Basha* ordered them to attack ; at which he was so enraged, that he caused all the plunder that was brought out of the city to be burned ; which occasioned such a general disorder among them, that instead of making use of the only means left of mastering the town, which was the 16 pieces of cannon left upon the breast-work, which they might have turned against it, there being powder and ball left near it, they ran away without so much as nailing them up. Night coming on, the townsmen

^h BRAITHWAIT, ubi sup. p. 25, & seq. & al. ubi sup.

their absence : upon which he sent for the troops, which were employed in the blockade of *Ceuta*, and marched against the mountaineers.

But, before he took the field, he left his brother governor in *Tetuan*, with a guard of about 500 Negroes to keep the town in awe. But the *Tetuaners*, instead of paying any regard to him, ordered all the *Reefeers* to depart the city by such a time, on pain of being treated as enemies. The new governor sent immediately to have the crier apprehended ; a bloody fray immediately ensued, in which, his men being repulsed with loss, he caused the place in which his powder was kept to be set on fire, to prevent the townsmen getting possession of it ; the explosion of which shattered the whole town in so terrible a manner, that the governor, to avoid their re-

sentment, was forced to shelter himself and family in a sanctuary belonging to it (22).

(X) The *Tetuaners*, after the retreat of their old governor, had chosen one from among themselves, named *Paiz*, a blacksmith, but a bold intrepid fellow, and a great enemy to the *Basha*. Some add, that they had likewise appointed *Bollifa*, mentioned in the last note, to be their *Basha*. But we are assured, that this last never acted in that quality, though the former, as we shall soon see, shewed himself very active in his. However, it plainly appears, that the townsmen had formed themselves into a small republic, the form and government of which they changed, as often as their fears and jealousies created new distrusts of one another ; but were still waiting for news of *Abdelmelech* (23).

(22) *Torres, Boulet, Braithwait, &c. ubi sup.*

(23) *Braithwait, p. 16, & 24.*

a men took courage again, and drew them into the town, and barricaded every avenue with them, which frustrated all farther attempts of the Basba, and obliged him to retire with shame and disgrace, he never once appearing at the head of his dastardly troops during the whole time, but beheld their several repulses and defeats from a neighbouring eminence¹.

WHILST the *Tetuaners* were congratulating themselves upon their deliverance, fresh news came from court, which at once damped all their joys, viz. that the king had reinstated Basba *Hammed* in his government of *Tetuan*, and all its other dependencies (Y). A council was immediately called, in which it was unanimously resolved, at all adventures, to obstruct his return; and, in case of the worst, to put their city under the protection of the *Spaniards*, rather than comply with the king's orders. However, as they were still in the dark about prince *Abdelmelech*, of whom they had heard nothing for several months, to avoid farther danger, they agreed, that Mr. *Russel* should accompany their governor *Busfra*, and ten of their deputies, to court, in order to obtain there, by their rich presents, a revocation of the order made in favour of Basba *Hammed*. They set out accordingly; and, at their arrival at *Fez*, found it closely besieged by the king's forces, where the inhabitants of the old city had murdered several *Ludyres* (so they call the king's guards), who were the king's relations, and had been sent thither to keep the townsmen in awe; and heard, moreover, that both city and country were in a kind of war, and *Moors*, as well as *Arabs*, divided between the two contending brothers. During their stay there, they saw *Muley Amstedy*, the king's brother and chief favourite, and the grand *Mufti* of *Mequinez*, arrive, with new proposals for a reconciliation, which were, however, rejected; and, upon their dismissal, the flag of defiance was again hoisted up, and hostilities renewed. The besiegers plied their batteries against the town with fresh briskness, but with little success, thro' the badness of their artillery, whilst the besieged made frequent sallies upon them with no better fortune, they being still repulsed by the enemy's cavalry. Tired at length with the siege, the *Fezians* sent deputies to court to treat of peace on such terms as the emperor should please to grant; who, highly pleased with the proposal, sent his son thither again, with some old experienced ministers, who soon terminated that affair to the satisfaction of both sides, and was soon after invested with the title of governor of the place.

WHILST these things were transacting, one of the sultanas and her sister were found guilty of holding a correspondence with *Abdelmelech* (who still kept himself at a distance at the head of some faithful troops), and were both condemned by the king, the former to be strangled, and the other to be imprisoned for life^k. At length *Abdelmelech* ventured to send some offers of peace to his brother, promising to lay down his arms, on condition that he resigned to him one half of the empire, treasure, horses, arsenals, and magazines, which his father had left behind him at his death. His proposals were rejected by the whole court, though the emperor himself would have gladly accepted of them, that he might the more quietly pursue his drunken and other debauches, in which he had already so far drowned himself, that every day of his life was witness of some of the most flagrant instances of tyranny and cruelty, of lewdness and drunkenness (Z).

THIS excess grew to such a height at length, that neither deputies, alcaides, nor even ambassadors, could get access to him, because he never was in a condition to be seen, which gave birth to the most enormous disorders in his capital. He was even so rash, as to go one morning to the mosk attended by his court, so very drunk, that he fell down flat on the ground, and vomited up a large quantity of wine. His eunuchs quickly carried him out of the mosk to his palace, where some of his wives, and other sultanas of authority, took the liberty to represent to him the sad disasters which his debauches caused, both in his seraglio

¹ *Iidem* *ibid.* DE TORRES, BOULET, *al. sup. citat.*

^k *Iidem* *ibid.*

(Y) One effectual method, which the politic Basba made use of, besides a great profusion of presents, to get himself restored to his government, was his insinuating to the king, or rather his prime minister *Empsael*, that Basba *Busfra*, and the *Tetuaners*, kept Mr. *Russel*, the *British* ambassador, and all the great presents which he brought from his court, from hastening to *Mequinez*, until they saw what success would attend *Abdelmelech's* revolt. And it was indeed that single consideration that had detained Mr. *Russel* so long at *Tetuan*. This was therefore thought the most likely means to make him hasten his departure to court, as it actually did.

(Z) To give our reader a taste of some of his barbarities, he caused one of his Negroes to be flung from the top of a terrace, for stopping his pipe too hard; and another to be tossed in a blanket till his limbs were dislocated, for not bringing his dogs to him so soon as he expected. Neither did his wives and concubines fare better;

one of whom, on some trifling displeasure, he condemned to have all her teeth drawn out; a few days after which, having forgot his barbarous order, he commanded her to come to him again; and, being told the misery she was in, ordered the tooth-drawer to be served in the same manner, and sent his teeth to her in a box, to comfort her for the loss of her own. He caused two *Jewish* young women, newly married, to be brought to him, and, having deflowered them, sent them away to their husbands; a few days after which finding that they had been registred as his concubines, and that they cohabited with their husbands, he caused both couples to be murdered. His misfortune was, that, being always affable, loving, and even generous, in his drunken fits, but brutish and cruel when sober, those who were obliged to approach him, had no other way to escape his fury, than by making him drunk as soon as possible, and keeping him so as long as they could (24).

(24) *Torres, Boulet, ubi sup. Braithwait, p. 174, & alb. pass.*

The people
mur against
him.

A. D. 1728.
Abdelmelech
is chosen in
his stead.

Public entry
into that city.
1728.

Orders his
brother's eyes
to be put out.
Opposed by the
Talbs.

His character,
and short
reign.

The negroes re-
in throne his
brother.

and in the whole empire; he only rewarded their zeal with a severe beating. This treatment so exasperated them, that they made no difficulty to apply to the Mufri, Cadi, and some of the most considerable ministers, and upbraid them with their pusillanimity, and servile ob-servance of a prince so unfit and unworthy to reign. New complaints soon came from other parts of the empire; even the Negroes, who had so much reason to be dissatisfied with his brother *Abdelmelech*, joined with the *Moors* and *Arabs* in a resolution to assist him to dethrone his unworthy brother.

At length, a general assembly of the most considerable alcaides having been convened at *Mequinez* on the 22d of *March*, *Abdelmelech* was declared emperor, and letters were dispatched to hasten him to come and take the reins of government upon him. In the interim they sent circular orders to all the provinces, to send deputies to establish some form of government, till the new king's arrival. But as this could not be done without exasperating all the partisans of the now deposed *Muley Debaby*, they did not content themselves with a bare protest against the act of that grand assembly, but strove to disannul it by force of arms; and many bloody skirmishes were fought both in *Mequinez* and other cities, which obliged that grand council to cause *Abdelmelech* to be proclaimed emperor, and his son to be nominated his vicegerent till he appeared in person.

This expedient effectually quelled all further tumults; and the young regent immediately ordered forty quintals of flat money to be distributed among the principals of the people, and especially among the Negroes; not long after his father arrived, and made his public entrance, amidst the greatest acclamations of joy, on the 10th of *April* following. This revolution was, in a great measure, owing to the prime minister of the unfortunate *Muley Debaby*, whose extensive power and influence had determined the great assembly to that resolution; and who, in consequence of it, expected no less than to become the new emperor's sole favourite. But finding himself disappointed from the beginning, had now laid a new plot to reinthronise his old master. Whether this accusation was true, or only raised as a handle for disgracing that treacherous minister, it is not certain; but *Abdelmelech* made it a pretence for ordering his deposed brother to be deprived of his eyes. This was, however, strenuously opposed by the *Talbs*, who plainly told him, that that unfortunate prince having no other crime but that of drunkenness, they thought the stripping him of his crown was punishment sufficient, without depriving him of his sight; upon which he contented himself with sending him close prisoner to his old palace of *Taphilet*.

ABDELMELECH thinking now he had nothing to fear from that quarter, began to shew his natural temper more than he had ever dared to do, in treating his ministers with haughtiness, his *Moors* with scorn and hard usage, his Negroes with hatred and cruelty, his people with tyranny and oppression, and his christian slaves with uncommon barbarity. For though he was a sober prince, with regard to drinking, wholly abstained from wine, and a strict observer of the *Mohammedan* law, yet he had a great share of fierceness and cruelty in his looks and temper. He even caused some fathers of the redemption, who had brought large sums, and some rich presents, and were come to treat about the release of christian slaves, to be seized and brought before him, whom having stripp'd of all their effects, he ordered to depart out of his dominions in three days, on pain of being burned alive for having entered them without his permission (A). He had been scarcely three months on the throne, before his cruel usage of the negroes exasperated their whole body against him. They soon formed themselves into an army of above 40,000, some say 80,000 men, horse and foot; out of which they detached a corps of 10,000 to his brother, then at *Taphilet*, to beg pardon for what they had done against him, and to invite him to resume the imperial dignity. *Muley Debaby*, who had by that time raised a small army of about 15,000 *Moors*, put himself at their head, and was soon after joined by the rest of the Negroes. *Abdelmelech*, greatly surprised to see such a vast army so quickly raised, and making such long marches towards his capital, made what hasty preparations he could for its defence; but being quickly besieged in it, was forced to retire with his garrison into the *Alcassare*, or royal castle. The city was immediately entered, sword in hand, by the enemy, who had it betrayed to them by the

(A) In order to understand the motive of this arbitrary and unjust proceeding, the reader must know, that the emperor *Muley Debaby* had, a little before his being dethroned, formed a generous project for releasing a great number of his christian slaves for a certain sum per head; and had actually sent two of every nation upon their parole into their respective countries to transact and forward it. The two *Frenchmen* accordingly arriving at *Fontainebleau*, where the court then was, met with such a ready compliance to their request, that they embarked soon after with the missionaries above-mentioned, but had the misfortune to be detained by contrary winds;

and, upon their arrival at *Sallee*, were surprised to find that their good friend *Muley Debaby* had been deposed, and his brother *Abdelmelech* raised to the throne. Being, however, unwilling to lose their labour in so charitable a design, they resolved to try their fortunes with the new emperor; who being informed of their arrival and business, before they could make their way to the throne in the usual form, caused them to be seized and brought to court. We have already seen how he treated the old fathers; as for the two young *Frenchmen*, he ordered them to be immediately loaded with their usual shackles, and to be conveyed to their old mettemor, or prison (25).

- a treachery of about 4000 of his troops. The reader will easily imagine, from the fierceness Mequinez and resentment of these Negroes, what horrid massacre they committed in that capital. As ^{cruelly plundered.} for *Hammed Debaby*, his chief employment was to cause as many as fell into his hands, of his brother's partizans, to be nailed alive to the gates of the city, and to expire in the most excruciating torments; and, after he had glutted his resentment, he gave the city to be plundered by his negroes and *Moors*, which was executed with no less cruelty during the space of three days. *Abdelmelech*, who, through the treachery of his troops, had been forced to abandon that city to his fury, soon reached that of *Fez*, but was closely besieged in it by his victorious brother, who, flushed with his late success, and made sensible by his past misfortunes of the danger of his former conduct, had closely pursued him thither, at the head of a formidable army, before he, or the citizens, could have time to make the necessary preparations for a siege. He began with making some general assaults; but being as stoutly repulsed by the garrison, saw himself obliged to besiege it more closely on all sides, to prevent any provision being carried into it. This succeeded much better, inasmuch that, in three months, famine obliged them to capitulate; and the emperor insisting on no other terms than their submission, and the delivery of *Abdelmelech* to him, they readily complied, and brought ^{Abdelmelech besieged in Fez.} his brother bound before him. Upon his appearing, every one present, considering the fierceness of the king's temper, expected he would have instantly sacrificed him to his resentment; especially as he was found to have a pistol and dagger concealed under his garment, which carried a very treacherous appearance; but, to their great surprise, he had no sooner told him, that they were no other than he usually carried about him, than he delivered him up to a *Basha*, to be conducted to *Mequinez* under a strong guard, and to be kept closely confined in his house, without any further tokens of resentment. Which singular and unexpected mildness made so great an impression upon his people's minds, that all his former debaucheries and cruelties seemed to be quite obliterated by that generous act. Happy had it been for *Muley Debaby*, if he could as easily have overcome his passion for wine; for this it was that ruined his constitution, and brought upon him such an obstinate dropsy, as all the efforts of his physicians could not overcome. So that having tried in vain a multiplicity of medicines, and finding his end approaching still nearer, he sent orders to have his brother strangled, which was accordingly done; two days, some say five days, after which, he was ^{Sent prisoner to Mequinez.} carried off by his stubborn distemper, on the 29th of *March*^a, 1729, or, according to others, 1731^b, but without foundation. ^{Strangled. The emperor dies in the same week of a dropsy, 1729.}
- THE throne was no sooner vacant than a number of competitors appeared in arms, among whom was *Muley Bouffar*, the eldest son of *Muley Debaby*, who seemed to have much the best pretensions. Notwithstanding which, one of the late *Muley Ishmael*'s wives found means, by the great sway she bore with the *grande*s, and the vast sums she distributed among the blacks, to turn the election in favour of her son *Abdalla*, who, till then, had appeared to be a prince of a mild temper, which seldom fails of gaining the people's affections. He was no sooner proclaimed emperor, than *Muley Bouffar* retired into the kingdom of *Suz*, fully resolved to dispute the crown with him. On the other hand, *Abdalla* lost no time to march against him, at the head of a numerous army, and had the good fortune to defeat and take him prisoner, together with a *Santoon*, who was at the head of his council. *Abdalla* spared his nephew's life; and, as some add, gave him his liberty; but beheaded his counsellor with his own hand, with this reproof; *Let us see now whether thy sanctity can save thee from my hands*. After this important victory he went and laid close siege to the city of *Fez*, which had refused to acknowledge him. It proved an obstinate and bloody one, and lasted full six months; at which he was so exasperated, that he made a full resolution totally to destroy it; and would surely have done so, if some of his better counsellors had not represented to him, that that city had a celebrated *Santoon* for its founder, who was so revered and prayed to by the whole country, that he could not do it so signal an injury without incurring the hatred and abhorrence of the people, the resentment of the saint, and the curse of the almighty. Soon after this the inhabitants of *Suz* and *Tedla* came to pay their homage to him, and with some difficulty escaped his resentment for having been so tardy in it. For he had now no measures to keep any longer with his subjects, and so began by degrees to discover that tyrannic and cruel disposition, which was so natural to him, and which he had hitherto concealed under the disguise of mildness, that it might prove no obstacle to his mounting the throne. But as he was now, in all appearance, so well fixed on it, he made no longer scruple to let them know what they must expect of him, in case their want of fidelity or obedience should render them obnoxious to his displeasure. The first remarkable instance he gave of what he and his partisans styled justice, was one of the highest pieces of inhumanity on a considerable alcaide, who being accused of having refused to pay his yearly quota of tribute, the more effectually to deter others from following his example, he caused him to be brought before him; and, in presence of his whole court, he condemned him to a punishment

^a TORRES, BRAITHWAIT, Hist. of Barbary, p. 320.^b BOULET, p. 297.

of his own devising, and such a one as hath been unpractised, and unheard, if not unthought of, in any part of *Barbary*, or, indeed, in any nation, antient or modern, if we except the old *Persian* one of boating, from which he probably took the hint, and which we have fully described in a former part of this work^c. How nearly this new one resembled it, the reader will see in the margin (B). But not to dwell any longer on such scenes of cruelty, which those inhuman tyrants imagine to be the only means of keeping an oppressed, discontented people in subjection, and of which we shall have fresh occasion to speak in the course of this bloody reign, let us now pass on to the arrival of the famed duke of *Ripperda* into these dominions, after his banishment out of *Spain*.

Duke Rip-
perda's arri-
val at Me-
quinez.

THE design of his coming to the court of *Mequinez* was to engage *Muley Abdalla* in the blocking up the two strong fortresses of *Ceuta* and *Mellita*, in ruining of the *Spanish* coasts, and in uniting in a league with the other piratical states of *Barbary*, to transport an army of *Moors* into *Spain*, sufficient to undertake the reconquering of that rich and fertile country. His proposal gained credit the more easily with that monarch, as admiral *Perez*, who in a late reign had been sent ambassador to the *British* court, and since then to the *Hague*, had given him and his court a high character of his abilities, and artfully insinuated into them the great apprehensions which the *European* powers were in on account of his attachment to him; upon which it was unanimously agreed, that his scheme should be put in execution, and that the whole conduct and preparations for the war should be entirely left to his care.

Made a Basba
and great fa-
vourite.
Proposes the
siege of Ceuta.

RIPPERDA now become a great favourite at court, and raised to the dignity of a Basba, having informed himself the best he could by a faithful spy of his, named *Martin*, of the state of the *Spanish* garrisons and fortresses on the *Barbary* coasts, immediately proposed the opening the trenches before *Ceuta*; which, when it came to be debated in council, the most experienced officers among the *Moors* strenuously opposed, on account of the many fruitless attempts that had been already made against that place, as well as the vast expence of blood and treasure which the bare blockade of it had cost their monarchs, who must by this time be sufficiently convinced that it was absolutely impregnable. *Ripperda* heard them all out with abundance of pleasure, because he well knew that they had not raised any objection which he could not answer, nor any difficulty that he could not remove, as they chiefly sprung from their ignorance of the *European* ways of carrying on such difficult sieges with success; but when he came to open to them those various and new invented methods of acting offensively and defensively, of which himself was a thorough master, he easily brought them all over to his opinion; and the siege of that place was unanimously agreed to and resolved on without any further delay.

Brings the
whole council
to his opinion.

Invigorates
the Moors.

THAT nothing might be wanting to the carrying on of this favourite project, *Abdalla* nominated that apostate duke to be commander in chief, and raised some other renegadoes to considerable commissions under him. He also assembled a choice body of infantry, consisting of about 10,000 men, at the head of whom *Ripperda* marched directly to *Ceuta*, where he directed every thing with such surprising judgment and unwearied industry, as failed not to inspire the rest of the troops with fresh vigour and courage, insomuch that they now no longer deemed this blockade an insurmountable task, which could only end with their deaths, as their language formerly was, but looked upon the carrying of the place as a sure and easy one, under such an experienced commander, whom they looked upon as sent from heaven to free them from thralldom and misery, and to lead them to a plentiful harvest of laurels and wealth, especially as he took great care to shew himself at their head in every expedition.

Returns to
Mequinez.

As soon as he thought he had sufficiently inspirited his troops, and given the engineers the best rules how to proceed in the siege, he returned to *Mequinez*, where he was received with the greatest marks of favour and esteem. His design was to solicit that court for a new supply of provisions, ammunition, and artillery. His motion was immediately seconded by admiral *Perez*, and agreed to by the council; and the arrival of that fresh convoy to the camp so conciliated the hearts and confidence of his *Moorish* troops to him, that they cried him up as their common father, and the ablest general of the age.

^c See Ancient History, vol. ii. p. 61.

(B) He caused an ox to be brought into the court-yard, and to be beheaded close to the shoulders, and laid open from the breast downwards from end to end. Six men were then ordered to strip the alcayde of all his cloaths, and to lay him at full length in the carcase of the beast, and to be sewn in it, with only his head out to give him air to breathe, and more time to live in the most exquisite misery. The carcase was moreover closely hooped with six iron hoops, made on purpose to keep him in, and to prevent all possibility of his disen-

tangling himself from his dreadful confinement. In this miserable plight they let him continue, till the worms, which bred in the carcase of the ox, had devoured the greatest part of his flesh and intestines, roaring and raging in the most exquisite tortures, without any other comfort than a few handfuls of boiled rice, or cascasu, which were put from time to time into his mouth, not so much to allay his hunger as to lengthen his misery (26).

a RIPPERDA was now at the summit of credit and happiness, if any share of the latter can fall to the lot of a renegade to his God and country, when all was overcast again by the arrival of his faithful spy *Martin*, who brought him the unexpected news, that the *Spaniards* were preparing to transport an army into *Africa* to retake the city of *Auran*, or *Oran*, if not to extend their conquests still farther. The declaration was dated *June 6*, and contained the reasons which had induced the *Spanish* monarch to this expedition; for which a sufficient number of ships, men, and arms, was dispatched at the same time; all this *Martin* gave a full account of to the court of *Mequinez*.

The Spaniards besiege and take Auran. A. D. 1732.

b ABDALLA, though not a little surprised at the news, was yet glad that he had so able a general as *Ripperda* to oppose against the famed marquis of *Montemar*, who commanded the *Spanish* forces; and as that place was then in the hands of the *Algerines*, his allies, he wholly committed the defence of it to him. We shall not here anticipate the success of that expedition, of which we are to give a full account in a subsequent chapter; and in which he was forced to yield to the superior valour of the *Spanish* forces, through the baseness and cowardliness of his own. This unavoidable disgrace, however, was so far from discouraging him from pursuing his old scheme, that the excessive heats of the country had scarcely obliged the *Spaniards* to quit the field, than he started a double project; the one for the renewing the siege of *Ceuta*, and the other for the recovery of *Auran*; both which he represented to the king as practicable and easy, provided he could engage the free *Moors*, that is, the *Algerines*, *Tuniseens*, and *Tripolitans*, to join heartily and unanimously in it. He found little or no difficulty to engage them all in it; and, in a few days after, his couriers returned with the agreeable news, that they were all in full march to reach the army before *Ceuta*. Upon which *Ripperda* immediately set out, and found them accordingly encamped about two leagues short of that place. But here he was likewise informed, that the garrison had received a considerable reinforcement, and was marched out to engage in the open field. This last piece of news would certainly have given him the greatest pleasure, as it did a most wish'd-for opportunity of signalizing himself on so critical a juncture, had he not had too great a cause, from their former behaviour, to mistrust the firmness of his *Moorish* troops, on which the whole success chiefly depended. To confirm them, therefore, the more in it, he made a long and most pathetic harangue, in which he displayed to them, with his usual rhetoric, the barbarity and tyranny of the *Spaniards*, all joining together to reduce them to the lowest and most miserable state of slavery, reminding them of what their noble ancestors had suffered from them, and what a deal of blood and treasure it had cost them to repel their ambition and cruelty, and how much now depended upon their valour and firmness at this juncture, desiring of them nothing more than that they would follow his example, who was now going to lead them against their and his own enemies. The *Moors*, who were no less charmed with his eloquence than inspired by his conduct, behaved on this occasion with unusual bravery and firmness; and though the engagement was long and obstinate, yet, contrary to their wonted custom, they fought boldly hand to hand, rallied several times, whilst their general was in some measure present in every post of danger, not only distributing his commands, but fighting, charging, rallying, and exposing himself every moment to some fresh danger. At length, after a long and bloody action, the *Spaniards* were totally defeated, and forced to retire to *Ceuta* in great confusion, after a very great loss of their best forces and officers.

Ripperda resumes the siege of Ceuta.

His fine harangue to his Moorish troops.

Gains a signal victory.

e FLUSHED with this signal victory, the ambitious *Basha* began to open the trenches in form before *Ceuta*; and at the same time sent a reinforcement of 30,000 men, under the command of *Hali*, to assist in the forming the siege of *Auran*. But unfortunately for him, whilst his troops, elevated with their success, lay carelessly straggling along the trenches, and their advanced guard was at a good distance from the head quarters, the governor thought fit to fall upon them in the dead of the night, at the head of 6000 men, besides 500 pioneers, and several officers of distinction. The design was so well conducted, that the *Spaniards* quickly drew the *Moors* out of their trenches, and filled them up, nailed their cannon, plundered their head quarters, and forced *Ripperda* to flee in his shirt to *Tetuan*, leaving the greatest part of his infantry to be cut in pieces by the enemy. And a much greater slaughter would have been made among them, had not the cavalry come timely to their rescue, and by charging the enemy with fresh vigour, given an opportunity to some corps of foot to form in the plains behind them, who having repulsed them, happily recovered their posts. However, the engagement lasted near seven hours before the *Spaniards* retired; so that the great number of the slain, the great booty they took, and the standards and trophies of honour they carried into the place, joined to the great disgrace of the *Spanish* *Basha*, who had been the first projector of that siege, wholly quashed that enterprise, and made the *Moors* glad to lay quiet awhile, without attempting any new one, till towards the latter end of the year, when, having increased their army to above 50,000 men, they resolved upon resuming that of *Auran*, in which they proved more successful, as we shall shew in the subsequent history of *Algiers*.

Opens the trenches before Ceuta.

Surprised in the night, and flies in his shirt.

The siege set aside.

g IN the mean time *Abdalla*, disappointed and defeated in his favourite design against *Ceuta*, and other flattering prospects with which *Ripperda* had raised his ambition, grew more tyrannical and

Abdallagrows more tyrannical and cruel.

and cruel than ever (C). His oppressions and excesses grew to such a height, that the *Alarbs*,^a no longer able to bear them, took up arms against him, and gave him a signal overthrow in a pitched battle near the city of *Fez*, which he only revenged by acts of the most barbarous nature against the inhabitants of that place. His mother, dreading the consequences of it, tried all ways and means in vain to reclaim him; sometimes by prayers and tears, at others by severe reproaches, and apprising him of his danger. He made no scruple at last to tell her, that his subjects had no other title to their lives than his will; and that it was one of his greatest pleasures to kill them with his own hands. Her frequent remonstrances made him at length so far forget what he owed to her, not only as a parent, but as it was by her intrigues and interest that he obtained the crown, that he resolved to rid himself of her at all adventures: of which having, by good fortune, got timely intelligence, she found no better expedient to^b escape his unnatural fury, than by pretending a solemn pilgrimage to *Mecca*; yet he quickly after gave a signal, though little expected, instance of his humanity, even to those *Alarbs* who had so lately defeated him; for those elated by that victory had ventured to return to the charge; but being totally routed, in their turn, were glad to come and prostrate themselves before him, to the number of 4000, stripped as they were of all their cloaths; which made, it seems, such an impression upon him, that he could not forbear expressing a great resentment, that men should use their enemies in so barbarous a manner, and ordered some comfortable cloaths to be distributed among them. But whether this was owing to the impressions which his mother's remonstrances had made on him, or whatever other cause, it was not long before he was guilty of a much more egregious instance of barbarity against them, at a juncture when^c he had the greatest cause to court their friendship.

*Abdalla de-
throned and
retires.*

THE general of his negroes had, upon some discontent, raised a revolt among his troops, on pretence, whether true or false, that *Abdalla* had formed a design against his life, and so pathetically expressed the ingratitude of that prince to him, from whom he had received the greatest services, that they all agreed to dethrone him, and to place *Muley Hali*, the brother of *Hammed Debaby*, on the throne. *Abdalla*, now become as timorous and cowardly as he was before arbitrary and cruel, not knowing which way to turn himself, quickly left the city, with a design to refuge himself among those *Alarbs* whom he had used with so much clemency. He was then on his way towards them, when he was met with by eight of their deputies, who were sent, as is probably conjectured, to offer their services to him; but taking the advantage^d of his present distress, began to make some seasonable remonstrances to him on his past conduct: but that prince, whom no misfortunes could restrain from his sanguinary disposition, was so exasperated at the liberty they took with him, that he killed them all with his own hand, though at that time he was destitute of all safe refuge, and was going to put himself under their protection. All this while *Muley Hali*, at the head of his Negroes, was marching towards *Mequinez*, and entered that metropolis almost without opposition; but was not a little exasperated, when, instead of finding those treasures in it which he expected, he was told, that *Abdalla* had taken them away with him. He at first vented his resentment against his mother and the governors, and other officers of the seraglio and city.

*Murders eight
deputies of the
Alarbs.*

*Muley Hali
set up by the
negroes.*

A. D. 1736.
*Abdalla re-
stored to the
crown.*

ABDALLA, on the other hand, having carried off a vast treasure with him, made use of some part of it to corrupt a great number of those blacks, who had but a little while before shewn no less a readiness to drive him from the throne, and whom *Hali* was not in a condition to bribe at the same high rate. *Abdalla* was by their means restored to the crown, by whom he had been deprived of it; and when the negro general upbraided them for their baseness and inconstancy, they only told him, that they did not think *Muley Hali* a prince worthy of it: and it must be owned, that he had so far besotted himself by the excessive use of an intoxicating drug, called by the *Orientalists* *Archiach*, or *Archicha*, and not unlike the *Turkish* opium, which, taken moderately, hath an exhilarating, but when to excess, a lethargic quality, that he might justly be looked upon as quite unfit to reign.

*Cruelties at
Mequinez.*

ABDALLA had no sooner recovered the crown, than he ran into his old excesses of cruelty.^f The city of *Mequinez* was one of the first that felt the dreadful effects of his rage; every individual of whose garrison he caused to be beheaded, and the governor's youngest son to be strangled, whose father, foreseeing the storm, killed himself, after having first cut the throats of his wives and children, to avoid their falling into the brutish hands of that exasperated

(C) He not only punished with death the officers of his army for the least offence, but for the least mistake, or even for no other fault than want of success, though irreproachable in all other respects. But what was still more tyrannic, he carried his inhuman resentments against things of the most innocent nature; of which the following is a most flagrant instance: there is a strange prevailing custom all over *Barbary*, as well as here, that in their marriages, when the bride proves a virgin, the

bride-men and maids carry the insignia of it in triumph through the city; upon which the bridegroom, in a jocular manner, styles himself a king, and imposes some trifling taxes upon his friends, which he exacts under some penalty. But *Abdalla* was too jealous of the royal title and prerogative to admit of any such harmless imitation of it, and ordered eight of those bridegrooms to be tied to mules tails, and dragged through the streets of the city till they expired (26).

a tyrant. After that dreadful execution, he ordered the city to be plundered, and the citadel to be rased, for having, perhaps much against their will, been forced to receive his competitor within their walls; and having, in all probability, felt the sad effects of his resentment, when he found it stripped of the royal treasure he expected to have found in it. But these are considerations of little weight, even with their best monarchs, in those arbitrary governments, and of still less to such an inhuman tyrant as *Abdalla*.

In the mean time the general of the negroes, far from being deterred by these butcheries, *The negro general raises a fresh revolt.* from his first design of absolutely stripping him of the regal power, revived his old complaint of his life being threatened, and of the necessity there was of setting up *Sidi*, another prince of the royal blood, on the throne, (seeing *Muley Hali* was unfit for it) in order to rid the empire

b of such a monster of ingratitude and cruelty. He was in hopes, that the present ferment it was then in would induce not only the Negroes, but the *Moors* likewise, to join with him in it: but to his great surprise found himself deceived; whilst *Abdalla*, at the first news of it, *Betrayed to Abdalla.* had recourse to his old stratagem, and found means, by his large donations, not only to

reconcile the Negroes to him, but to engage them to deliver up their general alive into his hands: whereupon that unhappy officer, seeing himself thus basely betrayed by his own troops, betook himself to an artifice; which, considering the superstitious devotion of the *Moors*, he flattered himself could hardly fail of securing, at least, his life. With this view he took sanctuary in a much revered mosque, on account of some great saint, to whom it was dedicated; and, putting on the cloaths of the saint, suffered himself to be brought before the

c emperor in that venerable disguise. *Abdalla*, though far from being such a strict devotee as *Brought to him in a saint's habit.* his father *Muley Ismael*, yet condescended to kiss the holy robes with a seeming respect;

but ordering them immediately to be taken off, plunged his spear into his bosom, and called *Stabbed by him.* for a cup to receive some of his blood, with a design to drink it, in token of revenge. But here his prime minister took the liberty of diverting him, by representing to him how much *A strange instance of barbarity.* such an action was beneath his dignity; and offered to drink it himself, as being a more proper person for such a draught. *Abdalla* consented to it; and the prime minister, to express his

staunch loyalty, condescended to an action, which, compared to that of *Atræus*, would make him appear the greater monster of inhumanity^f. His death, however, did not put an end to *Abdalla's* fears, much less to the ferment that still reigned through the whole empire

d by his oppressions and cruelties. The people had some hopes left that *Sidi*, who had still a strong party in *Fez*, might, by some unexpected turn of fortune, wrench the crown from him, especially as a general discontent had spread itself among the Blacks, upon account of their being disappointed of those vast sums which they were made to expect upon the delivery of their general, which were, indeed, so large, that the emperor was not then in a condition to pay, nor, indeed, it seems, even their usual stipends, which yet is all they have to subsist upon. This soon induced them to enter upon a clandestine correspondence with *Sidi's* party at *Fez*; of which *Abdalla* being apprised, he lost no time to try to nip it, if possible, in the bud. So that having mustered up what forces he could get together, he resolved to lay close

e siege to the place. But this not succeeding to his wish, he plied his attacks more briskly and frequently, being determined, as it were, to venture the fate of the whole upon some decisive stroke: but even here he was also unsuccessful, the enemy getting ground of him, whilst his army grew less and less, both by losses and desertion, which obliged him at length to retire. The difficulty was how to do so without exposing himself to the storm that was gathering on all sides against him. In this pressing distress the most expeditious way appeared to him the safest; so that taking his son, mother, and most favourite wives, and whatever treasure he could gather up together, he retired with them to the mountains to wait for more favourable times.

He was no sooner gone than the *Fezians* sent to invite the negroes to come over to *Muley Sidi*, assuring them, that he was much more worthy of the crown than his cruel and perfidious competitor; and, what proved a more powerful motive, engaging that he should pay them the 400,000 ducats of *Abdalla's* arrears. This failed not to bring them all to his side; and *Sidi* was now looked upon as firmly seated on the throne, having both *Moors* and negroes in his interest; and long might they have continued so, in all probability, had not his breach of promise, and other irregularities, altogether inconsistent with the character which the *Fezians* had given of him, occasioned soon after a general disgust, which displayed itself at length in as general a defection. *Abdalla* did not lose so fair an invitation to appear again in arms in defence of his imperial dignity. He engaged his rival accordingly, at the head of an army gathered up in haste, and had the good fortune to give him a total overthrow. *Sidi*, who received a dangerous wound in the action, narrowly escaped with his life, and left him master of the field, as well as full possessor, once again, of his tottering state^g.

^f History of Barbary, ubi sup. p. 347. Hist. des Cherifs, Paris. 1733, & al.

^g Ibid. ibid.

C H A P. III.

The history of Algiers, from its foundation by Barbarossa; and from that down to the present time.

S E C T. I.

A geographical description of Algiers.

Algiers,
whence so
called.

THE *Algerine* kingdom made formerly a considerable part of the *Mauritania Tingitana*, described in the *ANTIEN*T HISTORY; and stiled also *Mauritania Cæsariensis*, from the city of *Cæsarea*, built there by King *Juba*, in honour of *Augustus*, who had restored him to his native kingdom^a. *Cluverius* is the only author who places this Roman province in *Darab*, in the *Biledulgerid*, but without any foundation.

ALGIERS, or *Argier*, hath its name from its metropolis, the only city of note in the whole kingdom; and called by the *Turks* *Algezair*, since then corrupted into *Algiers*, of which we shall treat farther in its proper place.

How divided
by the Ara-
bians.

THIS kingdom was, soon after its conquest by the *Arabs*, divided into four principal provinces; viz. *Tremecen*, al. *Tlesan*, or *Telensine*; 2. *Algiers Proper*; 3. *Bujeyab*, vulgarly *Bugia*; and 4. *Tennez*, or *Tenes*; to which some authors add a 5th; viz. *Constantina*; all which had their names from their respective capitals. But after *Algiers* became the metropolis

By the Turks.

of the kingdom, and *Tremecen* was become subject to it, the *Turks*, under whose protection the *Algerines* had put themselves, divided it into eighteen provinces; viz. 1. *Algiers Proper*; 2. *Tremecen*; 3. *Tennez*; 4. *Bujeyab*; 5. *Angad*, or *Angued*; 6. *Beni-Arazid*; 7. *Miliana*; 8. *Couco*; 9. *Labez*; 10. *Tebessa*; 11. *Human-Bar*; 12. *Haresgol*; 13. *Oran*, or *Awran*, and *Horan*; 14. *Mostagan*; 15. *Bona*; 16. *Sargel*; 17. *Jigeri*, or *Gigeri*; 18. *Constantina*. All these are so named from their respective capitals; besides which, some of them have only two or three inconsiderable towns, and others only one^b.

Its extent.

THE extent of this kingdom from east to west, that is, from the town of *Tabarca*, on the river *Zaine*, or ancient *Tusca*, in $0^{\circ} 16'$ west long. from *London*, to that of *Twunt*, and the mountains of *Trava*, $9^{\circ} 16'$ east, is variously computed by geographers. *Sanfon*, who bounds it between the *Zaine* and the *Mulvya*, or *Mulloia*, gives it 900 miles in length; *La Croix* 720; *Luyts* 630; but to name no others, according to the latest and best computation, the utmost length of it amounts to no more than 460 miles^c. They agree somewhat better about its breadth; none of them giving it less than 150 miles where narrowest, and 240 where broadest: but even in this they exceed also the later and more accurate observations.

Length from
east to west.

Breadth va-
rious.

Some parts of it, particularly from *Telensin* to the sea coast, being hardly above forty miles wide; and near the springs of the *Sig-Habra* and *Shellif* about 60, which, in the western part, may be taken at a mean for the extent of what the *Arabs* call the *Tel*, or *Tillage Land*. But from *Algiers*, eastward, it is considerably broader, particularly under the meridians of *Bujeyab*, or *Bugia*, and *Bona*, where it mostly extends itself above 100 miles, especially under that of *Jigeri*, or *Gigeri*, in lat. $36^{\circ} 55'$, to *Luolajah*, situate among the mountains of *Atlas*, in lat. $44^{\circ} 50'$. As to the *Algerine* dominions beyond the *Tel*, or more advanced parts of *Atlas*, they are so uncertain and precarious, that the northern skirts of the *Sabara*, or desert, seem to be the properest boundaries on that side. They may, indeed, have still a good number of villages beyond this, in the country of *Zaab*, which pay some kind of tribute; but they are not worth further notice here. But in the general *Algiers* is bounded on the north by the *Mediterranean*, on the east by the river *Zaine*, which divides it from *Tunis*; on the west by the *Mulvya*, and the mountains of *Trava*, which part it from *Morocco*; and on the south by the *Sabara*, or *Numidian* desert^d.

Boundaries.

^a Ancient Hist. vol. vii. p. 157, & seq. LEO Afric. lib. iii. & iv. MARMOL Afric. l. v. c. 33. DAPPER, DAVITY, TASSY, MORGAN, SHAW'S Travels, p. 71, & seq. ^b Ibid. ibid. Vid. & CORNEIL. BAUDRAND, DE LISLE, &c. ^c Vid. SHAW'S Travels, p. 1, & seq. ^d See the map of Algiers. SHAW, ub. sup. p. 2, & seq. TASSY, MARMOL, & al. sup. citat.

a THE climate of *Algiers* is, in most parts of it, so moderate, that they enjoy a constant verdure; the leaves of the trees being neither parched by the summer's heat, nor nipped by the coldness of the winter. They begin to bud in *February*; in *April* the fruit appears in its full bigness; and is commonly full ripe in *May*. The grapes are fit to gather in *June*; and their peaches, nectarines, figs, olives, nuts, &c. in *August*, where-ever the soil is suited to them. But this last differs very much, some parts being excessively hot, dry, and barren; and, on that account, lie uncultivated, the inhabitants being generally very negligent of agriculture. Other countries, especially the mountainous parts of *Tennez*, *Bujeyah*, and *Algiers Proper*, are fertile in corn and other grain, and variety of fruits; and others afford plenty of excellent pasturage, especially the northern coasts of *Tremecen*; whilst the southern side, and those parts at a distance from the sea coasts, are wild and barren, and harbour a great variety of wild creatures, as lions, tigers, buffaloes, wild boars, stags, porcupines, monkeys, ostriches, and other wild fowl, game, &c. on which account they have but very few towns, and those but thinly peopled, in comparison of the provinces nearer the sea; notwithstanding which, some are so advantageously situated for trading with *Biledulgerid*, and other parts of *Negro-land*, as to drive a considerable traffick with them.

Climate, soil, and product.

Different soils.

Wild creatures.

Traffick with the negroes.

THE *Algerines*, inhabiting along the sea coasts, are a strange mixture of various nations; but for the most part *Moors* and *Morescos*, driven thither from *Catalonia*, *Aragon*, and other parts of *Spain*. Here are also great numbers of *Turks*, besides those belonging to the militia, whom poverty sends hither from the *Levant* to seek their fortune; to say nothing of the *Jews*, who swarm along the coasts, and a great number of Christian prisoners taken at sea, and brought hither to be sold for slaves. Other Christians there are also who are free, and traffick with the rest of the inhabitants unmolested. The *Berebers* are some of the oldest inhabitants of these parts, and are supposed to be descended from the ancient *Sabeans*, who came hither from *Arabia Felix*, under the conduct of one of their princes; others believe them to be some of the *Canaanites*, whom *Joshua* drove out of *Palestine*. These are dispersed all over *Barbary*, and divided into a multitude of tribes, under their respective chiefs (A); most of them inhabit the mountainous parts, some of them range about from place to place, and live in tents, or portable huts, others in scattered villages; and have, nevertheless, kept themselves for the most part from intermixing with other nations. These are reckoned the richest of all, go better clothed, and carry on a much larger traffick of cattle, hides, wax, honey, iron, and other commodities: they have likewise some artificers in that metal, and some manufacturers in the weaving branch. To these we may add the *Zwowahs*, called by our *European* authors *Azuagues*, or *Affagars*, dispersed likewise all over most parts of *Barbary* and *Numidia*; and great numbers of whom inhabit the mountainous parts of *Couco*, *Labez*, and other *Algerine* provinces, and lead a kind of wandering pastoral life. These are very poor, yet stout and warlike, and are taken into the service of the government.

Various sorts of inhabitants.

Berebers who, and whence from.

Their way of living, traffick, &c.

The Zwowahs, or Azuagues.

BUT the most numerous of all the inhabitants are the *Moors* and *Arabians*, of whom we shall now give a short account. The *Moors*, so called from their ancient county *Mauritania*, are of two sorts: those that inhabit the cities and towns, and carry on some commerce, either by land or sea, and under the commission of the Dey, Beys, or Agas, of their respective abodes, bear offices relating to the concerns of their own nation; some follow trades and manufactures; others are farmers, gardeners, graziers, &c. They have houses and lands of their own, and may be stiled the citizens of the *Algerine* kingdom; many of whom grow rich enough to purchase estates, and have a considerable share in the ships that go cruising abroad.

The Moors of the towns.

THE other sort are of the wandering kind, without lands, houses, or patrimony; and in all respects very poor. They are multiplied into a prodigious number of tribes, distinguished either by the names of their chiefs, or the places of their abode, or both. Each of them forms a kind of itinerant village, or adowar, as they term it; each family of which lives in its particular tent, or portable hut. Each adowar hath its Cheyk, or chief, who, in conjunction

Of the country.

^c LEO AFR. lib. iv. MARMOL, l. v. c. 39, & seq. DAPPER, DAVITY, TASSY, l. i. c. 2. SHAW'S Travels, p. 46, 121, & alib. BAUPRAND, & al. ^f GRAMMAY, l. iii. c. 5. MARMOL Afr. l. iii. c. 17, & seq. LEO AFR. lib. i. p. 5, 6. DAPPER, DAVITY, TASSY, & al. ^e Ibidem ibid. ^h Ibidem ibid.

(A) The name of *Bereber* is supposed to have been given to them on account of their settling at first in some desert part. Upon their increasing in process of time, they divided themselves into five tribes, called the *Zinhagians*, *Musamedins*, *Zenetæ*, *Hoares*, *Gomeres*; and these having produced 600 families, did also subdivide them-

selves into a great number of petty tribes; some of whom retained the names of their founders, others added that of the country they lived in; which not only occasioned a confusion among their tribes, but very frequently wars among them (1).

(1) Leo Afr. p. 5. Marmol Afr. l. iii. c. 17. & seq. Dapper, Davity, Morgan, Tassy, &c.

with his assistants, form a sort of petty aristocracy, and govern the whole community with a great equity and tenderness. They live entirely on the produce of such lands as they farm from those we called above the citizens; to whom they pay their rent in kind, whether fruits, herbs, corn, honey, wax, and the like; and the remainder they sell to the neighbouring towns, as opportunity offers. They are particularly skilful in the choice of the most advantageous soil for every season, and no less careful to avoid the neighbourhood of the *Turkish* troops. Each adowar pays a tax to the Dey, in proportion to the number of its families; for which their Cheyk is answerable to him, and the whole community for each individual. These wanderers being scattered all over this part of *Afric*, in *Morocco*, *Tunis*, *Tripoli*, &c. where we shall have occasion to speak of them again under those heads, it will not be amiss to give our readers a little further notion of their manners, religion, customs, &c. here once for all, especially as they are for the most part common to them, throughout all the vast tract of ground they possess, and under every government they are tributary to.

Pay tribute to the Dey. *Scattered over Afric.* *Their extreme misery and nastiness.* THEIR adowars are a perfect emblem of misery and nastiness; and so poorly furnished are their tents, that a handmill to grind their corn, a few earthen pitchers, wherein they keep their oil, rice, flower, &c. a few mats to sit and lie upon, and a pot or two to boil their rice, are all the household-goods they contain; and yet are big enough to contain two or three families, parents, children, servants, horses, cows, goats, poultry, cats, dogs, &c. only this last creature is obliged to lie out of the tent, to keep guard against the approach of lions, foxes, and other beasts of prey; and to drive away rats, serpents, and other vermin, which are in some parts very numerous and hurtful. The Cheyk's tent is only distinguished from the others by its height, and being pitched in the center of the rest. These huts being supported by two large posts, form a kind of pavilion; the door of which is made of the boughs of trees. The middle is a small square, which divides the apartments of the *Moors* from those of their beasts; in the center of which is the hearth, upon which they bake their cakes, boil their rice, and other food; and round the sides are spread mats of palm trees, which serve for tables to eat at, and beds to lie upon. The tents are covered with sheeps hides, black, white, speckled, as it happens; and every thing in them is mean, nasty, and loathsome¹.

Their mean diet. *Employment.* THEIR diet is chiefly cakes baked on the hearth, rice, pulse, fruits dried and green, milk, &c. They eat little or no flesh, except on some great holidays, because they can turn it into money; and their drink is commonly water; and a little oil and vinegar mixed, to sop their bread in is reckoned a dainty sauce. The men perform all the husbandry work, and go about to sell their corn, fruits, poultry, and other commodities, whilst their women and children take care to feed the cattle, to get in fuel and water, to provide victuals and other necessaries for their family: they likewise keep a vast number of bee-hives under their care, and breed great quantities of silk-worms.

Mean garb of the men; THEIR dress is as mean as their food; that of the men consists only in a haik, or coarse piece of cloth, four or five ells long, which they wrap about their shoulders, and comes down to their ankles; to which they add a cap of the same cloth, or some rag which they twist about their head. The Cheyk's dress is a shirt, and a cloak all of one piece, which comes down to the calf of their leg, and a cowl upon his head (B) of a finer sort of cloth. As to the children, girls as well as boys, they let them go quite naked, till they are about seven or eight years of age, when they tie a rag or two about them, rather for ornament than decency. While they are sucking, their mothers carry them, often two in a bag, tied upon their backs, when they go to fetch water or wood; but they are generally so stout as to begin to walk by that time they are six months old.

Of the women. THE dress of the *Moorish* women is only a piece of woollen stuff, which covers their bodies from their shoulders down to the knees. They wear their hair braided, and adorned with glass bugles, coral glass, fishes teeth, and other such baubles: the bracelets on their arms and legs are either of horn, wood, ivory, or other such mean stuff; whilst their cheeks, foreheads, arms, and legs, nay, their thighs and fingers ends, are embellished with black spots from their very infancy, which is done by pricking the place with a needle, and rubbing it with some sort of black powder. Their complexion in general is very swarthy; but their constitution robust and lively. They marry very young; the sons at fourteen or fifteen, and their daughters at nine

¹ MARMOL, DAPPER, DAVITY, TASSY, & al. sup. citat.

(B) There are here and there some wealthy *Moors* that wear such a cloak when they go abroad; and look upon it as so choice an ornament, that they commonly make it serve two or three generations; and so careful are they in preserving it, that if they are caught in a shower, they immediately pull it off, and fold it up, lay it upon some stone, or dry spot, and sit patiently naked upon it till the rain is over, and their skin dry enough to put it on without damaging it. But the generality of them are so poor, that they can hardly afford themselves a haik long enough to cover their knees (2).

(2) *Marmol, Dapper, Tassy, & al. sup. citat.*

a or ten, or even at eight years of age. And as these are commonly very fertile, it is no extraordinary thing to see them suckling of their children at ten or eleven, and sometimes even earlier. *Their fertility.*

WHEN a young man hath got leave to court a man's daughter, he is to bring the number of horses, cows, sheep, or other cattle agreed upon, to her parents hut, where she, without any reluctance, receives him for her spouse; upon which some of the by-standers asking him what his bride hath cost him, he answers, *A virtuous and industrious woman cannot be too dearly bought.* After the mutual congratulations are over, the young women of the adowar are invited to the feast; and the bride being set on a horse of the bridegroom's, is led to his tent, with the acclamations of the retinue; and being arrived at the door of it, is offered a mixture of milk and honey to drink, whilst the rest of the company sing her epithalamium, and conclude it with the usual good wishes to the new married couple. The bride then alighting, her companions put a stick into her hand, which she thrusts as far as she can into the ground, saying, that as the stick cannot be removed thence without force, so neither will she quit her husband, unless he forces her from him; upon which, before he admits her into his tent, he delivers up a flock to her, which she leads to some neighbouring pasture, by which she is given to understand, that he expects her to labour, and to take care of the family; and, upon her return, she and her retinue are admitted in: the feast begins and ends with singing, dancing, and other rejoicings till the evening, when the bride is presented to her husband, and the company take their leave. She is afterwards to wear over her face a veil during a whole month, and not to stir out of the tent till that be over; from which time she enters into that province of the family œconomy that is allotted to the rest of the married women, who are here excluded from intermeddling with any public matters; and are so well satisfied with it, that they would be highly displeased with their husbands, if they should offer to communicate any affairs relating to the state to them ^k. *Marriages.* *Women excluded from public affairs.*

THESE wandering *Moors* are generally very stout and warlike, skilful horsemen, and value themselves very highly, notwithstanding their poverty, for not being confined to towns, like the other sort, whom they look upon as tame slaves, always at the mercy of the *Turks*; so that upon any insult or ill usage received from a *Turkish* Aga, they immediately return it in a hostile way, till the town *Moors*, who cannot subsist without being supplied with provisions from them, nor upon a dislike secure themselves from their depredations, have mediated a peace between them. To keep up this martial temper among them, the chiefs of every adowar meet in a circle round their Cheyk every evening, to discuss the public affairs; after which they divert themselves with their usual exercises on horseback; in which they are so dexterous, both in the management of that creature and their graceful posture of sitting, that they can take up any thing from the ground with their lance in full speed. In this exercise they continue till the time is come for retiring. Their usual weapons are a zagay, or short lance, which they always carry in their hand, and a broad cutlass hanging below the left elbow. *Men stout and warlike.* *Dexterous horsemen.* *Weapons.*

THEY are commonly so addicted to robbing, that one cannot travel safely across the country, or at a distance from the towns, without a guard, or at least a marabout, that is, one of their priests or monks, for a safeguard. For, as they look upon themselves as the original proprietors of the country, and not only as dispossessed by the rest of the inhabitants, but reduced by them to the lowest state of poverty, they make no scruple to plunder all they meet with, by way of reprisal. However, notwithstanding their pretence of being the true descendants of the first inhabitants of this country, they differ from the *Berebers*, who lay a much juster claim to it, in that they have kept themselves from intermixing with any other nations; but the *Moors* have mixed themselves not only with the descendants of the ancient *Africans*, but with the several other nations that have conquered it, down to the establishment of the *Turks* in those dominions^l. Thus much may suffice with respect to these wandering *Moors*, so far as they differ from those that are settled in towns. In other cases, such as their language, which is a corrupt *Arabic*, and their religion, which is a corrupt *Mohammedism*, they only differ from them, in having adopted a still greater number of superstitions in their faith, one of the most glaring the reader may see in the margin (C): the rest are scarce worth further notice. *Great Robbers, and why.* *Differ from the Berebers.*

THE

^k MARMOL, DAVITY, DAPPER, TASSY, ub. sup.^l Ibid. ibid.

(C) The *Moors*, in general, whether of a city or country, as well as the *Algerine Turks*, have, through the knavery of their marabouts, so disfigured the *Mohammedan* religion, that a true *Mussulman* would hardly know it, as we shall have occasion to shew when we come to speak of the present *Algerines*. But among a vast number of gross and unnatural superstitions they have imbibed from them, the following one is well worth being taken notice of; viz. Their happiness in the next life will be greater or less, according to the

number of Christians they have slaughtered in this; so that those have but an indifferent title to any share of it, who have not had the good fortune to dispatch at least one or two before they die. They differ, however, in their opinion about the manner in which this ought to be done; some of them maintaining, that it ought to be only in battle, duel, or in a fair assault; whilst others affirm, that it will avail let it be done by ever so unfair or unjust means, or on what account soever, so it be but done. This, however,

The Arabians
in Algiers de-
scribed.

THE other considerable nation that is scattered through all the provinces, not only of the *Algerine* dominions, but through all the other parts of *Barbary*, is that of the *Arabians*. We have given a full description of these, of their origin, religion, customs, language, &c. both in our *Antient* and *Modern History* *. These we are now speaking of are a mixture of a variety of tribes, descended from those *Mohammedan Arabians* which over-ran this part of *Africa*; from which being afterwards driven by the *Turks*, they fled to the mountainous parts of it, to save themselves, their cattle, and effects, where they have enjoyed their liberty ever since; and by their labour and industry have improved those barren and desert lands into pleasant and fruitful territories. These are, like the *Moors*, divided into a multitude of tribes and little governments, under their respective chiefs, and value themselves highly upon their having preserved their blood untainted by mixture with other nations, and express the utmost contempt for those, who, preferring their ancient habitations in towns and cities, submitted to a foreign yoke, whom they call, therefore, in derision, citizens and courtiers; and as they have intermarried with strangers, they are reputed no better than *Moors*. The *Algerines*, indeed, who make no distinction between these two sorts of *Arabs* any more than they do between the wandering and city *Moors*, call them all four alike by the common name of *Moors*; in which inaccuracy they have been followed by many of our *Europeans*, who seem to make no manner of distinction between the *Turks*, *Moors*, and *Arabians*, of this kingdom, for want of being better acquainted with it.

Erroneously
confounde
d with the
Moors.

Subdued by the
Turks but in
part.

THE *Turks*, upon their first subduing of this country, knew so little of the mountainous and desert parts of it, that they gave the *Arabians* an opportunity of seizing upon the passes that lead to the kingdoms of *Fez* and *Tunis*; but upon taking a further survey of it, and raising of fortifications on the most advantageous posts, they soon obliged them either to retire or submit; which they could the more easily do, both by the help of their fire arms, and the increase of their forces by the arrival of thousands of *Moors* and *Jews* drawn thither from *Spain*. So that many of these *Arabs* agreed to become tributary to them, rather than abandon their old habitations; whilst others, scorning a foreign yoke, retired into the more inaccessible parts of the kingdom, and lived free from tribute; and a third part compromised matters with the new conquerors, by a mutual obligation of not molesting each other, as will be seen more fully in the sequel, when we come to speak of the southern government of *Algiers*, where the greatest part of them are seated. But these two last stand in little or no awe of the *Algerine* government, who, on account of their martial temper and happy situation, dare not give them any molestation; for as often as any such attempts have been made, either upon their freedom or their effects, either formerly by the *Turkish* *Bashas*, or since by any of the *Deys*, they immediately concealed their corn, and other provisions, in some spacious caves in the rocks, and drew their cattle towards *Biledulgerid*, or some other inaccessible mountainous parts, where they could not only bid them defiance, but plague them likewise by their frequent incursions. There is still another sort of these *Arabians* that wander along the banks of their rivers *Ziz* and *Hued-Abra*, and some other parts of *Algiers*. These never give themselves the trouble of tilling their ground, but range from place to place for pasture, and live chiefly upon the plunder, not only of villages and adowars, but towns and cities. The province of *Oran* is one of the most infested by these plundering desperadoes.

Others range
at full liberty
under their
chiefs.

A desperate
and plundering
race of them.

The Algerine
government.

THE *Algerines* in general do chiefly live on piracy, and are justly looked upon as the most dangerous of all the *African* corsairs. They are very greedy of gain, which makes them bold and venturous, cruel to those that fall into their hands, especially to Christians, and make no scruple to violate the most sacred ties, whenever they stand in competition with their interest. The coasters are no less savage and inhuman, sparing neither wrecks nor sailors, whether friends or foes; only when the latter happen to be *Mohammedans*, they will bestow a small viaticum upon them to help them homewards: but as to the ship or cargo, though it belong to the *Turks*, or to the friends of the state, the *Dey* has not authority enough among the greatest part of them to save any of it to the owners, except by composition.

The militia de-
pends the Turk-
ish *Bashas*.

ALGIERS hath still retained the title of a kingdom, though the government was once dwindled into a downright republic, as we may gather from the title of their ordinances, edicts, and other public acts, which ran in the following terms: "We the great and small members of the mighty and invincible militia of *Algiers*, and of the whole kingdom." This change was occasioned by the avarice and tyranny of the *Bashas*, or viceroys, set over them by the *Porte*, under whose protection they had been so long, that they were become in some mea-

* See *Antient History*, vol. vii, p. 149, & seq. Additions to the *Universal History*, p. 261 & seq. & *Mod. Hist.* vol. v. p. 669, & seq. ⁿ LEO, MARMOL, & al. sup. citat.

however, is not so wide a comment on *Mohammed's* doctrine, as the *Gazie*, or religious war on all infidels, especially the Christians, is one of the most meritorious parts of his religion, as that which intitles his followers to the highest degrees of sensual happiness in his promised *Paradise*.

- a sure subject to it: till at length the *Turkish Janissaries* and militia being become powerful enough to suppress the tyrannic sway of those *Bashas*, and the people almost exhausted by the heavy taxes they laid upon them, the former resolved to depose those petty tyrants, and set up some officers of their own at the head of the realm. The better to succeed in this attempt, the militia sent a deputation of some of their chief members to the *Porte*, about the beginning of the seventeenth century, to complain of the avarice and oppression of those *Bashas*, who sunk both the revenue of the state, and the money remitted to it from *Constantinople*, into their own coffers, which should have been employed in keeping up and paying the soldiery, by which means it was become so weak, that they were in continual danger of being overpowered by the *Arabians* and *Moors*, who, if ever so little assisted by any Christian power, would hardly fail of driving all the *Turks* out of the kingdom. To this they added a representation to the Grand Vizir, shewing how much more honourable, as well as easier and cheaper, it would be for the Grand Signor to permit them to chuse their own Dey from among themselves, whose interest it would then be to see that the revenue of the kingdom was rightly applied in keeping up its forces complete, and well paid, and in supplying all other exigences of the state, without any further charge or trouble to the *Porte*, than that of allowing them its protection, whilst they, on their part, engaged always to acknowledge the Grand Signors as their sovereigns, and to pay them their usual allegiance and tribute. This last proposal was highly relished by that prime minister, as it would save the *Porte* some considerable annual sums, prove a means of establishing a better understanding between the two powers than ever, and of keeping the *Turkish* forces upon a better and more complete footing than their *Bashas* had done. Upon all which accounts the Soltan was easily persuaded by his minister to agree to it, rather than perhaps to run the risk of a total revolt, and lose the small remains of his authority in that kingdom. By this concession the *Janissaries* became still more powerful, because the choice of those *Deys* was wholly invested in them, and they were to chuse them from among themselves. This elective body, called the *Douwan*, vulgarly *Divan*, or common council, at first consisted of about 800 militia officers, without whose advice or consent the Dey could do nothing; and, upon some urgent occasions, all the officers that resided in *Algiers*, amounting to above 1500, were summoned to assist. But since those *Deys*, who may be compared to the *Dutch Stadtholders*, are become more powerful and independent, the *Douwan* is principally composed of thirty *Yiah-Bashas*, with now-and-then the *Mufti* and *Cadi*, upon some emergencies; and, upon the election of a new Dey, the whole soldiery, are then allowed to come and give their votes. All affairs of state are to be determined by that assembly before they pass into a law, or the Dey hath power to put them in execution. But for the last thirty or forty years this assembly is become of so little account, that it is only convened out of formality, and to give an assent to what the Dey and his chief favourites have concerted before-hand; so that in reality the whole power is now lodged in one person, only with this small restriction, if it be any, that the Grand Signor still styles him his viceroy, or *Basha*, as he doth the people his subjects (D), and challenges to himself the power of approving or disallowing of his election, though it is seldom found that he ventured to disannul it, for fear of losing that shadow of authority he claims over them.

THE *Algerine Deys* are, as we hinted above, chosen out of the militia; the most inferior of which hath an equal right and title to that dignity with the highest: every bold and aspiring soldier, though taken from the plough or cart, being there considered as heir apparent to the throne; neither need he wait till the present possessor be deprived of it by age or sickness, if he be but able to maintain himself upon it with the same scymitar which he ventured to sheath in his predecessor's bowels. So that, as a reverend and learned traveller says, who resided several years in that kingdom^a, the supreme command lieth here, as it did in the declension

^a SHAW'S Travels, p. 311. Vid. & DE TASSY, lib. ii. c. 6. MORGAN, & al.

(D) This plainly appears from the tenor of the letter, sent by the Grand Signor to the Dey *Mehemmed*, in favour of the *Dutch*, an. 1719, and particularly from the pompous superscription of it, which ran thus:

"TO MEHEMMED, DEY and BASHA of *Algiers*, a prince chosen to enjoy the dignity he is possessed of, who has been preserved by the favour of the Most High; and to the LEARNED MUFTI, and to you the *Cadis* and Judges excelling in eloquence and equity, and to all others amongst you who abound in knowledge, and to all the Chiefs of the militia, who fight for the faith; and also to all our *Algerine* SUBJECTS, greeting."

In which letter he complains, that the Dey had not only declared an unjust war against the *Dutch*, then in

amity with the *Porte*, but likewise, that, instead of complying with his former orders, by which he had been enjoined to negotiate a peace with them, he had forcibly taken 50,000 dollars from them, and obliged their ambassador to retire into *France*.

Wherefore he now charges him afresh to send forth with two of his officers, with proper powers, to *Constantinople*, to answer their allegations, and to transact and conclude the said peace. And concludes with reminding the Dey and his *Douwan*, that such as refuse to obey their emperor's orders are criminals before God and men, &c.—Which order the Dey, upon that juncture, chose to comply with, rather than fall out with the *Porte*; and a peace was soon after concluded accordingly between *Algiers*, and the states of *Holland* (4).

(4) *Dutch Memoirs*, ap. Morgan, *Hist. Algiers*.

*And the Deys
frequently de-
posed and mur-
dered.*

*Chosen by the
whole militia.*

*The manner of
his election.*

*The Aga of the
Janissaries.*

*Secretary of
state.*

Chiah Bashas.

Bolluk Bashas.

of the *Roman* empire, open, and exposed to every bold pretender, who, if he hath but reso-
lution to attempt, will hardly fail of carrying it. This evidently appears, by the quick suc-
cession which hath been observed to happen among the Deys ever since they have been per-
mitted to be chosen by the militia, scarcely one in ten of them having had the good fortune to
die in his bed; that is, without a musket ball, or scymitar; even those few who have been blessed
with a more peaceful *exit*, cannot be said to have been beholden for it either to any higher
regard or esteem which the army had for them, but rather to their own good fortune or fore-
sight, in nipping a new insurrection in the bud, by the death of the conspirators, before they
could bring their designs into execution. Neither is it their male-administration, tyranny, or
avarice, that hasten their ruin, any more than the contrary amiable qualities can preserve them
from it. The very want of success in an enterprise, though ever so wisely concerted and car-
ried on, is a sufficient crime with those superstitious and mutinous troops, to cause an insurrec-
tion, and cost the best and most sagacious Dey, or officer, his dignity and life; nay, they are
often caused upon no other foundation than a desire of change, blown up by some bold aspirer to
the supreme power (E). This, however, helps to keep up in some measure the credit, or, at least,
the shew of the *Douwan*, which might else have been quite abolished ere now; and a Dey
is often obliged to assemble, and consult them upon all important matters, merely to screen
himself from popular discontents; though in reality the chief members of it, being for the most
part his creatures, he may be said to act with a despotic authority, there being no appeal from
this supreme tribunal, but by way of insurrection, or open rebellion. We have already
observed, that the whole body of the militia is concerned in the election of a new Dey, and
that the lowest person in it hath a right to vote as well as the highest; and as there are com-
monly several candidates to that dignity, the election can hardly be supposed to be carried on
without some tumult, if not blows and blood-shed. But when once the choice is agreed on,
the person elected is saluted with the words *ALLA BARIK*, that is, God bless, or prosper you;
immediately after which, he is invested with the *kaftan*, or insignia of sovereignty, whilst
the Cady, or chief judge, addresses him with a congratulatory speech, which is generally
closed with a pathetic exhortation, importing, that, as it hath now pleased the Almighty to
raise him to the supreme dignity of the kingdom, it is now his duty to govern it with justice
and equity, to preserve his new subjects in their rights and liberties, and to make it his chief
care and concern to promote their safety and welfare, to the utmost of his power.

THE next officer in dignity and power to the Dey, is the Aga, or general of the *Janissaries*,
who is one of the oldest officers of the army, and enjoys his post only two months; and is then
succeeded by the Chiah, or next senior officer, or eldest *Yiah-Basha*. During those two months
the keys of the metropolis are in his custody; all military orders are issued out in his name;
and the sentence of the Dey upon any offending soldier, whether capital, or only corporal, is
to be executed in the court of his palace. And as soon as he is gone through this short office,
he is considered as *mazoul*, or superannuated; receives his pay regularly, like all the rest of
the militia, every two moons, exempt from all farther duties, except when called by the Dey
to give his advice at the grand council; to which he hath, however, a right to come at all
times when he pleases, but hath no longer a vote in it. The next to him in dignity is the
secretary of state, who registers all the public acts; and next to these are twenty-four, or,
according to Dr. *Shaw*, thirty Chiah Bashas, or chief colonels, under the Aga, who sit next
to him in the same gallery in the *Douwan*. Out of this class are commonly chosen those who
are to be sent on embassies into foreign countries, or to convey the Dey's orders throughout
the realm. Next to them are the 800 Bolluk Bashas, or eldest captains, who are next in

° TASSY, l. ii. c. 6. SHAW'S Travels, p. 311.

(E) Nor is this bloody method of rising to, and
maintaining themselves in, that high dignity to be so
much wondered at, if we consider, 1st, That the sol-
diery, by whom they are chosen, amounting to about
1200, are either *Turks* or renegadoes, and both gene-
rally proud, rapacious, and untractable, and naturally
expect to be very considerable gainers, if they prove
but successful in these kinds of new elections, to which
there seldom fails of being several candidates. 2dly,
That military discipline is greatly wanting and neglect-
ed, or, to speak, perhaps, more truly, is so incompatible
with the temper of those troops, that it might be dan-
gerous to attempt the establishing or restoring it among
them: so that when one of them, who hath served some
time under those colours, comes to think himself suffi-
ciently qualified, either to make a bold push for the dey-
ship, or promote some other to it, he is sure to find par-

tisans enough to assist him in it, though with no other
view than that of some gain accruing from it. It is true,
indeed, that this ambitious humour hath of late years
been very much allayed by the many severe, yet reason-
able, executions that have been made of these turbulent
and aspiring spirits, if we may believe some of our latest
accounts from thence (5). Yet in such ungovernable
constitutions, there will never be wanting those, who,
upon the least favourable opportunity, will be ready to
blow the flame of sedition and assassination afresh. We
need not doubt but the former Deys were as little spar-
ing of the lives of those bold attempters; and yet we
do not find that, of the first six that were chosen to that
dignity, since the year 1700, above one of them has died
in quiet possession of it; four of them having been mas-
sacred, and the fifth forced to save his life by a timely
resignation (6).

(5) Dr. *Shaw*, ub. sup. p. 311, & seq.

(6) Tass; & Morgan, ub. sup.

a rank to be promoted to that of Chiah Bashas, according to their seniority. The Oldak-Bashas, or lieutenants, are next, who amount to 400, and regularly raised to the rank of captains in their turn, and to other employments in the state, according to their abilities. These, by way of distinction, wear a leather strap hanging down behind to the middle of their back. One rule is strictly observed in the rotation of these troops from one deputy to a higher; viz. the right of seniority; one single infringement of which, upon whatever pretence, would cause a revolt in the soldiery, and endanger, if not cost the Dey's life ^P (F). Other military officers of note are the Vekilards, or purveyors of the army; the Peys, who are the four oldest soldiers, and nearest to preferment; the Soulacks, who are the eight next in seniority to them, and are part of the Dey's body guard, and always march before him when he takes the field, being distinguished by their carbines and gilt scymitars, and a brass gun on their caps. The *Kayts*, or *Turkish* soldiers, each band of whom have the government of one or more *Moorish* adowars, and collect their taxes for the Dey; and the *Sagiards*, who are *Turkish* lancemen, 100 of which always attend the army, and watch over the water appointed for it ⁹. To these we might add the three Beys, or governors of the three great provinces of the realm; but we shall have a more proper occasion to speak of them when we come to the division of it. All those officers above-mentioned compose the Douwan, or great council; and of them only the thirty Chiah Bashas have a right to sit in the gallery next after the Dey: the rest are obliged to stand on the floor of the hall, or council-chamber, with their arms across, and as much as possible without any motion: neither are they permitted to enter it with their swords on, or with any other offensive weapon, to prevent a tumult. As for those who have any suit, or other matters to transact with the Douwan, they must stand without at the gates, let the weather be ever so bad; and there they are commonly presented with coffee by some of the Chiahs, or inferior officers, till they are dispatched.

THE method of their gathering the votes in the Douwan is something singular. The Aga, or president, *pro tempore*, first proposes the question, which is immediately repeated with a loud voice by the Chiah Bashas, and from them echoed again by four officers, called *Bashbal-dalas*; and from them repeated from one member of the Douwan to another, with strange gestures and contortions; and with a most hideous noise and din, when the question is not to their liking. From all this the Aga easily concludes on which side the majority leans, and proclaims it accordingly. So that it is seldom seen that these assemblies end without some tumult, quarrel, or disorder; and no wonder, considering that the far greater part of the members are persons of mean extract, rude and illiterate, and are biassed by their own private interest and passions, rather than by reason or the public good ^r. And this seems to be one main reason why the Deys have of late years taken such pains to suppress those among them, as they knew to be ill affected to their measures, and to summon as few as they can into the council, besides his own creatures. It has likewise been a custom with them of late, immediately upon their election, to cause all the officers of the Douwan, who had opposed it, to be strangled, and to fill up their vacancies with those who had been most zealous in the promoting of it: by which means the far greater part of that supreme court becomes wholly devoted to his will.

IN this, and all other publick courts and assemblies, as well as state records, the *Turkish* is the only language that is allowed to be used; which obliges the *Moors* and *Arabians*, as well as the Christians, to make use of interpreters, whenever they have any complaint, suit, or other matters to come before any such courts. But the language of the present natives is a kind of compound of *Arabic*, *Moreisco*, and of their antient one; which, as we have formerly observed ^s, was most probably the old *Phœnician*. However, in their public commerce with other nations, they chiefly make use of the *Lingua Franca*, which is no other than a rude ungrammatical jargon, or mixture of *Spanish*, *Portuguese*, *Italian*, and *French*, which has been long since in vogue, not only along all these *Barbary* coasts, but likewise through most parts of the *Levant*; and this is also of great use to them in their piratic trade, which is above all others that which suits best with their temper, and brings them in the greatest advantage; on which account they are become the most formidable of all the *Barbary* corsairs. Nevertheless, they suffer free Christians, *Jews*, either natives or foreigners, *Arabians* and *Moors*, to exercise

^P TASSY, lib. ii. c. 7. SHAW'S Travels, p. 313. BAUDRAND.

⁹ TASSY, ubi sup.

^r TASSY, CORNEILLE,

^s See Antient Hist. vol. vii. p. 140.

(F) This seniority, not of age, which has nothing to do here, but of standing, may nevertheless be purchased, with the Dey's leave, by a junior from a senior; in which case the latter descends to the rank of the former. In all other cases they must wait till their turn comes, either by death, degradation, by way of

punishment, or by the removal of the Aga to the superannuated station, which, as was hinted a little before, happens every two months; at which time the whole militia is regularly paid, and the Aga resigns his place to the Chiah, or the officer immediately next to him (7).

(7) Tassy. l. ii. c. 7. Shaw's Travels, p. 313, & seq.

Few commodities exported out of Algiers.

Imports chiefly brought in by the corsairs.

Each corsair is a small republic.

Gold money coined only at Tremecen.

Foreign coin current.

a a fair commerce both by sea and land ; together with other trades and manufactures in silk, cotton, wool, leather, and other commodities. But these are mostly carried on by *Andalusian*, *Granadan*, and other *Spaniards* settled in that kingdom, especially about the metropolis of it. Carpets are another manufacture of this country, though much inferior to those of *Turkey*, both in beauty and fineness ; but being both cheaper and softer, are preferred by the people to lie upon. There are also at *Algiers* looms for velvet, taffaties and other wrought silks ; and a coarse sort of linen is likewise made in most parts of the kingdom ; of which *Susa* produces the finest. Most of those manufactures are consumed at home ; and some of them, especially those of silk and linen, are so inconsiderable, that they are obliged to supply the deficiency of them from the *Levant* and *Europe*. These parts of *Barbary* send very few of their commodities, or even product, into foreign markets ; oil, wax, hides, pulse, and corn, b being but barely sufficient to supply the country ; though before the loss of *Oran*, the merchants have been known to ship off from one or other of the *Barbary* ports to the amount of seven or eight thousand tons of corn. The consumption of oil, though here in great abundance, is likewise so considerable in this kingdom, that it is seldom permitted to be shipped off for *Europe* *. The other exports consist chiefly in ostriches feathers, wax, hides, wool, copper, rugs, silk sashes, embroidered handkerchiefs, dates, and christian slaves.

The imports, whether by way of merchandize or prizes, consist chiefly in gold and silver stuffs, damasks, cloths, spices, tin, iron, plated brass, lead, quick-silver, cordage, sail-cloth, bullets, linen, cochineal, tartar, alum, rice, sugar, soap, cotton, raw and spun, copperas, aloes, brazil and logwood, vermillion, arsenic, gum-lack, fulpher, opium, anise and cummin c feed, mastick, sarsaparilla, aspic, frankincense, galls, honey, paper, combs, cards old and new, dried fruits, and variety of woollen stuffs. But though there is a constant demand of all these commodities, yet only a small quantity of them is imported by the merchants, on account of heavy duties, frequent exactions, precariousness of payments, and the uncertainty of the returns ; so that those who are in want of any of them will wait to the very last, in hopes to meet with them on board some prize, for it is chiefly by their corsairs that they are supplied with them. The misfortune is, that both the manufacturers and shop-keepers, which last are chiefly *Moors* or *Jews*, are very severely used by the government ; and often heavily fined for slight, or even pretended faults, which keeps them so poor, that it frequently puts them upon cheating their customers, either in weight or measure ; though they are sure, if caught, d to be treated with the utmost severity in their purse, or by corporal punishment, and often with death †.

The corsairs of *Algiers* form every one a separate kind of republic ; of which the Rais, or captain, is the supreme Bascha, who, and the officers under him, compose a kind of Douwan, in which every matter relating to the vessel is decided in an arbitrary way.

The coin in vogue here is chiefly foreign, their own being only of three kinds ‡ ; viz. the barba of copper, six of which were formerly worth an asper, but now only half an one. This coin has the arms of the viceroy stamped on both sides. The asper is a small square piece of silver with *Arabic* characters, stamped likewise on each side, fifteen of which make a *Spanish* ryal, and twenty-four a dupta, worth about a crown. They have likewise three sorts e of gold coin, but these are coined only at *Tremecen* ; viz. the rupee worth thirty-five aspers, the median fifty, and the zian, or dian, one hundred ; which last was the antient coin of the kings of *Tremecen*, or *Telenfin*, upon which account that province hath alone the privilege of coining these golden pieces, which are stamped with the viceroy's name, and are also current in the kingdoms of *Couco*, and *Labez*, though these have likewise their own particular coin. Besides these, the *Turkish* sultanus of gold worth about a ducat, the moticales of *Fez* about twenty-two pence, the *Spanish* ryals, *French* crowns, *Hungarian* ducats, and other *European* money, are likewise current among them. Only it must be observed, that there is no fixed standard for these foreign coins ; because strangers only compute their value by what they go f for in their respective nations. The only fixed species here is the patacachica, or pataca of aspers (an ideal sum, like our *English* pound, or the *French* livre), worth always two hundred and thirty-two aspers, and is the third part of a pataca gorda, commonly of the weight of two pistoles and an half ; but that weight is frequently raised or lowered at the Dey's pleasure, or the exigence of the government. But, according to the last writers *,

				piasters.	ryals.
The sultanus of <i>Algier</i> and <i>Morocco</i> is worth	—	—	—	2	— 4
The sequin of <i>Venice</i>	—	—	—	2	— 6
The cruizado of <i>Portugal</i>	—	—	—	7	— 0

* SHAW's Travels, p. 295. † Ibid. TASSY, l. ii. c. 17. ‡ GRAMMAY, l. vii. c. 9.
DAVITY Afric. p. 194. DIEGO DE HOEDO, CORNEILLE, BAUDRAND, DAPPER, p. 178. * TASSY, l. i.
c. 11. p. 250. & seq.

						patacachicas.	temins.
a	The <i>Seville</i> and <i>Mexican</i> piafter, of which 20, if full weight, ought to make a pound, is worth	—	—	—	—	3	7
	The piafter of <i>Leghorn</i>	—	—	—	—	3	6
	That of <i>Tunis</i>	—	—	—	—	3	4
	The pataca gorda, or current piafter of <i>Algiers</i>	—	—	—	—	3	0
							aspers.
	The temin, or ryal chica, is the eigth of a pataca chica, and worth	—	—	—	—	—	29
	The carout or half temin	—	—	—	—	—	14
	The pataca chica	—	—	—	—	—	232
b	The pataca gorda	—	—	—	—	—	696

The *Jews* have the superintendency of the silver mint at *Algiers* (if not also that of the gold coin at *Tremecen*), for which they pay a good round sum yearly to the Dey ^e.

WE have already given some account of the rivers of this kingdom in the antient history of *Mauritania Tingitana* ^b. But, as the limits of this differed, we shall here subjoin a short description of the principal ones belonging to this kingdom. 1. The first is the *Zha*, or *Ziz*, ^{The principal rivers of Algiers.} which runs across the province of *Tremecen*, and the desert of *Anguid*, and falls into the *Mediterranean* near the town of *Tabeerita*, where it has the name of *Sirut* ¹. 2. *Haregol*, supposed ^{Haregol.} the *Sign* of *Ptolemy*, comes down from the great *Atlas*, crosses the desert of *Angued*, and falls into the sea about five leagues from *Oran*. 3. *Mina*, supposed the *Chylematis* of *Ptolemy*, a ^{Mina.} large river which runs through the plains of *Bathala*, waters the city of its name, and falls into the sea near the town of *Arzew* ^k. (A). 4. The *Sbellif*, *Zilef*, or *Zilif*, a large one, which, ^{Shellif.} descending from mount *Gnanexeris*, runs through some great deserts, the lake of *Titteri*, and the frontiers of *Tremecen* and *Tenez*, and falls into the sea a little above the town of *Mostagan*. This is supposed to be the *Chinataph* of the antients, and is inhabited on both sides by *Arabs*, who are rich and warlike, and can bring two or three thousand horse into the field ¹. 5. The ^{Celef.} *Celes*, supposed to be the antient *Carthena*, falls into the sea about three leagues west of *Algier*, after a short course of eighteen or twenty leagues. 6. The *Hued al quivir*, supposed to be the ^{Hued al-} *Nazabata*, or *Nasaba*, of the antients, and called by the *Europeans* *Zinganir* ^m, runs down, ^{quivir.} with a swift course, through some high mountains of *Cuco* and *Abez*, and falls into the sea near *Bujeyah*. It abounds with variety of fish, which is nevertheless neglected, on account of the great plenty that is caught on those coasts (B). 7. *Suf-Gemar*, or *Suf-Gimmar al Rum-* ^{Suf-Gemar.} *niel*, which is supposed the *Ampfaga* of *Ptolemy* ⁿ, hath its spring on mount *Auras* on the confines of the *Atlas*, thence runs through some barren plains, and the fruitful ones of *Constantina*, where it receives some other rivers, which greatly increase its streams; thence, sliding northward along the ridges of some high mountains, it falls into the sea a little east of *Gigeri*. 8. The *Ladog*, or *Ladeg*, runs down from mount *Atlas* through part of *Constantina*, and ^{Ladog.} falls into the sea a little eastward of *Bona* ^o. 9. *Guadi*, or *Guadil-Barbar*, springs near the ^{Guadil-Bar-} head of *Orbus*, or *Urbs*, in *Tripoli*, runs through *Bujeyah*, and falls into the sea near *Tabarca*. ^{bar.}

It is supposed by some to be the *Tusca*, or *Rubricatus*, of the antients ^p. We omit sundry others of less note; and as to the *Malva*, or *Maluja*, which divides *Algier* from the kingdom of *Fez*, we shall give an account of it when we come to speak of the latter. We do not ^{Few of them} find, however, that the *Algerines* are very solicitous to make the best advantage they might of ^{improved for} those that belong to them, though many of them are large enough, and of a sufficient extent, ^{commerce with} to be made serviceable in carrying on a communication between the inlands and the sea coasts. ^{the sea coast:} But their genius leads them too much to the piratic trade to mind any such real advantage; and it is not unlikely, that their tyrannic government may deter the *Arabs*, and other nations seated along their banks, from trying to reap any other benefit from them, than that of pasturage, and of conveying some of their commodities in flat vessels from one canton to another.

^e Vid. DE TASSY, *ibid.* BAUDRAND, CORNELIE, & al. *sup. citat.* ^h Vol. vii. p. 144. ⁱ MARMOL, *Africa*, t. 2. lib. v. c. 159. ^k *Iidem ibid.* ¹ MARMOL, *ibid.* DAPPER, *Africa*, p. 159. SHAW'S *Travels*, p. 34. ^m DAPPER, *ibid.* p. 160. DAVITY, *Barbary*, p. 167. ⁿ See *Antient History*, vol. vii. p. 111. SHAW'S *Travels*, p. 92, & seq. ^o DAPPER, *ubi sup.* p. 160. ^p SAMPSON, & DE LISLE, *Atlas geogr.* DAPPER, DAVITY, p. 167. SHAW, & al.

(A) This river, we are told (1), is now called *Cena* by the *Moors*, from a Marabout of that name, who had rebuilt the town of *Bathalab* on the banks of it, which had been destroyed by the *Benimerini*.
(B) We are told, that whilst this river was in the hands of the Christians, the mouth of it, which is very narrow, was so choaked up with sand, that no vessel could come up to it; but that, in the year 1555, the great rains swelled it to such a height, that it carried off all the sand and mud; so that galleys and other vessels have, ever since, entered it with ease, where they lie safe from storms, and all winds, but that which blows from the north (2).

The religion of the Algerines. THE *Algerine* religion at present differs only from the *Turkish*, in cherishing a greater variety of superstitions. These *African* states had been converted from their antient idolatry^a to the Christian faith, ever since the fourth century, when some *Sicilian* and *Puglian* lords, who had seized on some parts of *Barbary*, first introduced it there, and what a quick progress it made soon after, may be guessed from the number of *African* bishops, that met at the council of *Carthage*, ann. 411. amounting to 286, besides about 120 more that did not assist. But the church was soon after infected with arianism, and other heresies, by the *Vandals*, and other northern nations that passed thither from *Spain*. At length the *Arabs* brought in *Mohammedism*, which they propagated by the sword, about the beginning of the seventh century, and which hath taken such deep root ever since, that it hath reigned paramount to this day, and hath multiplied the old superstitions to a monstrous degree.

THE *Algerines* acknowledge the Koran as the rule of their faith and practice, but are generally remiss in their observance of it. They have three principal officers, that preside over all religious matters; viz. the Mufti, or high priest; the Cadi, or chief judge in ecclesiastical causes, and such other matters as the civil and military power turns over to him; and the grand Marabout, or head of the Maraboutic order, which are a kind of eremitical monks, in such high veneration among them, that they bear an extraordinary sway not only in most private families, but even in the government. These three officers have their seats in the great Douwan next under the Dey, and on his right hand. There they are allowed to give their opinion in all difficult and important matters of the state, but without the liberty of voting with the rest of the members. As for those which relate purely to religion, they are usually referred to them; and their decisions, if unanimous, are looked upon as binding, and to admit of no further dispute^b.

Strange superstitions. A great deal of that superstition, which reigns throughout this kingdom, is, not without great reason, imputed to the pride, avarice, and knavery, of these Marabouts, whom they imagine to be inspired by some demons, and hold in such esteem, that they think it an honour to their women to be debauched by them. Those that travel are glad to provide themselves with one or more of them, as a sure guard against the most desperate banditti; so that they can cross the most dangerous woods and deserts, without fear of any insult from them. These Marabouts are known by their dress; they neither shave their heads or beards, and wear a plain long robe, with a short cloak thrown over it. Much the same regard they pay to their madmen, idiots, and lunatics, whom they esteem as inspired saints, and great favourites of God. They place great merit in frequent washings of their whole bodies, in the length of their fastings (their lent stretching between seven and eight months), in the care and feeding of beasts, and other such kind offices to them, as the most effectual means to wash away their sins. On the other hand, they deem it a sin and defilement to carry the Koran below their girdle, to let some of their water drop upon their cloaths, to write with a pen instead of a pencil, to have any printed books by them, or any pictures and statues either of men or beasts, to use bells, to let Christians, especially women, set foot in their mosks, to exchange a *Turk* for a Christian; to touch any money, or enter into any common business, or even to staunch blood, or dress a wound, before the morning prayers are ended; to strike the ground with their foot when they play at foot-ball, to eat snails, which they esteem sacred (C), to chastise their children in any other part than the soles of their feet, to sleep with their chamber door shut, and many more of the like ridiculous sort, not worth any farther notice. Some of a grosser kind they are charged with; as of ranking sodomy, and other unnatural vices, among their virtues; which, whether strictly true or not, their practice is a plain proof that they do not look upon it as a breach of their law, seeing it is a reigning vice among them, from which neither priests nor laymen of any rank are exempt.

Unnatural vices.

The dress of their men and women. THEIR dress is very plain and light, especially among those of the common sort. But the *Turkish* persons of distinction affect a more sumptuous apparel, not unlike that which is worn in *Turkey*, being mostly of fine cloth or silk; their vests richly flowered, their turbants rich, and curiously done up, their legs are covered with boots of fine shining leather. The women's garments differ only from those of the men in their lightness and length, their shifts and gowns reaching quite down to their feet; their hair is commonly tied behind, and adorned either with jewels, or common trinkets, according to their rank or circumstances, over which they wear a cap of silk or linen, more or less rich, as they can afford. They are likewise fond of adorn-

^a See Antient Hist. vol. vii. p. 150, & seq. SHAW, ubi sup. p. 305, & seq.

^b Ibidem ibid. Vid. & TASSY, Algiers, p. 88, & seq. &

(C) Or rather, perhaps, as mischievous creatures, or malicious devils; for such, we are told, they are looked upon in the province of *Constantina*, by the superstitious vulgar, especially the women, who imagine that they create violent fevers, hæmorrhages, and

other bodily disorders, in which notion they are encouraged by their knavish Marabouts, who undertake to cure them by counter charms, and make a gain of their superstitious follies.

^a ing their necks, arms, and wrists, with collars and jewels, and their ears with large pendants. The Christians that are free, are allowed here to wear their own country dress; but the slaves, who are in much greater number, have nothing but a coarse grey suit, and a seaman's cap. The Sharifs, who are descended from *Mohammed*, have the privilege of distinguishing themselves by their turbants, which are of green silk; and the pilgrims, who have performed their voyage to *Mecca*, and are esteemed *Agi*, or saints, among them, do likewise wear some mark of distinction in their dress. As for that of the common people, it consists of a linen pair of drawers over their shirts, and an open white woollen jacket, with a kind of cape or hood behind, like that of our women's capuchins. Some wrap themselves up in a black mantle, especially when they go abroad, which reaches down to their knees ^a.

The Sharifs distinguished by their green turbants.

^b None but the viceroy, and some of his head officers, (and we may probably enough add, the chief members of the Dowan), are allowed to ride on horseback, at least in the metropolis, and other places of concourse. The rest must either ride on asses, or trudge on foot. As for the women, when they go abroad, they usually throw a thin linen veil over their faces; which they fasten to their girdle, and wrap an upper garment over their usual dress; so that they are only known by the slaves that attend them. Those that are of a higher rank are conveyed about in litters made of osier twigs, and covered with painted cloth; but so low, that they must sit cross-legged in them, yet wide enough to contain two persons in that posture. This way of travelling is much used in longer voyages, especially in their pilgrimage to *Mecca*; so that they can see without being seen, and travel free from wind, dust, and rain, as well as from the too great heat of the sun's beams ^b.

Way of travelling.

That of the women.

^c THE Dey of *Algiers* pays no other revenue to the *Porte*, than that of a certain number of fine boys, or youths, and some other presents, which are sent thither yearly. His own income is variously computed; and, in all likelihood, rises and falls according to the opportunities he hath of fleecing and oppressing both natives and strangers; and this may be the reason why some made it heretofore amount to no more than 40,000 ducats, whilst others raise it to 400,000, and others to 600,000. Dr. *Shaw* hath since computed the taxes of the whole kingdom to bring no more into the treasury than 300,000 dollars; but supposes, that the eighth part of the prizes, the effects of those persons who die without children, joined to the yearly contributions raised by the government, presents from foreigners, fines and oppressions, may bring about as much more ^c. *Tassy* hath endeavoured to give us a more express estimate of it, from its several branches, exclusive of casual presents, and a few other duties; the whole amount of which, according to him, arises to little more than 650,000 current piasters, which he ascribes to the avarice of the provincial governors, who remit to the public treasury but a very small part of what they raise on the subjects, and sink the rest into their own pockets ^d. Thus both the Dey, and the officers who act under him, enrich themselves by the same laudable methods of rapine and fraud ^e; so that it is no wonder if the rest of the people are so shamefully impoverished by heavy taxes, and the injustice and bribery which reign among those in authority; much less to find the same infection spread itself down to those of the very lowest rank, under such excessive indigence and oppression.

The Revenue of the Dey, &c.

^e JUSTICE is no less venally administered here, with respect to the punishment of offenders, than it is with regard to property; and is more partially so towards the *Mohammedan* soldiery. These are seldom put to death for any crimes, except those of rebellion and revolt; in which cases they are either strangled with the bow-string, or hanged to an iron hook. In lesser offences they either fine them, or stop their pay; and, if officers, reduce them to the rank of common soldiers, whence they may gradually raise themselves again to their former stations. Women guilty of adultery have a halter tied about their necks, with the other end fastened to a pole, by which they are held under the water till they are suffocated. The bastinado is likewise used upon small offenders; and is given either upon the belly, back, or soles of the feet, according to the nature of their crime, or oftner to the pleasure of the Cadi or judge, who likewise appoints the number of strokes to be given, which amounts sometimes to two or three hundred, according to the indulgence he can obtain from him, either by bribery or friends ^f. And though, in many cases, the offender dies under them, for want of one of those powerful advocates, yet this punishment is neither reckoned capital, nor the judge called to an account for inflicting it in that inhuman degree. But the most dreadful of all punishments are those which they inflict on the Christians and *Jews* for certain offences; such as speaking against *Mohammed*, and his religion; for which they must either turn *Mohammedans*, or be impaled alive. Those who afterwards apostatize are still more severely tortured, being either burned or roasted alive, or thrown down from the top of the city walls, where they are caught hold of by iron hooks, some by the ears, others by the ribs, arms, or other parts of the body, and hang several days

Reigning corruption and oppression. Punishments.

^a *Iidem* *ibid.* vid. TASSY, p. 101.

^b Vid. GRAMMAY, l. vii. c. 10. DAVITY, p. 194. DAPPER,

p. 178. TASSY, p. 298.

^c SHAW's Travels, p. 314.

^d TASSY, p. 298, & seq.

^e *Iidem*

ibid.

^f *Iidem* *ibid.* Vid. & SHAW, *ubi supra*, p. 315, & seq.

*Inferior Dou-
wans.*

*Causes soon
dispatched.*

*Strangers
have their
own chiefs.*

*Foreign mer-
chants.*

*Christian
slaves very
numerous.*

*Every eighth
slave belongs
to the Dey.*

in the most exquisite torture; but this last, we are told, hath been set aside some considerable a
time. Killing a *Turk* in a skuffle, fomenting a rebellion against the state, and such like, are
likewise punished with impaling or burning; and those slaves who attempt to make their
escape, are tortured to death in the most cruel manner, at the discretion of their masters (D).
Moors found guilty of robbery, or burglary, have their right hand cut off, and hung about
their necks, and are made to ride through the city on an ass, with their faces towards the tail.
These retain among them the inhuman punishment of sawing in sunder, which is done by
tying the condemned person between two broad boards of the same length and breadth, and
beginning at the head. A person of distinction, who had been ambassador at our *British* court,
and well known to the officers of the navy, and garrison of *Gibraltar*, was, it seems, put to that
cruel death not many years ago^e. Besides the Dey and great Douwan, in whom the supreme b
power was lodged, every province had a *Basha* or *Bey* who acted under the former; and a
Douwan, with an *Aga* at the head of it, who acted under the latter; and by these all matters con-
cerning their respective districts were regulated and decreed; but from them an appeal might be
made to the viceroy *Basha*, and his council; and from these to the chief *Aga*, and the great Dou-
wan. But since the Dey is become so despotic of late, we cannot be sure whether these inferior
Douwans subsist still; we only learn, that he keeps three *Bashas*, or lieutenants, under him;
one in the east, the second in the south, and the third in the west; who take a circuit every year
through their respective governments, about the latter end of the summer, at the head of a
small army, to gather in such taxes as the Dey thinks fit to impose upon them; and to punish
them with military execution, if they refuse to pay; and this commonly takes up about c
four months time. All the formality that is used in the Douwan, and other courts, is
hearing the complaint and witnesses; immediately after which they proceed to give sentence,
there being neither lawyers nor attornies to retard the administration of justice. When the
women have any suit to them, they come veiled, and stand before the gates of the Douwan,
crying aloud, and often, *Char Alla*, that is, justice in God's name; and these come generally
accompanied with a croud of their own sex, sometimes to the number of one hundred, or
more, to back their petition with their joint outcries. As for strangers, they have their own
laws and judges among themselves; the Christians have their consuls, the *Jews* their presi-
dents, and the *Arabs*, *Moors*, and others, their own chiefs; but the Douwan is still supreme d
judge, to which they appeal in all disputes that arise amongst them. As for those that arise
between them and the government, they must apply to the proper officers of it for justice,
or in dernier resort. There is a considerable number of merchants, of various nations, in the
maritime towns; that of *Algier* is computed to have above three thousand families of them^h,
who keep about two thousand open shops in the two chief markets; and the *Jews* quarter,
which consists of about two hundred and fifty houses, contains at least eight thousand per-
sons. Christian slaves are very numerous, not only in the metropolis, but in most parts
of the kingdom, the corsairs continually bringing fresh supplies of them; insomuch that,
in the year 1659, that city having equipped twenty-two or twenty-three vessels, they put
between three and four hundred of those poor wretches in each of them, and yet had a
sufficient number of them left to perform all their servile drudgery. The method the corsairs c
take with them as soon as they are made prisoners, is to make a strict inquiry into their
country, condition, and quality, which is often done by bastinadoing them, and their fellow
prisoners, to extort a true confession; after which, having stript them almost naked, he orders
them to be brought to the Dey's house, whither the *European* consuls repair, to examine
whether any of them belong to their respective nations; and, if they were only passengers
to reclaim them. But, if they prove to have served for pay to any nation at war with that
republic, they cannot be released without paying their full ransom. Of these the Dey hath
the choice of every eighth man, and chuses those who have some useful trades, as surgeons
mates, carpenters, &c.; because these sell for a greater price; and if of quality for a still greater.
The rest, who are left to the owners and captors, are carried to the *Besistan*, or slave market,
where a price is set upon them according to their profession, age, strength, and ability. From

^e SHAW, ubi sup. p. 316.

^h DIEG. DE HOEDO, topogr. Algier. MARMOL, GRAMMAY, lib. vii. c. 7. & 29. DAPPER, DAVITY, TASSY, &c.

(D) These, and other the like punishments, being inflicted according to the arbitrary will of the Dey, for offences against the state; by the Mufti and his two colleagues, for those against religion; and by the Masters on their run-away slaves; and not by virtue of any settled law, is, in all probability, the true cause of their having such a barbarous variety of them: For, besides those already mentioned, we read of their hanging those kind of offenders naked to a high gal-
lows by two hocks, the one fastened quite through

the palm of one hand, and the other through the sole of the opposite foot; in which miserable position they live in the utmost torture for three or four days, and sometimes longer. They have likewise condemn-
ed some to be nailed hands and feet to a cross, a tree, or a wall, probably out of hatred to Christianity, though the pretence has been, that some Christians, in their neighbourhood, had inflicted that punishment on some *Mohammadians* whom they had taken prisoners.

- a thence they are led to the court before the Dey's palace, and there sold by auction; and whatever is bid above the price set upon them belongs to the government. They have then an iron ring put round one of their ancles, and a short or long chain fastened to it, according as they suspect them more or less likely to attempt their escape. Among these, if any of them can procure a little money from their friends, or by way of charity, they are allowed to keep taverns, or rather wine cellars, paying a certain tribute to the Dey, according to the quantity they vend; for the *Algerines* allow themselves the use of wine; and these, and *Turks*, *Moors*, and Christians, will repair to, and dispense with the meanness of the place, and its accommodations, for the sake of the liquor; so that many of these slaves become rich enough in time to purchase their liberty, tho' they are obliged, besides their tribute to the Dey, to contribute towards the maintenance of their poor diseased brethren, and of the Christian chapels that are allowed for their use. As for the rest, who have neither trades, nor can put themselves in some way of living, they are used with great severity, fare and work very hard all day, and at night are shut up in their baths, and other public prisons, where they lie on the bare ground, without any other covering than the sky; so that they are sometimes almost stifled in water and mud. In the cities and towns they are put to the hardest and lowest kinds of labour; and in the country are made to draw the plough, instead of oxen or horses, and put to other such hard branches of agriculture; and are in this, and all other respects, treated with such uncommon inhumanity, as would be severely punished even among them, if exercised on the lowest rank of brutes. The women slaves are treated with less severity; and, if handsome and witty, are commonly made concubines, and sometimes gain a perfect ascendancy over their masters. But if any of them refuse to comply with their brutish lust, they spare no threats or cruelties to force them to it. And if application be made to the government in their behalf, as there have been signal instances of it, the common answer is, that they are their master's property; and that he is at liberty to put them to what use he thinks fit. Those that have neither youth, shape, or beauty, are usually consigned to some of the lower offices of the kitchen or family, according to their capacity; and are liable to be severely chastised for every slight miscarriage, especially in point of cleanliness, which they affect, in common with the *Turks*, to a very high degree; both with regard to their cloaths, table, furniture, utensils, &c. Popish priests and monks, that are slaves, are commonly used with more gentleness, because better supplied with money, by which they are exempted from labour and other hardships. But whenever any Christian prince declares war against that government, they are the first who fall the unhappy victims of their resentment and cruelty.

Some keep wine cellars, and make good gain.

Slaves who have no trades cruelly used.

- THE *Algerine* women, especially those of the richer sort, lead an easy indolent kind of life, having little else to employ their time in than in dressing, sitting and chatting upon their sofas, or going to the baths, and visiting the tombs of their near relations, or those of their famed saints; or, lastly, to take pleasure in their gardens and summer-houses, which, though not elegant, yet are adorned with variety of verdure, flowers, fruits, shady walks, and other delightful accommodations. And here their husbands spend most of their spare time with them in smoking, drinking of coffee, and other recreations¹. Although the Koran permits the men to have as many wives as they can maintain, yet the *Algerines* are contented with two, or at most three. They are seldom allowed to see them before marriage, but have them described to them by some female relation, or go-between, who are intrusted to transact the conjugal bargain; which, when concluded on both sides, the bridegroom sends some presents of fruits, and other refreshments, to his future bride, invites and feasts her relations in the best manner, according to his rank; and with dancing and music after the *Moorish* taste. On the nuptial day she appears in all her richest ornaments; her hands, arms, and face, deeply laid on with red and white, seated on a sofa, surrounded by a number of other women, all likewise richly dressed. At night she is conveyed under a veil, canopy, or sedan, according to her rank, and attended with the same female retinue to the bridegroom's house, with drums and pipes, dancing, and other such rejoicings. Here he receives and conducts her to a private apartment, whilst the rest of the company stand without, waiting till the usual tokens of her virginity be brought out to them; which are no sooner received, than the same company carries them in triumph thro' the whole city or town, attended with the same music and dances; whilst her parents and relations congratulate themselves upon her being come off her trial with honour².

The women lead an idle life.

Their wedding.

- In their sickness, each patient is always attended by persons of his, or her own sex; the physicians are commonly of the quackish kind, who cure chiefly by simples or charms; most of them are ignorant and indigent. When the sick person draws near to his end, they turn him towards the east, and cease not to pray to *Mohammed* for him till he expires. Immediately after they wash the dead body with warm water and soap, which done they deck it with a white shirt, a pair of white drawers and socks, and a silken robe and turbant. In that dress,

¹ *Iidem* *ibid.* vid. GRAMMAY, ubi sup. c. 7.

² *Iidem*, ubi sup.

Burials.

Of the richer
fort.
Their tombs.The strength
and forces of
the govern-
ment.The high pri-
vileges of the
Turkish sol-
diers.Their mean
extract.Cologlies in-
listed in the
service.

it is carried on a bier to the burying place, attended by the relations and friends, but without a any particular mourning dress, except that the women cover their faces with a veil some few days, and the men wear their beards a whole month. They are three days in their houses without lighting any fire, during which time the near relations of the deceased make frequent visits to his tomb, and distribute bread and other alms to the poor. They likewise carry thither a kind of flint stones, commonly found along the sea shore, and throw them upon the grave, crying out *Celem Allab*, that is, light of God; which they accompany with loud outcries, and other tokens of grief; and if the deceased be of the richer sort, or a person of distinction, they commonly cause some encomiums to be engraven on his tomb-stone, intermixed with some apposite texts of the *Koran*; otherwise the ceremony is much the same with that of the middle rank, excepting only that the bier is followed with a greater retinue of his domesticks; b one of whom carries his sword, another his lance; the bearers are richly dressed: the procession, which is commonly preceded by one or more marabouts, or monks, is closed by a great number of horses and camels, and his tomb more sumptuously decorated ¹ (C).

THE strength of this kingdom chiefly consists in their land and sea forces; but especially in the latter. They have but few cities of either note or strength, except the metropolis, (of which more in the sequel) and still fewer garrisons, if any deserve that name; these being mostly some inconsiderable forts either on their coasts, or some old castles in the inland parts, poorly fortified, and worse guarded, to keep the *Moors* and other nations in awe. We have already spoken of the *Janissaries*, or militia, who have engrossed all the power into their own hands, as being the only persons who have the privilege of chusing the Deys; and they must, therefore, c be very cautious of disobliging so powerful and mutinous a body of troops. Besides these, the government entertains a number of others, mostly *Moors*, who attend the three grand *Bashas*, or lieutenants, under the Dey in their respective provinces, and assist them in gathering the taxes from the people, by which all the soldiery and officers, civil and military, are chiefly maintained. These taxes are, on account of the scarcity of coin, mostly received in kind, as grain, cattle, fruits, &c. But these troops, which some have computed to amount to 12,000, but, according to the latest and most accurate writers, only 2000 ^m, are neither allowed to vote in the Dey's election, nor any of those other privileges belonging to the *Janissaries*, who have engrossed to themselves the whole power and management of the kingdom; and, on that account, stile themselves *Effendi*, or lords or nobles, and must be addressed by d that title by all their inferiors, tho' most of them are originally men of the lowest and ignoblest rank and character: for as their deficiency is supplied by new recruits, which the Dey sends for every five or six years from the *Levant* by his corsairs, the greatest part of them are either men of broken fortunes, poor shepherds, or even out-laws. These no sooner have got caps on their heads, and shoes on their feet, and a pair of knives to their girdle (D), and been instructed by their fellow soldiers, than they begin to assume an air of grandeur, expect to be saluted by the title of *Effendi*, or your grace, and look upon the most considerable citizens as their slaves, and the consuls of other nations as their footmen*. The Dey hath, indeed, power, on any emergency, instead of these *Levant Turks*, to inroll the *Cologlies*, or *Coulolies*, who are the sons of such soldiers as have been permitted to marry at *Algiers*; but since these e made once an unsuccessful attempt on the government, they have not been so much encouraged; and when they are, the state excludes them from the honour of being chosen Dey, Aga of the *Janissaries*, or in any other considerable post †.

BESIDES the privileges already mentioned peculiar to the *Janissaries*, they are allowed to have their quarters in some of the finest squares of their capital; and are maintained and served by

¹ GRAMMAY, ubi sup. DAVITY, DAPPER, &c.
DAPPER, & al. ubi sup.

* SHAW'S Travels, p. 313.

^m SHAW'S Travels, p. 312. TASSY, MARMOL,
† Ibidem ibid.

(C) These tombs, which are most commonly out of the cities or towns, are very neat and decent; and some of them are adorned with rich carvings, statues, and other ornaments: most of them have chapels, or oratories, to which both men and women repair, especially on *Fridays*, which is their sabbath. Near them are the cells of the marabouts, or monks, who are always there ready to assist their devotions, and receive their charitable alms for the dead.

Among those numerous monuments that are to be seen without the walls of the city of *Algiers*, is that of the famed lady *Cave*, daughter of count *Julian*, of *Batrica*, a woman of singular beauty, who being ravished by *Roderic*, the last king of the *Visigoths* in *Spain*, in revenge of which injury she invited the Sa-

racens thither; who, with an army of 600,000 men, soon subdued the whole country, and held it in subjection during several centuries (3).

(D) This is the original of a great part of those *Turkish* troops; from which, nevertheless, many of them have, by their valour and conduct, raised themselves to the highest posts in the government, and some of them even to the Deyship. Neither are they at all ashamed of their mean extract when raised ever so much above it, as we may conclude from the noble reply which *Mohamed*, Dey, gave to the deputy consul of a neighbouring nation. "My mother," said he, "sold sheep's feet, and my father neat's tongues; but would have been ashamed to have exposed to sale so worth- less a tongue as yours." (4).

(3) Vid. Cornille, sub *Algiers*.

(4) Shaw's Travels, p. 313.

- a slaves at the government's expence. Their stipends are duly paid every too moons; and they are allowed to buy their provisions one third cheaper than any other inhabitants. They not only treat the *Jews* and *Christians* with haughtiness and insolence, but the *Moors* also, though of the same religion with them; so that the wealthiest of these is forced to give the way to the meanest *Turkish* soldier (E). However, it is plain that they have not yet been able with all their forces to subdue them all, there being a much greater number of them, as well as of the *Arabs* (F), and other nations, who, either by reason of their advantageous situation among inaccessible mountains and deserts, or their vicinity to other kingdoms, have not only bid a constant defiance to the *Turkish* yoke, but dare even venture to make frequent incursions into several territories that are wholly subject to it^a: and it is to suppress these, as well as to
- b extort the taxes from the rest, that they keep such a number of second-hand forces in the three districts above-named; which are, however, mostly under the command of *Turkish* officers.

Moors, A-rabs, and other nations among them as yet unsubdued.

^a MARMOL, vol. ii. DAPPER, L. TASSY, c. 2 & 3.

(E) It is not a little surprizing that these brave descendants of the antient *Mauritanians*, who had so long signalled themselves by their bravery, both in their own country and out of it, should be so far degenerated as to suffer themselves to be tyrannized over by these *Turks*, considering they are almost an hundred to one more numerous than they. But it must be remembered, that they are mostly the off spring of those who had been driven out of *Spain* (5), *Italy*, *France*, &c. and had by that time exchanged their martial genius for the mercantile one, which they brought hither with them, and exercised in most maritime towns of the kingdom, where they chiefly reside; and provided they may become rich by traffick, can easily comply with the haughty humours of the *Turks*. And it is not unlikely that the hardships and cruelties they endured under their first tyrant *Barbarossa*, and some of his successors, (of which we shall speak more fully in the sequel) helped to complete their degeneracy; so that from that time they have lived in the greatest awe and dread of these lordly tyrants; who, looking upon all the rest of mankind as their slaves, are every way qualified to the most hazardous and desperate exploits, both by sea and land, and have made themselves formidable by them to all the countries round about them. But we must observe here, that these *Moors* are hated and despised for it by those who live in the country villages, and retain their old martial spirit, as being the more genuine offspring of the antient *Mauritanians*. For these preferring a poor life, with some sort of freedom in their homely huts, to any advantages they might enjoy under a *Turkish* yoke, have ever been ready to embrace every opportunity that offered to shake it off; and though hitherto without success, yet not without full proofs, that it was more for want of means than bravery, that they suffered them to reign in their antient patrimony (6).

(F) These free *Arabs*, being frequently confounded by our writers with the *Moors* before-mentioned, and no wonder, seeing the *Turks* call them both by the same name, it will not be amiss to give a short account of them here. We have already observed, that some of them are of the wandering kind, live in tents, and often shift their habitations for the convenience of their numerous flocks. Others follow their pasturage along the rivers and low grounds, and live in villages, build very neat houses, and carry on a gainful commerce. Both have their *Cheyks*, or chiefs, over them, by whom every adowar, or community, is distinguished. When the *Turks* made themselves masters of this kingdom, they reduced some of them under tribute, and others they obliged to live peaceably with them. But the former found means, whenever the *Algerine* armies came

to levy their taxes, to bury their grain, and such other effects as were not portable, in caves, and other safe places, whilst themselves wandered about with their flocks till their departure; which obliges the troops to carry their own provisions with them, instead of those which they expected from their vassals: but if they have the good fortune to surprize them, they make them pay their tribute double.

Those that live in villages are mostly seated about *Mount Atlas*; and the wandering ones in the deserts, near the kingdoms of *Tunis* and *Fez*, with which they carry on likewise a large and gainful commerce, particularly in their fine horses, which they tame, breed, and manage with exquisite dexterity (7): these likewise live in handsome tents, go finely clad, especially their women; who, besides their other finery of collars, bracelets, &c. paint their faces, necks, arms, and legs, and their fingers ends.

All of them boast themselves to be the untainted offspring of the antient *Arabs*, and to have preserved their mother tongue in the greatest purity. They generally are great astronomers, poets, songsters, and pastoral writers; their *Cheyks* themselves encouraging with honours and rewards those that excel in any of those arts, and many of them value themselves in being great proficients in them, and in their own writings, in praise of agriculture and the pastoral life, as well as of their victories, amours, and other the like favourite subjects; all which they cause to be collected into volumes, and taught in their schools.

They profess the *Mohammedan* religion, but with a strange mixture of superstition introduced into it by the marabouts. They take much delight in hunting of wild creatures, their country abounding with lions, leopards, bears, tigers, porcupines, ostriches, elks, stags, wild asses, and cows, of a different kind from the common tame ones. These two last they esteem a delicious food; but their most usual diet is the milk of their flocks, honey, fruits, pulse, and now and then a lamb, or kid (8). They are warlike, but have no arms, like the *Algerine Turks*; their most common ones are the bow, short lance, and cutlafs. Whenever they go to engage an enemy they commonly carry with them their wives, children, and family, that the fear of their being made slaves may make them fight more courageously. Most of these tribes, or adowars, live independant from any but their own chiefs; and are still a standing proof of that prediction made to *Ismael*, the son of *Abraham* (9), both with regard to his numerous posterity, and to their continuing free from any foreign yoke to the end of the world.

(5) See Antient Hist. vol. vii. p. 165, & seq. ubi sup. vol. ii. Dapper, & al.

(8) Ibidem ibid.

(7) See Leo

(6) Laug. de Tassy's Hist. of Algiers, ch. 2. Marmol, Afric. lib. ix. Marmol, Davity, Dapper, Tassy, & al.

(9) Genes. xvi. 7, 12.

Of the Algerine forces; and how paid;

ALL the military officers, as well as the civil ones, from the Dey himself, down to those a of the lowest rank, have no other settled salary than the soldiers closed pay, so called, because it admits of no further augmentation, and amounts to eighty *saims* for every two moons: they come and receive it duly at the hall of the Douwan: but every office hath some perquisites annexed to it besides, which rise and fall; such as arise from imports, exports, anchorage, the sales and ransoms of slaves, and other commerical duties. To these we may add certain donations, begun at first to gain some private ends, but since become into a settled custom; presents made to the Dey, or the Douwan, by foreign courts, or private persons, to obtain a post, or favour, or mitigate a punishment. The person who pay the former salary is the only person that is excepted; his pay amounting to 2000 patacas for officiating in that post, which lasts but two months; after which he returns to his closed pay. Those *Turks* that have been b raised to the rank of *Mazoul Aga*, or to such employments as exempt them from farther services, as well as those who have been wounded or maimed in the service, have their full pay continued as long as they live, and may settle in what part of the kingdom they please; but if they quit the service without any real cause, before they have attained to that rank, they forfeit half of theirs without recovery, which seldom happens, it being reckoned dishonourable to do so, as well as for a soldier to have his pay lessened for a misdemeanor. Every soldier, besides his pay (which is at first but eight *saims* every two moons, but augments regularly every year by one *saim*, or more, according to his merit or services, and must be paid in good current coin) is allowed to follow some handicraft, merchandize, or other calling he likes, or to live quietly at his own home; but must be ever in readiness to attend the service of c the state when called to it^b. The discipline of the *Turkish* soldiery in time of war is generally strict and severe; and there is one thing in it that is highly commendable, that expressly forbids all kind of plundering during the whole time of engagement; which law is so strictly observed, that they leave that advantage to the *Moors* and slaves, as being not only below the dignity of a *Turkish* soldiery, but as an action that brands them with the utmost infamy. They have their cavalry, infantry, and artillery, as we have in *Europe*. Their army is commanded by an *Aga*, who hath a *Chaya* and two *Chiaous* under him; all of them appointed by the Dey. The infantry all march on foot, officers and soldiers, except the *Bey*, *Aga*, and *Chaya*, each soldier carrying only his sabre and musket, without any other incumbrance; the state furnishing horses to every tent, which holds twenty fighting men, to d carry their provisions and other conveniencies. The cavalry is also distributed into tents of twenty men each, but is provided with a greater number of horses and *Moors*, for foraging and other services. The rout, or order of marching, is regulated by the commanding officers, till they come into an enemy's country; when the *Bey*, having ordered the horse and foot to unite, forms them into squadrons and battalions, each under their proper officers and standards. The van is composed of a body of infantry; the wings of two squadrons a little towards the rear: the rest of the infantry in two files, with the baggage in the middle; and two squadrons, forming two wings behind, together with a small battalion of foot behind them, make up the rear. When they engage, the baggage being left under a strong guard, a large body of infantry leads the van, with two wings of cavalry, supported by others at some distance. The main body makes the center, behind which both horse and foot retreat to rally; and out of e which fresh men are draughted to reinforce the van. The post of the auxiliary *Moors* is near the wings, to attack as opportunity offers, or the *Bey* commands^c. One thing that makes them fight more desperately against the Christians than any other enemy is, that those that are taken by them are never exchanged, or redeemed, but are looked upon as dead to the state; and their effects accordingly seized by it, if they have neither children nor brother to claim them^d. The *Algerines* are still more formidable at sea; and are, indeed, more so than any other power along the coasts of *Barbary*; and, though they are not allowed any concern in the affairs of state, nor in the election of the Dey, yet they are held in great esteem, on account of the cruises they continually bring, which are one main source of the public revenue, f and a means of procuring them respect from the Christian powers for the security of their trade. Their navy consists commonly of at least twenty ships (G); one only of which belongs to

their warlike discipline;

marching and engaging.

Number of ships;

^b TASSY, ubi sup. ch. 12. History of Algiers, p. 205, & seq.

^c Ibidem, ch. 13.

^d Ibid. ch. 21.

(G) The fathers of the trinity, who go thither to redeem Christian captives, make them amount to twenty-five, from eighteen to sixty guns, besides a great number of smaller vessels, or row galleys, which they equip for cruizing in the summer. But these being commonly manned with *Moors*, made desperate by their misery, and quite unskilled in the working of them, either founder, or are stranded, if they escape being taken;

so that scarcely one half have the good luck to come back (11).

As for the twenty large ones, though their number may be increased as occasion serves, it is not suffered to be lessened; but as soon as any one is taken, or sunk, the owners are indispensibly obliged to fit out another with all convenient speed, of equal bulk and strength, that their navy may suffer no diminution (12).

(11) Tassy, Hist. of Algiers, ch. 14.

(12) Ibidem ibid. & c. ult.

- a the government, and is assigned to the admiral. She is stiled the *Deylik* or royal ship, hath her particular store-houses, and is fitted out in the same manner as other ships. All the rest belong to private persons, and have likewise their store-houses well provided, the captains never failing of stripping their prizes of all the conveniencies they find in them. And it is no wonder that a people, who look upon all the rest of the world as their tributaries or slaves, should be so addicted to the piratical trade, and treat their captives with such arrogance and inhumanity as they do. It must, however, be considered, that, as their country affords them but little *how equipped, timber, except what is fetched as far as from the wilds of Biledulgerid, or the province of Bu- and kept;* *they content themselves with making their keels and bottoms with it, and supply the*
- b insides and upper works with the fragments of the prizes they make, which they carefully break up to save both timber, nails, and every thing that is of use; by which means they can build a very swift vessel at a small charge.

It may, indeed, appear surprising, that in a country where there is so little timber, no *how supplied* masts, sails, cordage, anchors, pitch, and other necessaries, so great a number of ships can *with naval stores.* be maintained at so little trouble, or cost; but besides these supplies from their captures, our *English* consul, who is, it seems, the only merchant of our nation here, and carries on a more considerable trade than any other person, furnishes them with powder, balls, bombs, fire-arms, anchors, cordage, and all other naval stores; and takes in return corn and oil for the service of the garrison of *Gibraltar*, as it did of that of *Port Mahon*, when in our possession:

c no nation being allowed to carry corn out of *Algiers* but our own^e; neither need one wonder they should pay so singular a regard to us, considering the constant supply we send among them of what is most wanted (H); and which is still a more cogent motive, thinking, that if they should give cause for a rupture with us, our cruizers would easily stop all their piratical tribe from stirring out. So that we need not fear their paying us a superior regard, as long as we are in possession of either of those important places. However, as it often happens, that reason and argument fail in this politic and tumultuous court, the only remedy is, at such junctures, to ply it well with money, castans, gold watches, and such like presents: for it is an old tried observation, that give a *Turk* money with one hand, and you may pluck out his eyes with the other*.

- d THE captains of those cruizers, who are generally settled officers, though excluded, as we have observed, from matters of state, have commonly a share in their ships, if they be not *Cruizing cap- tains under some restric- tions.* the sole owners of them, and are accordingly allowed to fit out when they please, and cruize where they will; but with this restriction, that they shall attend the service of the state when called to it, either to transport men or provisions, follow the Dey's orders, when commanded to any particular cruize, or even to serve the Grand Signor; and all this at the owner's charges. Another restraint they are under is, that they have an *Aga Bachi*, or some old experienced officer appointed by the Dey to act as *Aga*, without whose consent they can neither give chase, nor return, nor even punish sailors. At their arrival home, this *Aga* makes his report how the captain hath behaved; who, if found guilty of any misdemeanor is sure to be punished for it;
- e witness *Mesomorto*, who, though afterwards Dey, received 500 bastinadoes; and was immediately dispatched upon a new cruize to retrieve his character. In other respects they are allowed to sail whither they will, far and near; and we are told that some have gone as far as *Newfoundland*, and that others have ventured to take prizes in the *Texel*^f (I).

WHEN these cruizers are returned, they must give an account of their success to the govern- *Prizes how ment, which claims an eighth part of all the prizes, slaves, cargo, and vessel; the rest being disposed of.*

^e TASSY'S History of Algiers, ch. 14, &c.

* SHAW'S Travels, p. 318.

^f Ibidem ibid.

(H) The goods imported into *Algiers* by us, and other *Europeans*, are wrought silks, gold and silver stuffs, damasks, linen and woollen cloths, spices, brasse, copper, and tin-ware, quick-silver, ammunition, and sea-stores of all sorts; cochineal, copperas, sugar, brasil and red-wood, alum, galls, vermilion, brandy, and other spirits, opium, gums, dried fruits, paper, and other less considerable articles.

In return for which we receive fine wool, ostrich feathers, skins of wild and other beasts, dates, and christian slaves.

The duties paid for goods imported by *Turks, Moors, Jews, &c.* are 12 1-half *per cent.* and those for exportation 2 1 half. But our nation, according to the treaty concluded with them, *an. 1703*, pay but 5 *per cent.* on goods imported, and 2 *per cent.* on those exported; which favour is likewise extended, we are told, to the *French* nation. Even money imported pays 5 *per cent.*

except that for the redemption of slaves, which pays but 3 *per cent.* Wine, and other spirits imported, pay four pialters *per pipe*; and the company of the *Bajlion de France*, a little island the *French* are possessed of on the coast of *Algiers*, is, we are told, allowed to send two vessels thither every year duty free (13).

(I) Their usual cruizes on the *Mediterranean* are in the streights of *Gibraltar*, the capes of *Molinos*, *Gat Palos*, *Coisa* and *Cassa*, *St. Martin*, and *St. Sebastian*; the islands of *Majorca*, *Minorca*, *Iwica*, and *St. Peter*; *Genoa* river, the coasts of *Naples*, *Ecclesiastical State*, *Sicily*, *Trapan*, and the *Adriatic Gulph*.

On the ocean to *Cadiz*, *Lagos*, *Capes St. Vincent*, *la Roche*, and *Finisterre*; the *Canaries*, *Madeiras*, and the *Azores*. But when any of the enemies ships are cruizing in the *Mediterranean*, they commonly confine themselves to the coasts of *Portugal* and the *Canaries* (14).

(13) Hist. of Algiers, ch. 18.

(14) Ibidem ibid.

Algerine
cruizers nasty
and slovenly.

Passengers in-
titled to a
share in their
prizes.

A list of their
ships.

divided amongst the proprietors and ship's company, in such proportions as are agreed between a them: whatever is found on board these prizes that can fit their purpose they make use of, without troubling themselves whether it be proportionable or no. They do the same by the artillery they take, and range their guns without regard to their bigness or strength of their vessel. They are no less careless about the proportion of their yards, anchors, cables, and other rigging, &c. still more so in their other accomodations and provisions, having neither hammocks or chests on board, nor any other food but biscuit, water, a little rice, and such like hard fare; all which is slovenly dressed and eat. They even value themselves upon despising the nicety of the Christians, and on their being able to carry on their piratical trade without those conveniencies ^z. If a captain is renowned for bravery, or, which is the same with them, for being fortunate, his ship is so crouded with sailors, that he is obliged b sometimes to turn a good number of them on shore: but if he bears a different character, either for courage or fortune, he labours under a scarcity of hands, and is frequently forced to resign. One thing is remarkably singular in these *Algerine* cruizers; viz. that whatever passengers are in the ship at the taking of a prize, they are entitled to a share, let them be of what country or religion they will, upon a notion, that probably, by some secret direction of Providence, their success might be owing to some of them. We shall close this article of their sea forces with an account of their navy, as it was taken by the author above quoted, A. D. 1724 (K). The reader will find it in the margin; only it will be proper to apprise him, that though several of those ships ordnance are said to carry twelve, eight, and six pounders, it doth not mean that all their main battery are twelve pounders. The *Deylik's* c ship only having her lower tier of twelve pounders, the second of eight, and six pounders on her

^z Idem ibid.

(K) Ships Names.	Captains.	Guns	Weight of Metal.	Where built.	When built.
1 The Fountain, or Deylik Ship - - - }	Rekir Rais, Admiral - - -	52	12 8 6	Algiers	1722
2 The Orange Tree - - -	Mehemed Rais - - -	50	12 8 6	Algiers	1722
3 The Great Antelope - -	{ Haga Hali Rais Ben } { Must Cheya - - - }	40	12 8 6	Algiers	1721
4 The Golden Sun - - -	{ Mehem Rais, called - } { Black Beard - - - }	44	12 8 6	Algiers	1717
5 The Sun Flower - - -	Mustapha Rais - - -	44	12 8 6	Algiers	1713
6 The White Horse - - -	Soliman Rais - - -	44	12 8 6	Algiers	1717
7 The Red Rose - - -	Beki Rais Hoga - - -	38	8 6 4	Algiers	1719
8 The White Lion - - -	Mustapha Rais Maegi - -	38	8 6 4	Algiers	1719
9 The Pearl - - -	Affan Rais - - -	32	8 6 4	Algiers	1708
10 The Fortune - - -	Hamet Rais - - -	32	8 6 4	Algiers	1719
11 The Half Moon - - -	Soliman Rais de la Panteleria	32	8 6 4	Algiers	1706
12 The Little Antelope - -	Mahemet Rais, called Cazas	32	8 6 4	Algiers	1706
13 The Hare - - -					
14 The Genoese Caravella -	Hali Rais, called Sevillana -	26	0 6 4	Italy	
15 The Galley - - -	Mahmout Rais - - -	22	0 6 4	Holland	
16 The Oporto Galley, or } Deylik Pink - - - }	Mahmet Gayatou - - -	16	0 6 4	Holland	
17 The Neptune - - -	Mustapha Rais Cherif - -	22	0 6 4	England	
18 The English Caravella -	Seraf Rais, called Caid - -	16	0 6 4	England	
19 The Mary - - -	Abdal Kader Rais - - -	14	0 6 4	Holland	
20 The Golden Rose - - -	Mustapha Rais, called Caratero	10	0 6 4	Italy	
21 The Town of Mataron -	Nooroula Rais - - -	14	0 6 4	Catalonia	
22 The Little English Ca- } ravella - - - }	Nems Rais - - -	12	0 6 4	England	
23 The Polacre - - -	Hogi Mossa Rais - - -	14	0 6 4	Italy	
24 The Gabara - - -	Osman Rais - - -	10	0 6 4	Portugal	(15)

This account, however, if right, greatly exceeds that which another author gives of the state of it but eight years after, that is, in 1732, which is a plain proof of its vast decay since 1724. We shall give it in his own words.

The naval force of *Algiers* hath been for some years in a declining condition. If we except their row-boats and brigantines, they had, *an.* 1732, only six capital ships of the line, from 36 to 50 guns; and at the same time had not half that number of brave and experienced captains. A general peace with the three trading nations, and the impossibility of keeping up a suitable discipline, where every private soldier disputes au-

thority with his officer, are some of the principal reasons why so small a number of vessels are fitted out, and why so few persons of merit are afterwards willing to command them. Their want, likewise, of experience, with the few engagements they have lately been concerned in at sea, have equally contributed to this diminution of their naval character. However, if by proper discipline and encouragement, they should once more assume their wonted courage and bravery, they have always in readiness such a quantity of naval stores, as will put them in a capacity of making considerable augmentations to their fleet; though at present we find them troublesome enough to the trade of *Europe* (16).

(15) L. Taffy, ubi sup. p. 264, & seq.

(16) Shaw's Travels, c. v. p. 7.

quarter

^a quarter deck and fore-castle : whilst the lower tier of most of the others hath only twelve pounders, and some more or less under that size, because they take the greater part of them from their prizes, and commonly range them without regard to their proportion. All the ships officers from the *Rais*, or captain, down to the gunners and quarter-masters, must be either *Turks*, or at least *Couloulis*; the *Moors* not being admitted to come upon the quarter deck, or into the gun-room, unless sent for by the *Rais*, or some inferior officer. But the Christian slaves are allowed to act as seamen, or under officers, and to have a share or more according to their behaviour and abilities ^h.

^h *Idem* *ibid*.

S E C T. II.

The division of the kingdom of Algiers.

^b **W**E have already taken notice that this country hath undergone a great variety of divisions, according to the different lords that have ruled over it, such as *Romans*, *Christians*, *Arians*, *Saracens*, and *Turks*, which hath occasioned that great difference we meet with in those authors that have written at different times upon that subject. The largest of which was into the eighteen provinces we have lately given the names of, and which was made soon after that of *Algiers Proper* became the chief province of that kingdom; or, perhaps, rather after its putting itself under the protection of the *Turks*. But after the *Deys* of it became powerful enough to be in some measure independent from them, they contracted it into three districts, or governments, formerly mentioned ^a; *viz.* eastern, western, and southern. As, therefore, those eighteen provinces have very few towns, except their capitals, and most of these very inconsiderable, we shall content ourselves with giving our readers what is most remarkable in each of them, as we proceed with our description of those three governments; and of the province of *Algiers Proper*, as being in all respects the most considerable now of the whole kingdom, referring them to the map of the kingdom for their respective boundaries and situation with respect to each other.

^c ^d THE eastern, called also the *Levantine* government, or *Beylick*, contains the towns of 1. *Bona*; 2. *Constantina*; 3. *Gigeri*; 4. *Bujeyah*; 5. *Stessa*; 6. *Tebef*; 7. *Zamoura*; 8. *Biscara*; and 9. *Necanz*; in all which the *Turks* have their garrisons: besides, it includes the two antient kingdoms of *Couco* and *Labez*, though independant from the *Algerine* government; to whose forces their country is inaccessible, and living under that of their own *Cheyks*, or chiefs, chosen by each of their adowars, or hords. To these we may add a *French* factory at *Callo*, under the direction of the company of the *French* bastion.

THE western government hath the towns of 1. *Oran*, now the residence of the *Bey*; 2. *Tremecen*, which enjoyed the advantage whilst *Oran* was held by the *Spaniards*; 3. *Mastagan*; 4. *Tenez*; and 5. *Secrelly*, with its castle and garrison.

As for the southern, or third government, it hath not so much as a town, village, or even house; all the inhabitants living in tents, which obliges the *Bey* and his forces to be always encamped. Besides the towns mentioned under the two former articles, there are some others we omit, as poor and inconsiderable, without any fort or garrison, and a great number of others that now lie in ruins ^b.

^e THE eastern, or *Levantine* government is by far the most considerable of the three, not only in wealth, strength, and extent, but in the number and goodliness of its cities; of which we shall now give some account, reserving the description of the metropolis for another section. The first is that of *Bona*, once the capital of the province under the kingdom of *Constantina* of its name, and supposed to be the antient *Hippo*, once the seat of the great *St. Austin*, and a sea port, built by the *Romans* (A). It was formerly rich and populous*, but is now poorly

^a See before, p. 204, & alib. pass. See also MORGAN, TASSY, & al. sup. citat. lib. vi. TASSY, lib. i. c. 9. SHAW'S Travels, c. i. p. 6.

^b MARMOL Afric.

* See Antient Hist. vol. vi. p. 667.

(A) The inhabitants, however, deny it to be the antient *Hippo*, which had been so often taken, retaken, and destroyed by the wars; and pretend it to have been since built at the distance of two or three miles from it with the old ruins, and called *Baleud-el Ugned*, from a sort of trees of that name, that grow in great numbers in its neighbourhood; which is, indeed, the most probable of the two (1).

The remains of the antient *Hippo*, we are told, by an

accurate examiner of them (2), spread themselves over a neck of land between the rivers *Boojemah*, over which is a bridge of *Roman* workmanship, and the *Sci-bouse* on a flat land, often overflowed, but gradually raiseth itself to a considerable elevation. The ruins are about half a league in circuit, and consist only of broken walls, cillerns, and the fragments of the convent above-mentioned.

(1) Marmol Afric. lib. vi. c. 6. Tassy, Algier, lib. i. c. 9.

(2) Dr. Shaw's Travels, c. vii. p. 96, & seq. built,

built, and thinly inhabited, and hath scarcely any traces of its former grandeur, except the ruins of a cathedral, or, as others guess, of a monastery, built by that prelate, about three miles distance from it; among which is a marble statue, said to be his; but so mutilated and defaced, that no traces of either features or dress are remaining. Near these ruins is a famed spring, called by his name, much resorted to by *French* and *Italian* sailors, who come to drink of its water, and pay their devotion to the maimed statue, which becomes daily more so by their striving to break off some splinter, or scrape some part of it by way of relick. *Bona* was taken by the pirate *Barbarossa*, and joined to his new kingdom of *Algiers*, but was soon after recovered by its former owners the *Tunisens*, and as soon lost again by them. It is commanded by a little fort, in which is a garrison of about 300 *Turks*, under the command of an Aga, who is also governor of the town. The road for the ships is good for nothing before the town (B), but a little farther west, towards the *Genoese* fort, it is very deep and safe. The country about it, and in great part of the province, abounds in corn, fruit, and bread, and great quantities of small and large cattle; but they are much exposed to the incursions of the plundering *Arabs*^c.

its port.

Constantina described.

Situation.

Antiquities.

Subterranean channel.

Large cascade.

A hot spring.

Bey's residence and garrison. Inhabitants on the mountains a brave people.

French factory.

Ruins of Stora.

2. *Constantina*, the *Cirta Julia*, and *Cirta Numidie* of the *Romans*^d, and since called *Constantina*, in honour of a daughter of *Constantine* the great, who rebuilt it with great magnificence^e, and now by the *Moors* *Cusuntin*, or *Cucutin*, is the capital of the province of its name, and the only one remaining of it. It is commodiously situated, about forty-eight miles from the sea, upon a kind of peninsular promontory, inaccessible on all sides, except on the south west. 'Tis computed about a mile in circumference, inclining a little to the southward, but ending to the northward, in a precipice of at least 100 fathoms perpendicular; but yielding a most beautiful prospect from a great variety of mountains, vales, and rivers, which lie before, and at some distance from it^f. The town is well fortified, and abounds with noble relicks of antiquity, which give one an idea of its pristine grandeur, when it was the capital of *Mauritania Cæsariensis*; such as a great variety of cisterns, aqueducts, porticos, gates, triumphal arches, &c. of curious stone and workmanship, we have no room to dwell upon. The bridge over the river *Rummel* is likewise a noble piece of art; a little below which is a natural curiosity no less worth admiring; viz. that river running through a subterraneous passage made in the solid rock, designedly laid open in several places for the convenience of drawing water, and cleansing the chanel; and, after running about a quarter of a mile in a northern direction, falls from its subterraneous course into a large cascade. The highest part of the city being just over that place, they continue still to throw their great criminals thence into it. Near this cascade is likewise a fine transparent spring of hot waters, which swarms with tortoises, which the ignorant women fancy to be devils, and to be the authors of all their diseases^g. In this city the Bey of the eastern government hath his residence, and maintains a guard of 300 *Spahis*, or *Turkish* horse, and 1500 *Moors*, at his own charge; these troops not being on the *Algerine* establishment^h. The inhabitants are wealthy and proud, yet brave. The adjacent mountains, which traverse this district, are inhabited by a warlike, yet civilized people, who follow several sorts of trades, besides furnishing this and other towns with variety of fruits and provisions. They are so numerous as to be able to raise a body of 30 or 40,000 men upon any dislike taken at the Bey of *Constantina*, or any other occasion. One misfortune is, that they have no fire arms, but only lances and arrows; and another, that they are often at war with each other, and chiefly on account of their wives; who, when they are weary of their husbands, or ill used by them, commonly flee from one ridge to another in quest of a new one, and carry off with them what jewels, coin, and other valuable effects they can lay their hands onⁱ.

NEAR the city, towards the sea coast, are the ruins of *Colo*, a *Roman* colony, with a castle on a very high rock, and a garrison under an Aga's command; adjacent to which is a small *French* factory, protected by the Dey; the factor of which deals with the *Moors* for hides, wax, and wool. The mountains of *Colo* abound with a large and fierce kind of monkeys, which the *Moors* have the art to catch at any time, but never do it, unless they are sure of getting a good price for them. On the same coast are seen the ruins of the antient city of *Stora*, which

^c MARMOL, TASSY, & SHAW, ubi sup. ch. vii. p. 961, & seq.^e PROCOPIUS in Vit. Constant.

SHAW, ubi sup.

^f SHAW'S Travels, ch. viii. p. 126.^h TASSY'S Alg. lib. i. c. 9.^d See Antient Hist. vol. vii. p. 108.^g LEO AFRIC. lib. v. p. 209.ⁱ DAPPER Afric. p. 187. TASSY, ubi sup.

(B) Doctor *Shaw* tells us, that the continual discharging of ballast into the road, and the neglect of cleansing the port, which came to the very walls, is the cause of both being become so unsafe and incommodious,

though it might, with proper care and encouragement, be so far remedied, as to make the town one of the most flourishing in all *Barbary* (3).

a hath a convenient bay, where the *Genosse*, and after them the *French*, began their *African* trade, which hath been since improved by the company of the *French* bastion.

CONSTANTINA continued the residence of kings ever since the *Arabian* conquest of *Africa*, till *an.* 1520, when *Barbarossa*, being become master of *Algiers* and *Colo*, the inhabitants, in order to recover their commerce, which had been ruined by it, submitted to him, and have continued to be an *Algerine* province ever since^k.

b 3. *Gigeri*, *al Jigel*, the *Igilgili* of the antients^{*}, but now only a poor village, consisting of about 1500 mean houses, and commanded by an old small fort, with a garrison, which lies 3. *Gigeri* described. on the sea coast between *Bona* and *Bujeyah*, about fifteen miles from each, and a little beyond the cape that formeth the eastern boundary of the gulph of *Bujeyah*, or *Bujeiah*, to whose kingdom it formerly belonged. The fort is situate on a high steep rock, projecting into the sea, and, by its position, forming a two-fold harbour, one on the east, and the other on the west. The inhabitants being mostly of the wandering kind, this territory hath neither town Territory. nor any other village.

WITHIN this precinct, which borders on the *Numidian* deserts, stands the famed *Mount Araz*, stretching itself between twenty-five and thirty leagues in length from north to south, and every-where very difficult of access. The inhabitants of it are a race of *Arabs*, called *Cabylezen*, a warlike people, who made this ridge the last refuge of their liberty, and have preserved it ever since by the natural strength of their precipices. Before the year 1664 they used to traffick with the *French* factory at *Gigeri*, and brought thither hides, corn, and wax. But a war breaking out at that time between *France* and *Algiers*, the duke of *Bedford* being admiral, he was ordered to build a fort on the sea coast, to be a check upon those *Arabs*. The work was no sooner begun, than they came down with a design to attack him, and obliged him to put to sea; which he had no sooner done, than they beat the *French* out of *Gigeri*, demolished their fort, and made 400 of them prisoners, besides those that were slain in the fight; since which time they have plundered all strangers that are wrecked upon those coasts, and make slaves of them without distinction, even though they belong to nations in friendship with *Algiers* and the *Porte*. The *Mohammedans* are the only ones that are discharged, and sent home with a small *viaticum*: neither can the Dey save any of the wreck to the owners by his authority, or by any other way than a friendly composition^l. We may have occasion d to give some instances of these depredations when we come to the historical part. But this coast is almost the only one in the kingdom where they cannot be suppressed, by reason of the inaccessible situation of the inhabitants; in other parts the government takes particular care of those nations that are in friendship with it; and, if any of their ships chance to be treated in the same hostile way, a complaint of it is no sooner brought before the Dey, but the strictest enquiry is made after the offenders; who, if caught, are not only made to refund the ill-gotten plunder, but severely punished according to the nature of the crime.

e 4. *Bugia*, or, as the *Africans* write it, *Boojeiah*, the supposed *Saldæ* of *Strabo* (C), built by the *Romans*^m, and once the capital of a kingdom of its name, hath a handsome sea port, formed by a narrow neck of land running into the sea: a great part of whose promontory was formerly faced with a wall of hewn stone; where was likewise an aqueduct, which supplied the port with water, by discharging it into a capacious basin; all which lie now in ruins; and the tomb of *Seedy Busgree*, one of the tutelar saints of the place, is the only thing remaining that is remarkable in it.

As to the city itself, it is built upon the ruins of a large one, at the foot of a high mountain city, that looks towards the north-east; a great part of whose walls run up quite to the top of it; where there is also a castle that commands the whole town, besides two others at the bottom, built for a security to the port. The inhabitants drive a considerable trade in plough-shares, mattocks, and other such iron tools, which they manufacture from the adjacent mines. The town is watered by a large river, which *Marmol* and *Dapper* call *Huet el Quibir*, or the great river; and which is supposed to be the *Nasava* of *Ptolemy*ⁿ, as it empties itself into the sea a little to the eastward, after it hath received a great number of rivulets into its stream (D). The place

^k *Iidem* *ibid.* ^{*} See *Antient History*, vol. vii. p. 113. ^l *MARMOL*, lib. v. ch. 12: *DAPPER*, p. 185, *TASSY*, *ubi sup.* ^m *Iidem* *ibid.* *SHAW*, *ubi sup.* ch. vii. p. 89, & seq. See also *Antient Hist.* vol. vii. p. 113. ⁿ *DAPPER*, *ibid.* *SHAW*, *ibid.* p. 90, & seq.

(C) This supposition we have formerly ventured to dissent from (4), on account of the distance which the *Itinerarium* computes to be between *Saldæ* and *Igilgili*; viz. 93 miles: whereas *Boojeiah* is but thirteen leagues from *Jigel*, the supposed *Igilgili* of the *Romans*. Nothing is more uncertain than these kind of conjectures at the best; yet, as so many authors seem to concur in them,

it cannot be taken amiss of us, if we acquaint our readers with them, as well as with the difficulties that may be raised against them, and leave it to every one's judgment to determine on either side.

(D) *Marmol*, who likewise calls it *Zinganor* (5), adds, that whilst it belonged to the Christians, the mouth of it was so choaked up with mud and sand, that no vessel

(4) *Conf. Antient Hist.* vol. vii. p. 113, and *Shaw's Travels*, p. 89, & seq. Mod. Hist. Vol. VII.

(5) *Marmol Afric.* lib. v. ch. 9. could

market.

place is populous, and hath a considerable market for iron work, oil, and wax, which is carried on with great tranquillity; but is no sooner over than the whole place is in an uproar; so that the day seldom concludes without some flagrant instance of rapine and barbarity^o.

5. Steffa;

5. STEFFA, called by *Marmol Testelza*, and by *Grammay Distefa*, is situated on the south of *Bujeyah*, about twenty leagues from it, and fifteen from the sea, on the road from *Fez* to *Tunis*^p, in a fruitful valley, which extends itself as far as the mountain of *Labez*. It was destroyed by the *Arabs*; so that it retains nothing now of its pristine grandeur, but the sad remains of its once spacious and stately walls of square stone of a prodigious size: and the inhabitants, amounting to about 300 families, are as miserable and poor as any under the *Turkish* dominions.

its ruins and misery.

6. Tebef.

6. TEBEF hath been likewise a large and flourishing city under the *Romans*, but lies now in as poor a condition as *Steffa*^q.

7. Zamora.

7. ZAMORA, the supposed *Azama* of *Ptolemy*, is sunk as low as any of the two former, through the *Turkish* tyranny, and is commanded by a fort built by the *Algerine* government: it is, nevertheless, reckoned one of the most fertile places in all *Barbary* for corn and pasturage. It hath a market every *Monday*, to which the *Arabs*, &c. resort in great numbers to sell their commodities^r.

8. Biscara taken by the Algerines;

8. BISCARA belonged to the province of *Zeb* in *Numidia*, which lies south of the kingdom of *Labez*; but the *Algerines*, in their annual inroads to carry off slaves, made themselves masters of it, to open a more easy passage into the southern provinces. It retains still some remains of the antient city that gave name to this territory, and hath a garrison to keep the inhabitants in awe, who lead a wandering life in their tents, and are they who usually bring lions, tigers, and other wild beasts, which they have the art of taming, for sale to strangers. The city of *Algiers* is never without a great number of *Biscarans*, who are employed in the hardest and lowest offices, as cleansing of streets, emptying of vaults, sweeping of chimnies, and carrying of burdens; and when they have got about ten or twelve crowns by this drudgery, they return to their country, where they are respected as worthy men, on account of the scarcity of coin among them, they being reckoned the most miserable of all the *Arabian* tribes in this kingdom^s.

its inhabitants miserable slaves.

9. Necauz a delightful town, but running into decay.

THE last place in this eastern government worth notice is *Necauz*, reckoned one of the pleasantest towns in *Barbary*, situate about twenty leagues south of *Steffa*, near a pleasant river, whose banks are adorned with a great variety of trees and other delightful verdure. The figs here are esteemed the finest in all *Afric*; and when dried are bought up far and near at a good price. The territory on each side is fertile in corn, and other conveniencies of life. In the town stands a most stately mosk; and not far from it a large college, well endowed, for the instruction of the *Turkish* youth. The inhabitants are civil and sociable; and the women very beautiful; the houses neat, though but one story high; and the gardens adorned with all sorts of fruits and odoriferous verdure. It had hospitals, and a variety of baths, and other conveniencies; all which dwindle gradually through the tyranny of the *Turkish* government^t.

THE territory of *Bujeyah*, like that of *Gigeri*, is encompassed with high mountains, whose cantons are distinguished by the names of *Beni-jubar*, *Auraz*, and *Labez*, and are inhabited by some of the most antient tribes of *Arabians*, *Moors*, and *Saracens*. The greatest part of them have been used, from time immemorial, to distinguish themselves by a cross marked on one of their hands; and some, out of a greater regard to that custom, will have one stamped on each cheek; but can give no other reason for it than a constant tradition from their ancestors (E).

THE mountains of *Beni-jubar* lie about twenty miles south of *Bujeyah*, and extend themselves along the coast a considerable way, both in length and breadth, and are part of the little *Atlas*. They are very steep and rugged, and from them flow a great number of springs. They abound

^o SHAW, *ibid.*
^r *Ibid.* ch. 54.

^p MARMOL, *ibid.* ch. 52, DAPPER, TASSY, &c.
^s TASSY, *ibid.*

^q MARMOL, *ibid.* ch. 53.
^t MARMOL, *ubi supra* ch. 55. DAPPER's *Algiers*.

could come into it. But that after *Salharres* had made himself master of it, the rains that fell in great abundance in that year did so thoroughly clear it up, that some of their largest vessels have been able to enter it ever since, and ride safe in it from storms, and from every wind but the north.

(E) It is probable, however, that this custom began when the *Vandals* became masters of this country, who treating the Christians every where with particular lenity, induced them either to become Christians, or at least

to endeavour to pass for such, by assuming that symbol of their religion, shewing of which might be a kind of safe-guard against the insults of the ravaging soldiers; so that the signature is still preserved among them, though the occasion of it is quite forgot (6); unless we will suppose, that they really became Christians under the *Vandal* government, and retained the cross as a kind of superstitious relic or charm, after they turned *Mohammedans*.

(6) *Dapper's Algiers*, Tassy, *lib.* i. c. 9.

with

a with fruit trees, especially walnuts and figs; produce plenty of barley, with which the inhabitants feed their numerous herds. The people are warlike, and live under a chief of their own: some of them are excellent archers: and the whole ridge hath here and there villages, inhabited by the tribe or people whose name it bears^u.

LABEZ is another ridge belonging to the little *Atlas*, and extends itself from that of *Beni-jubar* to the eastern kingdom of *Couco*, and is inhabited by a stout sort of people, who much resemble them in their manners and way of life; but are however, subject to a tribute to the Dey of *Algiers*, consisting chiefly in horses, which those of *Couco* are not. *Labez* is neither fertile in corn nor fruits; its chief produce is a sort of reed or rush, of which they manufacture the beautiful *Arabian* mats, called in the language *Labez*; from which this kingdom or canton b hath its name^w.

THE ridge or canton of *Auraz*, or *Eures*, as the *Turks* pronounce it, is another part of the *Atlas*, extending itself southward of *Constantina* quite to *Biledulgerid*, and consists of a large group or knot of hills, running into one another, and intersected by small plains and vallies; the length about 30 leagues^x, or, as a modern traveller computes it, about 120 miles in circuit^y. Both tops and bottoms are very fertile, and still continue to be the garden of the kingdom. Some springs there are, which, coming down from the hills, form a kind of salt marshes, which the sun dries up in summer, and converts into salt. The inhabitants are fierce and warlike, and live chiefly by robbing and murdering of travellers; and so fond were they once of their liberty, that they would suffer no stranger to be among them, lest they should learn the passes c and avenues leading to their abodes; and so impatient are they now, since the *Algerines* have deprived them so far of it as to bring them under tribute, that it requires no less than forty of their military stations to oblige them to pay it; every year the Bey comes at the head of his flying camp to extort it from them^z.

THE last canton worth notice under this eastern government is called *Couco*, or *Cuco*, and by the *Marseillians* *Couque*; and hath its name from the mountain at the foot of which the metropolis stood, or perhaps from the city itself (F), once the seat of a kingdom, adorned with noble buildings, particularly with the palace of its princes, who had greatly signalized themselves by their exploits in *Spain*. It was situated in a triangular position, southward of *Algiers* and *Bujeyah*, about 36 miles from the former, and 20 from the latter, at the foot of the mountain, surrounded at the bottom with steep rocks, which served it as a strong defence, and on the top with a great number of farms and villages, very populous and rich; one of which, called *Gemabaxabarix*, at the foot of the same mountain, contained five hundred houses, and had a large market every *Friday*, resorted to by a vast concourse of the neighbouring people. The princes held likewise a port on the sea coast called *Tamagus*, between *Bujeyah* and *Algier*, from which the city, consisting of above fifteen hundred houses, drove a considerable commerce of hides, wax, and honey, with that of *Marseilles*. The access to it was very difficult and dangerous, there being but one way to come at it, through such narrow and rugged defiles, that a handful of men could have overwhelmed an enemy's army with stones; besides which the city was fortified with strong high walls, on that side where it is less guarded by the rocks¹. In this flourishing condition it continued under its princes, till the beginning of the 17th century, when the king of *Couco*, then in alliance with that of *Spain*, ceded the port of *Tamagus* to him, which the *Algerines*, however, made themselves masters of not long after; and, in order to put an effectual end to the clandestine intrigues between that prince and *Spain*, destroyed his metropolis, ravaged the plains about it, and obliged him and his subjects to flee to the mountains. However, both the city and kingdom of *Couco* had, by reason of its vicinity to *Algiers*, and the inaccessibility of its mountains, been looked upon by the *Turks* as a thorn in their sides, because it was a kind of sure refuge to their enemies, criminals of state, &c.; and even some of their Deys, when they apprehend any danger either

Inhabitants
fierce and nu-
merous.

Impatient
under the
Turkish yoke.

Couco king-
dom and city.

Its flourishing
state.

Since ruined
by the Alge-
rines.

Couco, a re-
fuge to the
enemies of
Algiers.

^u MARMOL, *ibid.* cap. 5. TASSY, lib. i. c. 9.

^w *Idem* *ibid.*

^x MARMOL, lib. v. c. ult.

^y SHAW'S Travels, ch. vii. p. 117.

^z *Idem* *ibid.*

¹ MARMOL, *Afric.* lib. v. c. 47. DAPPER,

DAVITY, p. 167. TASSY, *ubi sup.* p. 126.

(F) *Marmol* tells us accordingly, that the true name of this mountain, or knot of mountains, was *Eguili-andus*, and *Dapper* *Eguilu-Andalus*; and both of them describe it as very steep and craggy. The lower parts of it are fertile in wheat, and the upper in barley; both abound with good pasturage, and breed vast quantities of cattle and bees, of which they drive a great commerce with *Marseilles*. Their mountains have some iron mines, which they fabricate into swords, daggers, lances,

&c. and have an excellent way of hardening it, so as to be but little inferior to steel (2). They have also, in some parts, mines of salt-petre, of which they make gunpowder, being supplied with brimstone by the *French* merchants. Their country abounds likewise with olives, raisins, and figs, in the latter of which their king's revenue chiefly consisted; and was affirmed by the *Marseillians*, who traded thither, to have amounted to 700,000 crowns (3).

(2) *Marmol* *Afric.* l. v. c. 47. *Dapper's Algiers*, p. 164. *Davity*, *ibid.* p. 167. *Grammar*, *Dapper*, &c. *al.*

(3) *Idem* *ibid.* *wid.*

from the *Porte* or other quarter, or when wearied with the load of government, do usually flee thither; and, if any of them can be so fortunate as to reach those recesses, they are sure to live in safety and ease, or may wait for an opportunity to remove to some other asylum. Hence it is, that the *Algerine* government made so many vain attempts against the kingdom; and even after they had destroyed its capital, and driven its prince farther off among the mountains, yet they never could bring the brave inhabitants under any tribute, tho' the Deys have left no means or stratagem untried to do it (G). The inhabitants are distinguished by the names of *Arabians*, *Bereberes*, and *Azagues*, and value themselves chiefly on preserving themselves from the *Turkish* yoke, tho' they are obliged to buy their independency with the loss of their wealth; so that from being once some of the richest people of all the inland countries, in horses, cattle, grain, and fruits, to say nothing of their iron manufacture, mentioned in the last note, nor of that of their linen and cotton stuffs, &c. they are sunk into the extremest indigence and poverty, avoiding all commerce with their neighbours, lest that should give a handle to the *Algerines* to bring them into the same slavish state to which they have reduced the rest of the *Arabs* and *Moors* of *Barbary*^b. And thus much may suffice for their eastern government.

The western government, and its capital Oran. THE second *Algerine* government is stiled the western, and hath now the city of *Oran* (H) for its capital, or residence of its Bey, a place formerly of great repute, containing 6000 houses, mostly inhabited by weavers and clothiers, and much resorted to by *Catalonian*, *Genoese*, and *Venetian* merchants. It had several stately mosks, besides hospitals, baths, caravanseras, and other public buildings; but is now much reduced from its grandeur and extent, and about a mile in circuit, but is the best fortified on all sides^c in the kingdom, *Algiers* excepted. It is situate on the sea coast, upon the declivity and pretty near the foot of a high mountain, which overlooks it, upon the ridge of which are built two castles that command the town. About a furlong west of the mountain stands a third castle, on a higher situation than the two former, with a large valley between them; so that their respective ridges are so remarkably disunited, that they not only form a most convenient landmark, but render all the approaches from the latter to the former impracticable. To the south and south-east of the town are two other castles erected, on the level with the lower part of it, but severed from it by a deep winding valley, which serves as a natural trench to the south side of the place. A little rivulet, formed by a small spring of excellent water, at about three furlongs distance from the town, and conforming its course to the windings of the valley, furnishes the city with plenty of that element; near the spring stands another castle, which forbids all approaches of an enemy; and, at the same time that it guards the *matamors* or subterranean depositories of corn, digged under it, is an important defence to the city^d.

Taken by, and re-taken from the Spaniards. IT is most likely, however, that most of these fortifications were built since the *Algerines* retook this important place from the *Spaniards*, an. 1708, after it had continued in their hands above 200 years (I); during which time the residence of the Bey was at *Tremecen*. For they

^b Conf. MARMOL, DAPPER, GRAMMAY, lib. vii. & al. sup. cit. & TASSY, lib. i. p. 146, & seq. ibid. SHAW'S Travels, c. iii. p. 24, & seq.

^d SHAW, ibid.

^c Idem

(G) It will not be amiss to apprise our readers here of a strange mistake of the late *French* writer of the history of the *African* Sharifs, who, having taken his account of this city, and kingdom of *Couco* (as he hath done that of several others), verbatim almost from *Marmol's* history of *Afric*, hath described both of them in the flourishing state they were in when that author wrote, without considering how low the various changes and catastrophes above-mentioned must have, since that time, reduced them from their pristine state; so little dependence there is to be had on those copyists, rather than historians (3).

(H) *Oran* is called by the *Africans*, *Gubaran*, by other writers, *Maduran*, *Auran*, *Aeran*, and *Horan* by *Marmol* and *Lauger Tassy* (4); the former of whom believes it to be the *Unica Colonia* of the *Romans*. Dr. *Shaw*, who writes it *Warran*, derives it from the *Arabic* *I'ab-ar*, importing a place of steep or difficult access, (5) answerable to its situation.

(I) The *Spaniards*, in the year 1505, when the famed cardinal *Ximenes* was prime minister to *Ferdinand V.* did by his advice, and under his direction, get possession of

this important place, as it was then the staple of a very considerable commerce for slaves, corn, oil, wax, honey, hides, and other *African* commodities; and as it had likewise the village and road of *Marsalquibir*, or great harbour, the *Portus Magnus* of the antients, at a small league distance west from it, under its jurisdiction, which is reckoned one of the most capacious havens in the world.

The reason or pretence for the *Spaniards* seizing on *Oran*, was, that they were become opulent and powerful enough to venture to cruise upon their coasts. They had long before that time inured themselves to the piratic trade, by the constant wars they sustained against the kings of *Tremecen*, or *Tlemsan*, who wanted to set a governor of their own over them; whereas they pleaded their antient privilege against it, and the right of chusing their annual judges and magistrates, both civil and criminal, from among themselves, and to admit only of a receiver of the customs from the *Tremecen* court. This was the state of the *Oraners*, when the *Spanish* fleet came and made themselves masters of the port of *Marsalquibir*, and after that of their capital.

(3) Boulet, *L'empire des Cherifs*, an. 1733. c. iii. p. 154. compared with *Marmol's Afric*. lib. v. c. 47.
(4) *Marmol*, ubi sup. c. xix. vid. & *Dawity*, *Afric*. p. 183. & *Dapper*, & al. (5) *Shaw's Travels*, c. iii. p. 24, & seq.

- a no sooner made themselves masters of it, than they applied their utmost care to secure it from future attacks, and ordered the Bey to come and reside in it; where, besides a strong garrison, he is obliged to maintain in pay 2000 *Coulolies*, and 1500 *Moors*, at his own charge, and to have them always in his retinue. About two leagues south of *Oran* are the ruins of an antient city called *Batha*, which was destroyed by the wars that raged between the *African* powers about the beginning of the seventh century, and is now remarkable only for a little chapel, built in memory of a Marabout, who lived among these ruins, and by his singular beneficence and hospitality to poor travellers of all sorts, got at length rich enough, by the presents sent him by the wealthy, to maintain 500 disciples, whose employment was to go through a long litany of all the divine attributes by the help of their beads, at certain hours of the day alternately; but whose sect is now upon the decline, as many others are, since their commerce with *Europe* hath brought all such superstitious fooleries into contempt among them. But the *Arabs* still call the place by his name, *Cena's Plain*^a.

TREMECEN, formerly *Telensin*, *Telemicen*, and by the *Arabs* *Tlem-Son*, once the metropolis of one of the greatest kingdoms in *Mauritania Cæsariensis*, is situate about 10 leagues from the sea, and 30 south west of *Oran*, and five south-south-east of the mouth of the *Tafna*, upon a rising ground, below a range of rocky precipices, upon which runs a slip of level ground, that bursts out with a great number of springs, which, uniting into one small stream, form a variety of cascades in its descent towards the city. The town is surrounded by a strong wall, forty cubits high, flanked with towers, and made of mortar composed of sand, lime, and small pebbles, which being cast in a frame, and afterwards well tempered and dried, have acquired a solidity and strength equal to that of stone. The several stages and removes of these frames being still observable: some of them appear to have been 100 yards long, and two in height and thickness^c. The gates of the city, which are five in number, have drawn-bridges before them, with other fortifications, to defend them. It hath besides a strong and spacious castle built in the modern way, with courts, halls, and handsome barracks, for the *Janizaries*. *Its stately wall. Castle, and other public buildings.*

WHILST it was the capital of the kingdom, it was divided into several wards, two of which were still distinguishable in *Edrisi's* time, and might be considered as two cities, of an oblong square figure, inclosed each within its own walls^f, the two containing, in the year 1562, no less than 25,000 houses well built, with large streets, and a vast number of public buildings of noble structure, particularly five large square colleges, built after the *Italian* manner, besides baths, hospitals, &c. in great numbers^e, of all which little is now left but its fortifications, and some noble ruins (1), the place having been almost destroyed by *Hassan*, Dey of *Algiers*, *Destroyed by the Algerines.* an. 1670, as a punishment for the disaffection of its then inhabitants; so that there is now scarcely a sixth part remaining of this so famed metropolis, and nursery of arts and sciences, which is computed to have been about four miles in circuit^b. It hath suffered no less in the destruction of its public structures; insomuch, that out of 150 mosks there remain no more than eight, each with a tower of the doric order adorned with marble columns; of 160 public baths there are but four now left. The *Jews* had there ten synagogues, and those hardly sufficient for them, all which are gone to decayⁱ; the city being now inhabited by none but *Arabs*, *Moors*, and *Jews*, most of them very poor, except the garrison of *Turks*; and running still into greater decay ever since the removal of the Bey and his court to *Oran*, of which we gave an account in the last article.

^a TASSY, ubi sup. p. 150, & seq.

^c SHAW, ubi sup. ch. iv. p. 46, & seq.

^f Ibidem ibid. p. 49.

^e LEO AFRIC. lib. iv. p. 193.

MARMOL, lib. v. ch. ii.

DAPPER's Aigier. GRAMMAY, Afric. illustr. & al.

^b SHAW, ubi sup. p. 49.

ⁱ DAPPER, Tremecen, TASSY, & al. sup. citat.

In which expedition they brought away, among other booty, about 20,000 Christian captives. However, from that time, *Oran* decayed sensibly every way, and hath done so much more, since it fell under the tyranny of the *Algerines* (6); so that the only improvement it hath received from these is its fortifications; for though some of them appear still to be of the old fashion, especially the castle that stands on the uppermost ridge, and the easternmost of those that lie before the town, yet the other three are regular polygons of the modern kind (7), and so are some other fortifications added on the sea side; which shews of what importance they esteem this place to be to them, and what a loss the *Spaniards* had in its being taken from them (8).

(1) Among those curiosities that are still to be seen

here, one of the most remarkable is a large basin, of *Moorish* workmanship, two hundred yards long, and about fifty in breadth. The inhabitants have a tradition, that the kings of *Tremecen* were used to take the diversion of the water, and the subjects taught the art of navigation upon it. But our curious traveller thinks it rather to have been designed for a large reservoir, either in case of a siege, or at all other times very useful to refresh the great number of gardens and fine plantations below it; which is no improbable conjecture, considering that the course of the water of the river, which supplies the city from the adjacent mountains, might be easily cut off, or turned, by a besieging enemy, as had been observed long before by another judicious author (9).

(6) Marmol, ubi sup. Gomcz. in vit. Ximen. Dapper, Tassy, &c. & seq.

(8) Tassy, p. 149, & seq.

See also before, p. 141, & seq.

(9) Leo Afric. lib. iv. p. 164.

(7) Shaw's Travels, cap. iii. p. 24, Shaw, ubi sup. c. iv. p. 48.

- Mostagan.** ABOUT 20 leagues east of *Oran* is the town of *Mostagan*, al. *Mostaganin*, *Musty Gannim*, the *a*
Its situation *Cartenna* of *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* (K). It is built in the form of a theatre, with a full prospect
and strength. of the sea; and, in every other direction, surrounded with hills which hang over it. In one
of the vacant spaces, about the middle of it, are the remains of an old *Moorish* castle, which,
by its fashion, appears to have been built before the invention of fire arms. The north-west
corner of the city, which overlooks the port, is surrounded with a wall of hewn stone, and
hath another castle built in a more regular manner, and defended by a *Turkish* garrison. But
all these being overlooked by the adjacent hills above-mentioned, the chief security of the place
Citadel. lies in the citadel, which is built upon one of those eminences, and commands both the city
and country ^k. The town is well supplied with water, and its haven is commodious and safe.
Mount Maga- Behind it runs mount *Magaraba*, so called from the *Magarabas* who inhabit it, and are de- *b*
raba. scended from the *Bereberes*. This mount extends about ten leagues from east to west along the
Mediterranean coast. These *Magarabas* live in tents, feed a great quantity of flocks, and pay
12,000 crowns yearly to the *Dey* of *Algiers* ^l.
- Tenez.* SEVEN leagues east of *Mostagan*, and about the mid-way between *Oran* and *Algiers*, stands
the city of *Tenez*, upon the foot of a hill, and about a league from the sea, where it hath a
convenient port. *Tenez* and its territory were once subject to the kings of *Tremecen*; but, taking
advantage of its intestine broils, set up a kingdom of their own, independent of that; which
proved only a short-lived one, and became soon after a prey to the *Algerines*, who have kept a
strong garrison in it ever since; the governor of it resides in the castle, which was once the
royal palace. The territory about it is very fertile in corn, fruits, and pasturage, and produces *c*
honey, wax, &c. *Marmol* supposes this place to be the *Laguntum*, and *Sanut* the *Tipasa*, of
Ptolemy; but we have already shewn in the antient history, that the obscure village of *Tefessad* is
the antient *Tipasa* ^m.
- Sargel or Sar-* THE last *Algerine* garrison in this western government is *Sherfbel*, al. *Sargel*, or, as *Tassy*
celly. calls it, *Sercelles*, a poor ruined town, on the sea coast, about eight leagues west of *Algiers*,
remarkable only for its harbour for small vessels ⁿ, and its *Turkish* garrison (L).
- The southern,* THE southern district, or third government of the *Algerine* kingdom, is altogether with-
or third Al- out any walled cities, though there are to be seen here and there the ruins of some noble
gerine govern- ones; among which some few troops take their quarters, and form a small kind of gar-
ment, hath no rison to keep the inhabitants of these wild tracts in awe. These live altogether in tents, *d*
cities, but only and are divided into *Hords*, or *Adouars*, each of which forms a kind of itinerant village
itinerant vil- under their respective chiefs, chosen from among themselves, and change their habitations
lages. according to the season, or as the convenience of pasture and agriculture requires. They
commonly feed great numbers of cattle small and great, besides their horses, and other

^k SHAW, ubi sup. ch. iii. p. 32.
vii. p. 113.

^l MARMOL, lib. v. ch. 23. DAPPER, TASSY, &c.
ⁿ TASSY, ubi sup. p. 153.

^m Vol.

(K) Or rather *Carthene* in the plural, for so *Ptolemy* writes it, though *Pliny* gives it in the singular; and it is not unlikely that this, and *Masagran*, which lies a small league from it, and in the same direction with the antient *Cartenna* and *Arsenaria*, now *Arsene*, and the same distance which the *Itinerarium* gives them, may have been formerly but one colony or community; and hence the first of these authors might give it a singular, and the other a plural name (10). *Marmol*, indeed, takes *Masagran* to be the *Portus Deorum* of the latter, but brings no proof for it (11); and the former opinion seems to us the best founded of the two.

(L) We cannot omit the antient and famed city of *Tessare*, or, as it was called by the *Romans*, *Cæsarea*, which, though at present reduced to a heap of ruins, and consequently no *Turkish* garrison, yet, being situate within this western government, well deserves our notice, as well on account of its having given birth to several eminent philosophers and poets, and of its having been formerly one of the most populous and opulent cities of *Afric*, as for some curious relics of its former grandeur. The *Africans* call it *Tiguident*, or *Deg-dent*, that is, the antient city. It was situate on a bay, a mile eastward of *Sargel*, between it and *Algiers*, and appears from its ruins to have been three leagues in circuit.

It was built by the antient *Africans*, and embellished

by the *Romans*, and afterwards by the princes of the *Idrisian* line. It was at length totally destroyed by *Abdalla* the son of *Mohadin*, and its inhabitants most inhumanly butchered, *an.* 959 (12). We are told, that a famed Marabout rebuilt it afterwards, so as to contain 13,000 houses (13); but at present nothing is left of it, but the ruins of its walls, and two antient heathen temples, the dome of one of which is of such a height, that a ship may be seen from it twenty leagues off, and on the land side, over the plains of *Meticha*, above sixteen leagues.

The *Moors* call this temple *Coborurnia*, or *Roman* sepulchre; it is built of large square stones, and is inclosed all around. Our author adds, that an attempt was made to destroy it in 1555, in hopes of finding some hidden treasure. But the Christian slaves, who were ordered to demolish it, had scarce loosed some of the stones, than they were hung to death by a swarm of black venomous wasps, that came out of the holes, which put an end to that design (14).

East of this place is a vast forest, called by the inhabitants the bad wife, or woman, full of cedar, cork, poplar, laurel, box, and other trees; it supplies the city with all the timber they want for building their ships, houses, and for other uses, but is not allowed to be cut down without leave from the government.

(10) See *Shaw's Travels*, cap. iii. p. 33.
vii. p. 114.

(14) *Iidem* *ibid.*

(12) *Marmol, Afric. l. v. c. 34.*

(11) *Ubi sup. lib. v. c. 22. See also Antient Hist. vol.*

Dapper's Afric, p. 163.

(13) *Dapper, ibid.*

- a beasts of burden, which carry their portable hamlets from place to place. We have already given some account of their religion, way of living, &c. at the beginning of this chapter^o; and of their antiquity, origin, and various tribes, &c. in our antient history^p; and to pretend to describe their respective countries, and settle their various limits, would be as endless as superfluous in a work of this nature. It will be sufficient to say, that the greatest part of these districts or cantons, being so many branches of mount *Atlas*, are bespangled with high hills, intersected by vallies, and some of them by wide sandy deserts, all of them more or less fertile according to the nature of the soil, and plenty or scarcity of water that is found in them; some of them, especially in the more southern parts, along the confines of the *Sabara*, or great desert, and in the countries of *Zab* and *Mezzab*, being destitute of that element, except what they get out of wells, which they are forced to dig wherever they pitch their tents; and of these some are so salt and brackish, and others impregnated with such distasteful minerals, that nothing but necessity can reconcile men to the use of them^q. All these nations in general are obliged to pay a kind of tribute to *Algiers*, who pay a tribute to Algiers. but not without being forced to it by the Bey's troops, which many of them are careful to avoid, when the time of his visiting them draws near, by removing their stations to some inaccessible parts, where he cannot come near them without danger. But, whenever any of these fugitives are afterwards caught, as they often are by surprize, he never fails making them pay double all their arrears, or making an equivalent number of them slaves, whom he sends to *Algiers*. In that metropolis, we are told, are great numbers of *Beni-Mezzab*, (a tribe which, by their situation and swarthy complexion, are supposed to be the descendants of the *Melano Gætulians*, or *Nigritiæ*, described in our antient history)^r, who are exempt from paying any tribute to that government; but have been from time immemorial the only persons employed in the slaughter-houses of that city^s.

THE standing forces which the Bey, or governor of this southern province, keeps on foot at his own charge are inconsiderable; consisting only of 100 *Spahis*, or *Turkish* horse, and 500 *Moors*. With these he and his court are always incamped in some canton or other, after the manner of the inhabitants. But, when the return of the year comes for them to go and levy the usual tribute, he generally receives a considerable reinforcement from the Dey, and may raise contributions in *Biledulgerid*, whenever he can, either by force or stratagem, open himself a way thro' the narrow passes that lead into that country^t.

^o See before, p. 205, & seq. ubi sup.
^r Vol. vii. p. 163, & seq. sup. lib. i. ch. ult.

^p Vol. vii. p. 159.

^q MARMOL, DAPPER, TASSY, & al. SHAW, ubi sup. ch. vi. p. 86.

^s TASSY, ubi

S E C T. III.

A description of the city of Algiers, the metropolis of the kingdom.

- e HAVING gone thro' the description of the three provinces or governments, into which the kingdom of *Algiers* is divided, we come now to give an account of its famed metropolis; a city which for several ages hath braved the greatest powers in *Christendom*, and hath been the constant residence of the Dey and court, the post of the main body of the *Turkish* soldiery, the station of the navy, and the center of government, and of the military force of the state. We have, at the beginning of this chapter, given the etymology of its present name *Algezair*, or rather (as it should be pronounced) *Al-Jezeir*, or *Al-Jezerab*^a; that is, as the *Arabic* word imports, the island, because there was an island before the city, to which it hath been since joined by a mole. In their public letters and records they stile it *Al Jezeire Megerbie*, or the western *Al Jezeir*, to distinguish it from another of the same name near the *Dardanel*s. The city of Algiers described;
- f And the *Arabians* call it to this day *Gazeira-Al-Bene-Mosgana*, from an *Arabian* prince called *Mosgana* who had formerly subdued it, or, as *Marmol* will have it, was the founder of it^b. But we may safely affirm it to be of a much antienter date; and tho' authors differ much about its origin, some supposing it the antient *Rufurum*, or *Rufueurum*, others the *Salda*, others the *Jol*, or *Julia Casariensis*, built in honour of *Augustus*, we hope we have sufficiently proved it in our antient history^c to have been no other than the antient *Icosium*, placed in the itinerary at 47 miles from *Tipasa*, which is farther confirmed by the reverend traveller often quoted in this chapter^d. whence so called. Other names. The antient Icosium.

ALGIERS is situate between *Buieyab* on the east, and *Tenez* on the west, in 36° 30' north latitude, and 34° 15' east longitude; and is washed on the north and north-east side by the Its fine prospect.

^a SHAW's Travels, ch. v. p. 71. See before, p. 204.
^c Vol. vii. p. 113.

^b Lib. v. c. 51. DAPPER, & al. SHAW, ubi sup.

^d SHAW, ubi sup. p. 71.

Circuit.

The walls
much decayed,
and the ditches
filled with
mud.

Its six gates.

Two forts on
the ridge above
the town.The mole, and
other fortifica-
tions at sea.Outworks and
batteries.

Haven.

Mediterranean, over which it hath a full prospect, being built on the declivity of a hill, upon a which the houses rise so gradually above one another, that there is hardly one in the whole city but enjoys a full view of it in one or other of those directions; whilst, by the advantage of that declivity, and the whiteness of the terrasses, the city yields a beautiful prospect towards the sea, and at a distance appears like a whetster's ground covered over with linen, in the form of an amphitheatre. Its bigness is variously computed, even by the two most recent authors who have been there, the one gives it a league, and the other but half of that circumference^e. Others give its walls a still larger circuit^f; their height thirty feet on the upper, and forty at the lower end towards the sea; that it may the better resist the violence of its waves, they are twelve feet thick, and flanked with square towers, but all so decayed as to be of small defence, unless where they are secured by some additional out- b work. They are surrounded with a ditch twenty feet wide, and seven deep, but now almost filled up with mud, except in some parts where they are of little consequence. The walls have some jettings out, with port holes, but few or no cannon belonging to them; so that its strength chiefly depends on its outward fortifications.

THE city hath six gates open, each of them guarded by some outwork, and some others are now walled up. The open ones are, 1. *Alcassava*, or rather *Bab Cassaubab*, built upon the highest part of the city, and forming the western angle of it. It is of an octogonal figure, and hath proper embrasures on every side. 2 The *Babjideed*, or new gate, fronting the south. 3. *Bab Azoone* in the same direction (A). 4. The fisher's gate, vulgarly called *Babezeia* and *Piscaderia*, or fishery gate, which forms the opposite or eastern angle of the city, by the c water side on the south-east; as 5. the mole, or Douwan gate, doth towards the north. 6. The *Babel-wed*, or river's gate, facing the *Elved* river towards the north^g. The whole city is overlooked by a ridge of hills on the western side, which run almost on a level with the *Bab- Cassaubab*, or uppermost gate; and upon it are built two strong forts, one of which, from its five acute angles, is called the Star Castle, and stands about a small furlong from the gate above mentioned, and commands the sandy bay, and mouth of the river *Elved*; the other, called the emperor's castle, stands at half a mile distance south from the *Cassaubab* gate, hath the command both of the Star Fort, and of the whole ridge, as well as of the sandy bay, and mouth of the river *Rebat*, on the south side of the city (B). Thus much for the situation and strength of *Algiers* to the landward^h. But it is much better fortified, and capable of d making a much better defence towards the sea side, where in describing its various fortifications, we shall begin with an account of its mole.

THIS mole was the work of the famed *Cberedin* the son of *Barbarossa*. Until his time the port of *Algiers* lay quite open, and looked more like a road than a harbour; but as soon as he was become master of the place, he set himself a building and fortifying it in that strong and commodious form we behold it in; in doing which he employed all the Christian slaves with such strictness, that he saw it completed in three years time, without any expence to him. It is built on the small island that faces the townⁱ, in form of a large semicircle, extending itself from the Douwan, or mole gate, to one of the extremities of the island, and from the other ex- c tremity of it towards the walls of the town, leaving an handsome opening into the haven, where the largest vessels may ride in safety from the violence of the waves. The mole is about 100 paces in length from the castle that defends it to the mole gate above-mentioned, and about six or seven wide, having on one side a stone key, and on the other a sandy rocky bank from end to end. The whole is defended at one angle by an old round castle, formerly built by the *Spaniards*, when they were masters of the place. It is called the fanal castle, or light house fort. It stands upon the solid rock, and a fire is carefully maintained in it for the security of ships. It hath three batteries of fine cannon. At the south end of the island is another fort, consisting of three batteries, to defend the entrance of the harbour, which is capacious enough

^e Conf. TASSY, lib. ii. c. 1. p. 155, & SHAW, ubi sup. p. 70.

MOL, lib. v. c. 41. DAPPER, & al. ubi sup. SHAW, ubi sup. c. v. p. 68, & seq.

^f See before, p. 204.

^g DAVITY, & DAPPER.

^h MAR-

ⁱ Idem ibid.

(A) So called from *Aazon* a *Mauritanian* prince, who besieged the city at that gate, which name it hath retained ever since (1).

On the walls of this gate are the hooks fixed, which catch those criminals that are thrown down from the battlements (2).

(B) It was at this last place, that the emperor *Charles V.* landed his army in that unfortunate expedition, which he made against *Algiers*, an. 1541; and there is still a

fragment of the pier, which he is supposed to have erected for that purpose. The same monarch, the better to secure a communication between his army and fleet, and to succour his troops in their intended approach to the town, possessed himself of the ridge above mentioned, where he laid the foundation, and built the round or inner part of the castle, that hath continued to be called after his name ever since (3).

(1) *Memoirs du cheval. Arvicux*, ap. Shaw, p. 68. note 1. lib. v. c. 41. Grammay, Dapper, Shaw, & al. sup. citat.

(2) Dapper, Davity, & al.

(3) Marmol,

a to contain a good number of large ships (C), and is seldom or never without merchantmen, corsairs, and other vessels, riding in it. The misfortune is, that when the wind sets in from the northward, which is quite across the road, it causes such a swell in the harbour, that they commonly fall foul one of another, which obliges them to lash the ships close to each other. Besides which, the slaves of the Deylik are employed the whole year in bringing large blocks of stone from a neighbouring quarry, and laying them on the sand, to secure the mole from the impetuosity of the waves; which labour must be continually repeated, because the sea gradually washes those stones away, and makes such a constant supply necessary^k.

b THE embrasures of the castle and batteries here are all employed; the cannon is of brass, and their carriages, and other utensils, kept in good order. The battery of the mole gate, upon the east angle of the city, is mounted with several long pieces of ordnance; one of which, our author thinks, hath seven cylinders, each of them three inches in diameter^l: half a furlong to the W. S. W. stands the battery of the fishers gate, called also the sea gate, which consists of a double row of cannon, and commands both the entrance into the port and the road. There stand besides two or three forts more along the sea coast; the one on the south side of the city, called the castle of the renegadoes; the other two on the north side; viz. *Setteet Akk-leet*, a regular pentagon, and able to annoy an enemy either in their landing, or lodging themselves on the *Bakiras*, or adjacent plain; the other, called the *English* castle, inferior in extent and strength, which commands the high road c to rivers gate, on the same direction^m. Thus much may serve for the fortifications of *Algiers*.

THE town is computed to contain 100,000 *Mohammedans*, among which are some few renegadoes, not above 30 in Dr. Shaw's timeⁿ, 15,000 *Jews*, and 2,000 Christian slaves, besides *European* and other strangers. There is but one handsome street in it, which reaches from the east to the west end, and is wider in some parts than in others, but in all much broader than any of the rest. It hath on the widest part handsome shops, and the chief merchants houses, and the market for corn and all provisions is kept in it. All the other streets are so narrow, that two persons can hardly walk a-breast; and the middle being so much lower than the sides, which form a kind of parapet, or passage for the water that runs through it, added d to their usual nastiness, makes it very disagreeable to walk through them^o; especially as camels, horses, mules, and asses are continually passing and repassing, to which one must give way at the first warning, by squeezing one's self against the houses. It is still more dangerous to meet with a *Turkish* soldier in the streets; for the wealthiest Christian must take care to give him the way, and stand close till he is passed, or be in danger of feeling some shocking effect of his brutal resentment. The narrowness of those streets is commonly thought to be designed as a shelter from the heat. But there may be another reason given for it; viz. the frequent earthquakes it is subject to, seeing the fronts of almost all the houses are propped up by pieces of timber from one to the other across the streets (D).

e THE houses, which are computed to amount to about 15,000, are built of brick or stone, and mostly square, with a large paved court in the middle, not unlike our common inns. The galleries round the court are supported by columns, and over them runs a second range supported in the same manner. The folding doors to the apartments are commonly of the height of the ceilings; and over the uppermost gallery are the terrasses, which serve them either for walking or drying of linen. Some will have pleasant gardens in them, and generally a neat summer-house on a corner of it, to shelter them from the weather whilst at their work, or gazing towards the sea, whether their corsairs bring them any prizes. Their very chimnies contribute to adorn the houses, being always kept clean and white-washed, and rising Terrasses.

^k MARMOL, DAPPER, &c. ubi supra. TASSY, p. 163. ^l SHAW, ubi supra. ch. v. p. 69. ^m Ibidem ⁿ Ibid. p. 68, & seq. ^o TASSY, ubi sup.

(C) It is of an oblong figure, 130 fathom in length, and about 80 in breadth, and 15 in depth at the highest, and the effect of art and labour. The two batteries that guard the entrance into it, and have been built within this century, are said to be bomb proof. They have each of them their lower embrasures mounted with thirty-six pounders; but the middle one between them is old, and of the least defence; and as none of them are fenced with mines, or advanced works, and the soldiers who are to guard them, not being kept under any regular course of duty and attendance, our judicious author thinks, that a few resolute battalions, supported

by a small squadron of ships, would find no great difficulty to make themselves masters of the strongest of them (4).

(D) *Langer de Taffy* mentions a remarkable one, which happened there *an.* 1717, when the town felt several violent shocks for nine months successively; insomuch that all the inhabitants, except the Douwan and state officers, who kept within the Dey's palace, left the city, and incamped in tents in the country about it, many of whom perished through mere want. In some places whole villas were overthrown, and the ground was rent and torn up (5).

(4) Shaw's Travels, v. p. 70.

(5) Taffy, ubi sup. lib. 2. c. 1. ad fin.

No windows
towards the
Streets.

Obliged to
white-wash
their houses.

Mean furni-
ture.

The Dey's
noble palace.

in form of a cupola on the four corners of the terrafs. The apartments have no windows to-
wards the streets, except some small grated ones, to admit a little light and air into their pan-tries, and the servants chambers, which are built along the great stair-case, but do not open to it; so that all the light the rest of the rooms have is only from the folding doors, and small windows that open to the inner court. They are obliged to white-wash their houses inside and outside at least once a year, but commonly do it against the approach of their grand festivals; and this is all the elegance you find in them; for as to their furniture it is plain and mean, consisting only of a few utensils, mostly of earth or wood, and a mat and two quilts, laid over two or three sticks, to serve them for a bed^p. As there are no squares or gardens in the town, but the houses are contiguous together, one may walk from one end of it to the other over those terrasses, there being ladders raised on purpose, where the houses are of an unequal height; and it is common for them to visit their neighbours, and spend their evenings in fresco with each other upon them; notwithstanding thefts are never heard of, because any stranger that is caught in any house, without having first sent in his name, is sure to be severely punished. But tho' the houses of private people are so mean within, there are many belonging to persons in high and public stations, which are quite elegant, and paved all over with marble, the pillars of the same, and the cieling finely carved, painted, and gilt^q.

THE most magnificent of all is the Dey's palace, which stands in the heart of the city. It is a spacious stately edifice, surrounded with two noble galleries, one over the other, supported with marble pillars, and hath two spacious halls, in one of which the Douwan meets every *Sunday*, *Monday*, and *Tuesday*. The barracks for the *Turkish* soldiery, five new structures of which were added to the old ones, *an.* 1650, are likewise very grand structures, and kept very clean by the slaves that attend them, at the charge of the government. Every barrack contains six hundred *Turkish* soldiers (E), each of which hath a fine spacious apartment allotted to him; and all the courts of these barracks have fountains to wash in before they go to their prayers.

THEIR mosks are very numerous, about 107 in all, and some of them very grand; and, as these are mostly situate along the sea side, they make a very fine shew, and add much to the beautiful prospect of the city. The baths are also in great number, it being customary for the *Turks* to resort to them, not only before the time of their five daily prayers, which their religion obliges them to, but at all other times of the day, when their affairs will permit it. Some of them are very large and sumptuous, finely paved with marble, and elegantly furnished with all other conveniencies; others are small and mean, suited to the lower rank; but all of them are built much after the same manner. The women have likewise their particular baths, attended by persons of their own sex, into which no men are allowed to set foot upon any pretence whatever. And yet it often happens, that these pretended inviolable sanctuaries of female chastity are turned into nurseries of intrigue and lewdness, notwithstanding the dreadful fate that infallibly attends the offenders, if discovered, and the frequent instances of such discoveries (F); the women being permitted to be attended only by female slaves,

^p GRAMMAY, l. vii. c. 3. MARMOL, DAPPER, TASSY, & al. sup. citat.

^q Idem Ibid.

(E) It is to be observed, that married men, who are mostly renegadoes, are excluded the benefit of these barracks, and obliged to provide themselves lodgings at their own expence in some other parts of the town; and so are likewise the single men that will not conform to the regulations of these public buildings. In either case they may hire private houses, or, which is more usual, take up their quarters in one of the four *fondacas* or *albergas* of the town.

These are large commodious edifices belonging to private persons, consisting of several spacious courts, in which are large warehouses, and variety of apartments to let; and, on account of their conveniencies for men and goods, are also much frequented by the *Levantine* merchants; for neither *Algiers*, nor any other town in the kingdom, hath either inns, taverns, or other public places, like the *caravanferas* in *Turkey*, for the entertainment of strangers. Those few Christians, who resort thither upon any business or accident, either take up with some persons to whom they are recommended, or with the consul of their nation, who is always ready to accommodate them with an apartment in his house, or his table, if they are persons of distinction.

As to the *Greeks*, and other mean travellers, there are plenty of cookshops, and public wine-houses, kept by the slaves of the Deylik, for their accommodation (7). The *Jews* likewise keep such houses and apartments to let, for the use of those of their own nation (8).

(F) Our author closes his account of these female baths with a dreadful instance of *Turkish* revenge upon an intrigue of this kind, which happened *an.* 1680; of which we shall give our reader a short abstract. *Seremeth Effendi*, an old wealthy *Turk*, settled in *Algiers*, after having married four wives there, fell in love with and married a fifth, just turned of twelve years of age, but so beautiful and witty as to ingross his whole affection, though her tender age, and his extraordinary corpulence, had rendered it impossible to consummate his marriage, as it could not be done without imminent danger of her life. His singular affection for her did however raise the jealousy of the other four to such a height, that they resolved at any rate to ruin this new favourite; which they easily compassed during his attendance on the Dey at some neighbouring war. The first step they took, after having gained her confidence,

(7) See before, p. 217.

(8) Tassy, ubi sup. lib. ii. cap. 2. ad fin.

a slaves, young men are frequently introduced in their habits, than which nothing is easier; the very dress of the women already described contributing to conceal the cheat. As for those that belong to the men, they are commonly attended with such robust waiters, and the ceremony of sweating and rubbing is performed by them with such excessive roughness, that unless a stranger takes care to have an interpreter with him to bespeak a more gentle usage, they are sure to undergo a very fatiguing and irksome, instead of a delightful and wholesome exercise*.

BESIDES those public baths, of which there are about sixty, they have six others, which they likewise call *Bafios*; but are no better than large stinking prisons, in which they lock up their slaves at night: in each of these they have a chapel for the free exercise of their religion; and every slave is allowed three small loaves, and a little mattrafs and rug for their bed; to these bagnios they must all repair at some stated hour in the evening; and, on the next morning, they are again let out to go to their respective labours. There are likewise some handsome edifices without the walls of the town, which are no small addition to its beautiful prospect; such as the hall where the officers of the marine hold their assemblies, at the foot of the mole; the habitation of a marabout is in high veneration among them, and situate on the declivity of the hill; a handsome square building, with a cupola, after the *Turkish* manner; and above all, a great number and variety of tombs belonging to their great men; some of which are very fine (G), and most of them adorned with chapels and oratories, which

Baths which serve for prisons to their slaves.

* See before, p. 214.

* See TASSY, lib. ii. c. 3. p. 168, & seq.

was to inspire the young damsel with a violent passion for a handsome young slave, a *Spaniard* by nation, and a concealed *Jew*, but a great favourite of *Seremeth*. After which they assisted her in introducing him in a female dress, among her other attendants, into one of those baths, where they had all the opportunity they could wish to indulge their mutual affection; but, upon their lord's return from the war, betrayed the whole intrigue to him. *Seremeth*, upon the first hearing of this fatal secret, fell into the most violent transports of fury and resentment: but, upon further inquiry, quickly discovered that the accusers had been no less faulty than the accused; so that his resentment against his new bride gradually cooled into pity, whilst it flamed more furiously against his other faithless wives, on whom alone he resolved to wreak his whole revenge. He looked upon himself the less injured by the former, as he had not yet consummated his marriage with her; and therefore thought, that divorcing her, and marrying her to his *Spanish* slave, would in a great measure save his honour. The misfortune was, that the *Douwan*, by some means or other, became acquainted with the whole affair; and what was still a greater aggravation, that the *Spaniard* was a *Jew*: For they thought it equally execrable that a *Jewish* slave should dare to mix his blood with that of a *Mussulman* woman, or that she should consent to it. Upon which they condemned him to be burned alive in the *Jewish* burying ground, and her to be drowned as usual (9), which was accordingly done, in spite of all the intreaties of *Seremeth*, and the efforts of the Dey himself to prevent it, who had now conceived a great passion for her.

Seremeth, now more exasperated than ever, by this sad catastrophe, against his four wives, resolved to glut his revenge by inflicting a much more inhuman one upon them; but, assuming a milder aspect, first decoyed them to his country seat, and having secured his most valuable and portable effects, in order to go and end his days in the deserts of *Couco*; he acquainted some deputies from that kingdom, then at *Algiers*, with his design, who gladly engaged to assist him in it. Accordingly, on the day before their departure, he takes them with him to his country seat, where he caused his four wives to be stripped of all their ornaments, which he distributed among those strangers. He next caused them to be led into a dungeon, where he had the night before confined a negroe slave, who had been privy to their intrigues, and there ordered them all to be impaled alive upon four stakes prepared for that purpose, after

having first seared the offending part with a hot iron. The negroe slave was next quartered alive, and one of his quarters hung about the neck of each of them; which done he locked up the dungeon, and left them to expire in the most dreadful torments, whilst he and his new associates took horse, and by a speedy march, quickly reached the mountains of *Couco*, where he was out of all danger from the *Algerine* government, who did not receive the news of this dreadful tragedy till he was got far enough out of their reach.

Seremeth had taken care that a young female slave should be a witness of the whole scene, that she might inform them of it, but left her locked up in a chamber of his villa, whence she could not be released till next morning. As soon as the Dey was apprised of it by a messenger sent on purpose, he dispatched a *Chiaoux* thither, who, breaking into the dungeon, found two of the wives already dead, and the other two just expiring, whose agonies he put an end to with his sword. They were afterwards buried in a manner suitable to their rank; and his estate, which he had not time to sell, was, by the order of the *Douwan*, equitably divided among the children of those unfortunate mothers (10).

(G) Among these are six stately ones of a round figure, contiguous to each of her, which are easily distinguished from all the rest. These belong to six Deys, who were elected to that dignity, and immediately after strangled in the *Douwan*, within a few days of each other, by the fury of their cabals: the seventh that was chosen maintained his post; of whom we shall give a farther account in the course of this history.

The tombs of the Deys and *Bahas* are distinguished by a stone, on which a turban is carved in relievo: those of the Agas and military officers by a pike fixed in the ground close to the coffin; those of the Rais or sea captains by a staff, with a gilded truck or ball.

Those of the common people are only distinguished by flat stones, laid in the earth in the form of a coffin, of which those at the head and feet are highest. All these tombs are without the walls, at a small distance from the town; the only one to be seen within the city is that of *Hali*, Dey, who was looked upon as a saint, and a great favourite of heaven, because he died a natural death; a happiness which few, that are raised to that dignity, have enjoyed since its first establishment; insomuch, that his tomb was for forty days successively adorned with flowers, and surrounded with crouds of people offering up prayers for his soul (11).

(9) See before, p. 215, & seq. lib. ii. c. 4. p. 200.

(10) Tassé, ubi sup. p. 171, & 199.

(11) Tassé, ubi sup. ;

are resorted to by men and women every *Friday*; near which are also the cells of the marabouts, who ply there on those days, to assist the comers in their prayers for the deceased, and receive some pieces of money, or other presents, in return for their charity.

THE city of *Algiers* had formerly neither wells nor fountains to supply it with water, but were forced to save that which fell from the sky in cisterns, till the last century; when a *Moor*, driven thither from *Spain*, found out a way of conveying as much of it, by the help of two aqueducts, as supplied a hundred fountains with it, at proper distances from each other. This water, which is universally allowed to be excellent, is brought thither by a long course of pipes and conduits from a great variety of rivulets, which have their source on the adjacent mountains; and do likewise supply their country seats, and adjoining gardens and orchards with it¹.

The territory
and prospects
about Algiers.

THE territory about *Algiers* is very fertile; and the hills and vallies about are every where beautified with gardens, groves, and country seats, whither the richer sort of people resort during the summer season. These villas are little white houses, finely shaded with variety of fruit trees, and other verdure, which yield a beautiful prospect towards the sea. The gardens are stocked with plenty of fruit trees, melons, and pot-herbs, and watered by a multitude of fountains and rivulets; a thing of singular pleasure and benefit in these hot climes, as it keeps every thing in a constant verdure; and where the people are so negligent of these advantages, that they do not so much as prune their trees, but let nature take its own course in almost every thing; and suffer their vines, which are here of exquisite beauty and fruitfulness (H), to run up to the very top of their lofty trees, where they extend themselves from one to another, and form indeed natural and delightful shady bowers; but would yield much better fruit, if they were better cultivated. The same may be said of their orange, citron, and other fruit trees; which, though in great number, yet, for want of care, never come to that perfection, as those which are cultivated by strangers, particularly by the *European* consuls; the trees of whose villas produce much more excellent fruits than those that belong to the *Turks* and other natives. And it is not a little surprizing, that this should not excite their sluggishness to strive, at least, to that same industry in a thing, in which, in all other respects, they appear to take an equal, if not a greater delight².

The rich and
extensive plains
of Mettjah.

IT will not be expected, that, in a work of this extensive nature, we should take notice of every fertile spot belonging to this province of *Algiers Proper*; of which the reader will find a more ample account in the authors often quoted thro' this chapter. One of them, however, we cannot well omit on several accounts; and, particularly, because it will give him an idea of the fecundity of the rest. We mean the rich and delightful plains of *Mettijah*, or, as it is corruptly spoken, *Muttijar* and *Mottigia*, out of whose territory a great part of the *Algerine* plantations above mentioned are taken. This plain, which extends itself above ten leagues in length, and four in breadth³, or, according to a later and more accurate observer, near fifty miles in length, and twenty in breadth⁴, is every where watered by a great number of springs and rivulets, and produces abundance of rice, fruit, roots, and grain of all kinds in great perfection; insomuch that the inhabitants enjoy two, and sometimes three crops yearly of wheat, barley, oats, and various kinds of pulse, except in some few barren spots near the sea and woods, which swarm with venomous reptiles. This fertile spot is inhabited by *Arabian* tribes, and was the native dominion of prince *Selim Eutemi*, who was dethroned, and murdered by *Arach Barbarossa*, of whom we shall speak in the sequel⁵.

NATURAL curiosities here are scarce worth notice, if we except the Hammam, or hot baths of *Meereega*, the antient *Aquæ Calidæ Colonia*, situate between the river *Shellif* and the sea; the largest and most frequented of which is a basin of twelve feet square, and four deep; and the water of which bubbles up in a degree of heat just supportable: after it hath filled the basin,

¹ DAPPER, ubi sup. TASSY, lib. ii. c. 4. SHAW, ubi sup. pag. 71, & seq. p. 202.

² SHAW, ubi sup. p. 65.

³ Ibidem ibid.

⁴ Ibidem ibid.

⁵ TASSY

(H) These, however, are not the natural product of the country, but were formerly brought hither by the *Moors* from *Granada* after their expulsion from it; for, before that time, the *Algerines*, instead of cultivating it, did take singular pleasure in rooting up those which the Christians had planted there, and in turning the ground to other uses (12).

It is surprizing to see what a vast number of gardens and plantations there are in the neighbourhood of this capital, though the reader may judge of it by those which cover a great part of an adjacent plain, about fifteen miles in compass, which are computed to 20,000:

these have, indeed, no houses belonging to them, but only huts built of boughs; and those which are nearer the town have their villas, neatly kept by the slaves belonging to each of their owners.

None of these gardens or plantations are walled, but only fenced with what we call *Barbary* fig-trees, whose leaves being once stuck in the ground, take such deep root, and grow so quickly up, that in a few years they form an impenetrable hedge by their closeness and the prickles that grow upon the leaves, and are a safer, as well as more delightful inclosure than any wall (13).

(12) *Marmol, Dapper, Tassy, Shaw, &c. ubi sup.*

(13) *Tassy, ubi sup. ch. iv. p. 201, & seq.*

a it discharges itself into a smaller one, made use of by the *Jews*, who are not permitted to bat in company with the *Mohammedans*. These two baths were formerly covered with a handsome building, and stone corridors around the basins, but at present lie exposed to the weather, and nearly half filled with stones and rubbish, though still much frequented in the spring, being supposed to remove all rheumatic pains, to cure the jaundice, and to alleviate most other inveterate habits and distempers: higher up the hill there is another spring, but much too hot to bathe in; which is, therefore, conveyed through a long pipe into another room, and used in much the same manner and effect as our pumping^z. There are several other such hot springs in this province, whose waters are also medicinal, and very little heavier than rain water; these which our author weighed were in proportion to it, as 836 or 837 to 830; and that of *Melwal* as 910 to 830^{*}.

THESE *Thermæ* are a sign, that the ground underneath abounds with sulphur, nitre, and other inflammable bodies, which is farther confirmed by the frequency and violence of the earthquakes, to which this country is subject at sea as well as land: three of the former our author felt, *an.* 1724, in a cruizer of 50 guns, at some distance from the coast, and in such a depth of water, that a line of 200 fathom could not reach the bottom; each of which gave as great a shock to the vessel, as if a large weight of twenty or thirty tons had fallen from a prodigious height upon the ballast: those at land are no less violent, and commonly fall out after some great rains at the close of the summer, and in autumn; the occasion of which is supposed to be the constipation, or closeness of the surface at such times, which confines c or keeps back the subterraneous steams, which in the summer find a freer passage through the chasms or chinks of it[†].

THE people in this neighbourhood talk much of large gigantic bones being dug up, particularly a thigh bone thirty-six inches long; but our author could meet with nothing like it at his coming to the place, and observed the coffins and graves to be of the usual dimensions; and much questions, whether those large ones so much talked of were not those of camels or horses buried along with their riders, together with their armour, &c. after the manner of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, who passed over from *Spain* into *Afric*^a; and being the descendants of the ancient *Scythians* might, in all probability, use their old way of interring their great men^b. This appears indeed so much the more probable, from some of those swords which have been found d among the bones; one of which, our author tells us, is kept in the Dey's palace at *Algiers*, dug not many years ago out of *Temendfeuse*: they are of an uncommon length, bigness, and weight, and have large handles in the shape of a cross^c; so one would imagine them to be too unwieldly to be used by men of common size and strength, and, consequently, that the bones and the weapons must have borne a nearer proportion than our author seems willing to allow.

^z SHAW, *ibid.* p. 64.

^{*} SHAW, *ubi sup.* p. 233.

[†] *Iidem* *ibid.* p. 234.

^a *Iidem* *ibid.*

^b See *Antient Hist.* vol. ii. p. 271.

^c SHAW, p. 65.

S E C T. IV.

The interest of Algiers with Christian and African princes, and their respective consuls residing there.

*What nations
are at peace
with Algiers.*

AS this is a matter that more immediately concerns us to know, as a trading nation, and ^a as being in alliance with the *Algerine* state, than any other we have treated of in this chapter, it would doubtless be looked upon as an unpardonable omission, if we should neglect to give our readers at least as particular an account of it as we have done of all the rest. We have already taken notice that ours and the *French* nation are at peace with them. This privilege we have not only enjoyed ever since the year 1682, but have likewise, by our good offices, obtained it for our neighbours the *Dutch*; who, if we had not used our interest in their behalf, might have continued to this day at war with them; and now they are obliged to buy the continuation of their friendship by very considerable annual presents. The *Swedes*, about the same time, thought fit to purchase a peace from them at the expence of 700,000 ^b dollars; which, considering the small number of *Swedish* vessels which their cruizers meet with, hath hitherto been looked upon as no small mystery. And it is well if the Dey is not, e're long, obliged to lessen the number of those alliances, from the same motives which obliged his predecessors to enlarge them: in which case it is easy to guess which of the four allies will be most in danger of a rupture, as long as the *French* can annoy them with their ships from *Marseilles* and *Toulon*, and we much more so with ours from *Gibraltar*. Were it not for this, it is plain their interest would rather induce them to be at war than peace with us, or any other trading nation, because they have always found that the balance of the captures made by, and upon them, was greatly on their side, both with regard to number and value; and without such a constant supply of them, their state, such is the constitution of it, cannot possibly support itself ^c, but must either break the most solemn treaties with some of their allies, or suffer their sea forces to act in open violation of them, to prevent an insurrection (A).

*Peace refused
to the emperor.*

WE need not wonder, therefore, at the Douwan and militia being so greedy of war, that they even refused to enter into an alliance with the emperor, though the Soltan, to whom they still own a kind of subjection, did earnestly request it of them; nor at the Dey himself appearing outwardly the most forward and eager for it, though his own interest ought rather to incline him to be at peace with Christian princes, since every unsuccessful enterprize against them, or even miscarriage in his officers, doth as often occasion the loss of his head, as his stiff refusal to declare war against any nation they have pitched upon for a prey: but it is far otherwise with the officers and soldiery, who, whatever small losses they may suffer by it, are sure in the whole to be considerable gainers, as in the case of the late war with *England*, wherein ^d their loss of about twenty-six of their beggarly corsairs was so amply compensated by the taking of no less than 350 of our rich merchant ships, that they would never have consented to a peace with us, had we not purchased it by dint of money, and a supply of naval stores ^e; both which their government stood in great want of at that juncture (B).

IT

^a TASSY, l. ii. c. 20. SHAW, ubi sup. p. 316.

^b Ibidem ibid.

(A) It was a true, as well as serious answer which the late Dey, *Ali*, is reported to have given to Mr. *Cole*, our *English* consul, on his complaining of the injuries which our vessels met with from his cruizers; *The Algerines are a company of rogues, and I am their captain* (1). And it is plain, that if they have too many allies, their younger foldiers, who cannot well subsist without the money that arises to their share from prizes, will raise such clamours against him, as will oblige him either to break off with some of them, or to wink at such unjust depredations. This was the case, *an. 1716*, when these prizes became so scarce, that the officers were forced to lay the matter before the Douwan; where, after strong debates, it was carried by a majority, that since they met with few ships at sea, but what were either *French*, *English*, or *Dutch*, and prizes were the chief support of the state and navy, war should be immediately declared against the last, which was accordingly done; and one of their ships then in the harbour was seized, and an order issued out to all the

Algerine ports to do the like: and all that their consul could obtain from the Dey, who had a value for him, was, that he should be allowed his own time to settle his affairs, and be protected from insults (2).

They had, indeed, made a very strenuous opposition before against making any peace with them upon terms, alleging, the little encouragement there would be to fit out any ships, whilst they continued in friendship with those three trading nations, and how inconsiderable the loss of a few corsairs would be to the state, when balanced with the usual riches obtained by the war; concluding with a pathetic *Arabic* proverb, that *those men ought never to sow, who were afraid of the sparrows* (3): so that if the rich presents of the *Dutch*, and their further promises of a greater supply of naval stores, prevailed upon the Douwan to grant them a peace against the remonstrances of the sea officers and soldiers, these found means soon after to oblige them to break it.

(B) Besides the great advantage which the *Algerine* state hath, with respect to the number and value of those

(1) *Shaw's Phys. & Miscel. Observat.* c. iv. p. 318, *ad fin.*
(3) *Shaw, ubi sup.* p. 318, & *seq.*

(2) *Tassy's Algiers*, l. ii. c. 17. p. 288.

prizes,

- a It was by the same policy that we have kept them in some tolerable friendship with us, and inspired them with a particular esteem for our nation, till our becoming masters of *Gibraltar* and *Port Mahon* fixed them more effectually to our interest. It is much by the same motive of fear that the *French* oblige them to keep up their alliance with them; and that they obtained the same privilege with us by the treaty concluded *an.* 1718; at which time they had a stout squadron lying off in the road to give weight to their consul's remonstrances. But as to the rest of the Christian princes and states, it plainly appears, from what hath been said, that it is utterly against the *Algerine* government to be at peace with them long; and with some of them, especially the *Spaniards*, ever to be so, unless driven to it by superior force, which hath hitherto been tried in vain; and whenever that happens to be the case, it must be expected to be of
- b no longer duration than till they grow strong enough again to break it off.

It is quite otherwise with respect to the *African* powers, with whom they must, upon several accounts, keep a good harmony; and more particularly with the king of *Morocco*, and the *Bey of Tunis*, who, being contiguous to that of *Algiers*, might otherwise prove very troublesome neighbours to it: for this last being chiefly peopled by the *Arabians* and *Moors*^c, who not only detest the *Turkish* government, but are naturally friends of the two former, on account of their being *Moors*, would run a very great hazard upon any rupture with either of them; and it might perhaps be the most effectual way for any *European* princes to suppress the *Algerine* power, to engage either or both of them in a war with it, and support them well. The misfortune is, that the *Turkish* tyranny hath long since sunk the whole *Moorish* race into such

Algiers only at peace with Morocco and Tunis.

- c slavish abjection, that they imbibe from their very infancy an unconquerable dread of the *Turkish* name; and are, as it were, naturally inured to be treated with the greatest contempt and insolence: neither is this slavish spirit confined to those that groan under their yoke, but hath spread itself among all the rest, and much more since the close of the last century; when *Chaban*, Dey of *Algiers*, with only 6000 *Turks* and 6000 *Moors*, attacked, and totally defeated the king of *Morocco*, *Muley Ishmael*, at the head of 60,000 men, and obliged him to buy a peace from him on his own terms. His success was no less surprising soon after against *Mahamed*, Bey of *Tunis*, whom, with only 3000 militia, he defeated, at the head of 20,000 men, with a great slaughter, and took all his cannon and baggage; after which he entered his capital in triumph; and having set his rival *Ben Choukee* on the throne, returned to his own dominions,
- d laden with an immense booty, as we shall relate more at length in the sequel. These two instances may suffice to shew how formidable the *Turkish* powers must have been by that time, and much more so since, both to the *Moorish* subjects and to the neighbouring *Moorish* kingdoms; who, on that account, are made to think it a singular favour and obligation, that they forbear extending their conquests into their dominions^d.

It is, indeed, otherwise with respect to the tributary *Arabians*, who still retain their antient valour and love of liberty to such a degree, as to be still watching every opportunity of ridding themselves both of their yoke and tribute, and are numerous and strong enough to prove an overmatch for the *Algerine* troops, were their tribes but rightly united with each other, and their neighbours sure to observe a neutrality. But besides that, the government takes care to keep

e them in extreme poverty, by loading them with taxes, and oppressing them with military executions in cases of non-payment; they have still a more effectual way to prevent any attempt from that quarter, by fomenting divisions between tribe and tribe, and playing one against another; by which means a small number of *Turkish* forces, seasonably thrown in on any one side, will

Arabians have kept under by the Algerines.

^c LEO AFRICAN. MARMOL, *Afric.* lib. v. c. 39. GRAMMAY, *Afric.* illust. l. vii c. 2, & seq. DAVITY, SHAW, & al. ^d TASSY, *ibid.* SHAW, *ibid.*

prizes, they have several other ways of indemnifying it for those of the losses they suffer at sea. If a corsair is lost at sea, or taken by the enemy, the owner is obliged to buy or build another of equal force within the time limited by the Dey, who is, however, to have some regard to his circumstances and abilities.

If a *Turk* or *Moor* be taken prisoner, though in fighting with an enemy, or by any other accident, whether laudable or otherwise, he is never redeemed or exchanged by the government, but is looked upon as dead; and if he hath neither child nor brothers, all his effects, real and personal, are seized on by the Dey for the service of the state: and if he returns from his captivity, all that he can obtain from him is a year's pay, such as he had before, to enable him to provide himself with a fresh set of arms, in order to enter again into the service.

Those that are either taken or killed in these excu-

sions, or die in the service, have their vacancies supplied by new recruits from the *Lewant*, who are at first admitted only to the lowest rank and pay, which being but small, is an inducement to them to mend their condition, either by plunder in the army, or prizes at sea; by which means also they have an opportunity to raise themselves either by seniority, or by their valour and good behaviour, from one degree to another, till they arrive at the chiefest or highest pay (4). Even the demolition of houses by bombardment brings some emolument to the state, if they belong either to *Moors* or *Couluglies*, who are obliged by the law to rebuild them within a year; and if they are not able to do it, every thing belonging to the house is seized on, and sold for the use of the state. So that in all respects war must be the most preferable to such a government, which can carry it on at so small an expence, and turn its very losses into gain (5).

(4) See before, p. 218, & seq.

(5) Dapper, Tassy, Shaw, & al. *sup. citat.*

be more than a sufficient balance against the other: and thus, by the old experienced general a maxim of, *Divide et impera*, on the one hand, and by another more peculiar to the *Turks*, that severity on one side begets fear on the other, the *Algerine* state hath been able to keep that large and populous kingdom in obedience, or rather in a most cruel slavery, with a force scarcely amounting to 7000 *Turks*, including the *Couloglies*; of which near 2000 of the former are supposed to be veterans, excused from duty, and of the remaining 5000, 1000 are constantly employed in annually relieving their garrisons, whilst the rest are either to arm out their cruizers, or to form the three flying camps belonging to the three provincial viceroys, or rather annual tax gatherers, mentioned in a former section^c, assisted only by about 2000 *Zwawabs*, corruptly called by *Leo Africanus*, *Dapper*, and other modern writers, *Azagues*, who are *Moorish* horse and foot, kept in pay for that purpose, who being all native enemies to the government, are only made use of to augment the bulk of its forces; but are never considered as any real safe-guard to it^f. With so small a number of *Turkish* forces hath such a kingdom as this (so very dangerous to the head, so subject to convulsions among the soldiery, so onerous and oppressive to the subjects, and these not only born and bred enemies to the *Turkish* yoke, but almost 200 to one more numerous than their tyrannic lords), been able to subsist and support itself so long, maintain such constant wars against so many Christian states, and for the most part with surprising success, when each of them singly could equip a naval force so vastly superior to theirs. Lastly, how they have been able, by the help of so small a number of corsairs, to cause themselves to be respected at sea, and so many nations court and buy their friendship and alliance at a high rate; and how, with such handfuls of *Turkish* troops, they have been able c to keep so many large provinces and variety of nations in subjection to them, might well be looked upon only as an inexplicable but an incredible problem, had not our vicinity to, and commerce with them, given us all the assurance of it that can be desired. But it is not improbable, that the most incredulous of our readers will find, in the sequel of their history, to which we are now hastening, matter enough, both to convince them of the truth of it, and to unravel a great part, if not the whole of that strange paradox.

^c See before, p. 223, & seq.

^f TASSY, ubi sup. SHAW, ubi sup. p. 312.

S E C T. V.

The history of Algiers from the foundation of that monarchy by Barbarossa, to the end of the 16th century.

History of
Algiers.

IT will not be improper, in order to connect the *Antient* and *Modern History* of this king- d dom, to recapitulate, in few words, the several vicissitudes and revolutions it hath gone thro', from the time it was, with the rest of the *African* provinces, abandoned by the *Romans*, to the fatal period in which it became subject to the famed tyrant *Barbarossa*; who, being invited hither to deliver the *Algerines* from the *Spanish* yoke, did, by the basest treachery and cruelty, subdue it to himself, and became the first *Turkish* tyrant of it: ever since which time that brave nation hath continued under the galling yoke of a *Turkish* government. And this we think the more necessary to do here, as all those various revolutions lie mostly scattered in the several histories of the *Vandals*, *Greeks*, *Saracens*, *Arabs*, and other nations, that have successively held it under their respective dominions, and cannot be so easily recollected by the reader, without some such short recapitulation, as shall bring them as it were under one view, especially e as this kingdom hath been blended at several times with those of *Tunis*, *Tripoli*, *Morocco*, &c. and with them made but a part of a much larger and more powerful kingdom.

WE have seen in some former chapters the *Romans* expelled out of this, and the rest of *Afric*, by the *Vandals*, and other northern *Barbarians*; who, after having destroyed the best part of their opulent cities and most sumptuous works, and domineered over these parts from the year 427 to 558, were forced to yield in their turn to the conquering arms of the renowned *Belisarius*, *Justinian's* successful general; from which time they continued in subjection to the *Greek* emperors, till about *an.* 663, when the *Mohammedan Arabs* over-ran all this part of *Afric*, and tyrannized over it till the natives found means to shake off the yoke, and to make themselves masters of a great part of *Barbary*, where they divided themselves into a great number of petty f kingdoms or states^a, under chiefs of their own nation and chusing, in whose government they continued several centuries, that is, till *an.* 1051; when *Abel Texifn* of the *Zinhagian* tribe, drove them out, by the assistance of some powerful marabouts, and took upon him the title of *Amir al Mumenin*, or chief of the faithful, whilst his subjects were distinguished by that of *Morabites*, and corruptly *Almoravides*.

^a See before, p. 130, & seq.

a THIS race was again driven out in the 12th century by *Mohamedin*, a marabout, who, with the assistance of the *Muzamedins*, dethroned *Braban Hali*, the last emperor of the *Zinhagian* dynasty, and forced him to flee to some rocky precipices, where he miserably ended his life, with the unfortunate remains of his family, whilst the usurper and his successors seized on his dominions; and these affected to call themselves from him *Mohamedins*, and afterwards *Mohavedes* and *Mohades* ^b. *The marabouts drive out the Zinhagi.*

THIS priestly race was again expelled by *Abdulac*, governor of *Fez*, at the head of his *Benimerini*; and he, soon after, stripped of his new conquests in the 13th century by the Sharifs of *Hascen*, descended from the *Arabian* princes, who had flourished here in the 10th century; and these, the better to secure their new dominions, divided *Barbary* into several little kingdoms or provinces, each of them under their respective chiefs, to prevent their being lost a second time ^c. Amongst the rest, this of *Algiers* was divided between four of their own native princes; the chief of whom, named *Rabmir-amiz*, made choice of that of *Tremecen*; and the other three had those of *Tenez*, *Algiers Proper*, and *Bugeya*, or rather *Bujeyah*; by which partition those four cities became the seats and capitals of the four kingdoms, and the princes soon after took the title of kings upon themselves, and each of them had a number of *Arabian* tribes, or small republics, under them, whose chiefs were obliged to pay a certain tribute to them. These four monarchs laid so good a foundation for a lasting balance between them, that they continued some centuries in mutual peace and amity; till at length, that of *Tremecen* having ventured to violate some of their articles, that of *Tenez*, named *Abu'l-fariz*, who was by this time become very powerful, and was no less ambitious than he, took occasion, from his infringement, to declare war against him. It was not long before he made himself master of *Bujeyah* and *Tlem San*, or *Tremecen*; and had such success against his antagonist, that he obliged him to submit to a very disadvantageous peace, and to become tributary to him. He did not, however, continue long so; for *Abu'l-fariz* dying a few years after, and having divided his kingdom between his three sons, the eldest of whom had *Tenez*, the second *Jigeri*, vulgarly called *Gigeri*, and the third, named *Abdalaniz*, that of *Bujeyah*; this last immediately entered into a vigorous and successful war against the king of *Tremecen*; in which the *Algerines*, who had been hitherto tributary to the latter, seeing him now become too weak either to protect or oppress them, thought it more safe to transfer their tribute to his antagonist; by which means *Abdalaniz* became so powerful, that he might, in all likelihood, have made himself master of all *Barbary* with a great deal of ease, had not *Spain* taken advantage of those intestine discords, and sent a powerful army thither, which soon put a stop to all his success, and quite changed the face of affairs there ^d. *Abdalaniz's success against the king of Tremecen.*

THIS remarkable revolution happened *an.* 1505, when *Ferdinand V.* king of *Arragon*, by the advice of his prime minister, cardinal *Ximenes*, sent thither the count of *Navarre* with a powerful army and fleet, who soon made himself master of the important city and harbour of *Oran*, or *Auran*, then chiefly inhabited by *Moors*, who had been banished out of the maritime provinces of *Spain* about twelve years before; and who, being thoroughly acquainted with the *Spanish* language, and the course of those maritime coasts, did greatly infect them by their frequent descents, and pillaging inroads; to suppress which this powerful force was chiefly sent. The *Spanish* admiral pursued his success with such valour and speed, that the city of *Bujeyah*, and other considerable places, soon followed the fate of *Oran*, which so alarmed the *Algerines*, who had no small reason to fear that his next attempt would be on their capital, which was at that time in too weak a condition to make head against such a force. In this dilemma they found no better expedient than to apply to *Selim Eutemi*, or, as *Marmol* calls him ^e, *Celim-Beni-Tumi*, a noble and warlike *Arabian* prince, whose territory was the fertile plain of *Mettijah*, vulgarly *Mosligia*, and to put themselves wholly under his protection and government; who came accordingly at the head of a good number of his bravest subjects, together with his wife *Zaphira*, a lady justly celebrated for the beauties of her body and mind, and a son, then about twelve years old. All this, however, could not hinder the *Spaniards* landing a sufficient number of forces near *Algiers* on that same year, which soon obliged that metropolis to pay homage to *Spain*, and to become tributary to it: neither could prince *Selim* prevent their building a strong fort on the small island opposite to the city ^f, and putting a strong garrison, together with a sufficient quantity of artillery, into it, which proved a powerful curb on the *Algerines*, at the same time that it terrified their corsairs from sailing either in or out of that harbour: this galling yoke they were obliged to submit to till the year 1516, on which king *Ferdinand* died; but no sooner were they apprised of his death than they resolved, if possible, to shake it off, and make a fresh push for their liberty. *Aruch Barbarossa*, the famous, or rather infamous, pirate, a *Turk*, and native of the island of *Lesbos*, in *The Algerines put themselves under the protection of prince Eutemi.*

^b See before, p. 128, & seq.
1. v. c. 41.

^c See before, p. 132, & seq.

^d See before, p. 143, 203.

^e Afric.

^f See before, p. 203, & seq.

Barbarossa
invited by the
Algerines ;

his extract
and first ex-
ploits at sea.

the *Archipelago*, or, as *Marmol* and others will rather have him, a *Sicilian* renegado (C), was a by this time become no less dreaded for his valour than for his surprising success, and was then on a cruize with a squadron of gallies and barks. To him the *Algerines*, with the consent and permission of prince *Eutemi*, sent a deputation, requesting him to come and free them from the *Spanish* yoke, and promising him a gratuity answerable to so great a service, both which he readily accepted, and immediately dispatched a squadron of eighteen gallies and thirty barks to their assistance, whilst he hastened to them by long marches by land, accompanied by as many *Turks* and *Moors* as he could possibly engage in that expedition : the news of this filled the city of *Algiers* with inexpressible joy. But as we are now entering into a strange series of the most uncommon villainies, murders, and surprising successes of this infamous pirate, who is particularly noted by all historians of this time, though with some disagreement, as being the first who brought the *Turks* into *Barbary*, it will not be improper to give our readers a short account of him before we proceed farther.

WE have already observed in a late note, that his father was a renegado, whether of *Sicily* or *Lesbos*, who followed the same piratical trade : his mother is said to have been a *Spaniard* of *Andalusia*, who had been taken prisoner by, and was brought up under him ; others will have him to have followed the trade of a potter. However that be, his son, whom we are speaking of, began that of corsair very young, and had the command of a vessel, fitted out by some *Constantinopolitan* merchant, to cruize upon such as were not in alliance with the *Porte*, and steered directly with it towards the coasts of *Barbary*, where a *Turkish* vessel had hardly ever been seen. He was kindly received by the king of *Tunis*, and permitted to put into any of his ports, upon paying him a tenth for every prize, and was here joined by another galley. We are told he was but then thirteen years of age, and had with him two brothers, *Hayradin*, vulgarly *Aradin*, and *Isaak* ; the former of whom made afterwards a greater figure than *Barbarossa* himself, and succeeded him in the kingdom of *Algiers*.

THESE three soon after took such a number of prizes, particularly two of the pope's gallies of war, as filled both *Moors* and Christians with astonishment (the *Moors* of *Barbary* having till then annoyed those coasts only in tow-boats and brigantines), insomuch that in about eight years time he saw himself at the head of twelve large gallies ; eight of which were his own, and the rest belonged to his chief officers: some authors make them amount to twenty-six, all manned with *Turks* and *Moors*. With these he was, not long after, invited to the assistance of the king of *Bujeyah*, who had been dispossessed of his dominions, with promises of ample rewards ; and having landed his forces, consisting of 1000 *Turks* and *Moors*, made a fruitless attempt to recover his capital, in conjunction with that prince, the *Spanish* garrison making a continual fire upon them, in which his left arm was shot off by a cannon ball. He renewed it the year following with no better success ; upon which he wholly gave it up, and sailed directly for *Jigel*, distant about twenty leagues from *Bujeyah*, where he continued the whole autumn and ensuing winter : by this time, the inhabitants being almost reduced to a famine through the badness of the harvest, he set sail, and soon after returned with three ships laden with corn, which he distributed among the townsmen, and the *Arabians* of the adjacent mountains ; by which he so far gained the affections of the latter, that they immediately honoured him with the title of their Soltan ; tho' they had, till then, refused to acknowledge the sovereignty of the greatest monarchs. Under this new title he began to make war against some of the neighbouring mountaineers, and had gained several considerable victories over them, when he received the embassy from prince *Selim Eutemi*, or, as he is called by others, *Salem Aben Toumi* above-mentioned, which gave him the promising prospect of making himself master of a more convenient and important place on the *Barbary* coast than either that of *Jigel* or *Bujeyah*. With this view he began his march by land, as was hinted above, at the head of 800 *Turks*, 3000 *Jigelites*, and 2000 *Moorish* volunteers ; but instead of taking the direct road to *Algiers*, bent his way towards *Sbarsbel*, where *Hassan*, another famed corsair, had settled himself, and whom he there surprised, and obliged to surrender, not without a previous promise of friendship ; but no sooner got him in his power than he caused his head to be cut off, seized on all his ships, and obliged the *Turks*, who had assisted in his service, to follow him in his new expedition. Upon their arrival near *Algiers*, all the people of that metropolis, great and small, with prince *Selim Eutemi* at their head, went out to meet this great warrior and deliverer, whom they looked upon as invincible, and conducted him into that metropolis with the utmost splendor and triumph amidst the greatest acclamations of the people, and lodged him in one of the noblest apartments

(C) *Marmol*, and others after him, positively affirm his father to have been a native of *Sicily*, and originally a Christian, who turned *Mohammedan* for the better carrying on the piratical trade. If so, *Aruch*, or, as he calls him, *Horux* (for the surname of *Barbarossa* was given him

on account of his red beard) was only a renegado's son at most ; for his father must be supposed to have brought him up in the religion he had assumed, and so could be no apostate from Christianity (1).

(1) See *Marmol*, *Afric. lib. v. ch. 11.*

- a of that prince's palace, where he was again received with the greatest marks of distinction, and returned their compliments on his happy arrival with great condescension, and repeated assurances of his sincerest friendship and assistance: whilst his troops were likewise treated with such uncommon generosity, that our pirate, elevated beyond measure at their strange and unexpected submission, and his own reception, began to form the treacherous design of enslaving them, and making himself king of *Algiers*, and the provinces belonging to it. His only fear was, lest his *Turks* and *Moors* should recoil at so signal a piece of baseness, and others refuse to join in it, or, perhaps, betray his design to prince *Selim*, and abandon him to his just resentment. He, therefore, resolved to communicate it first to the chief officers of his council, after having first exacted a solemn oath of secrecy from them, who made no scruple to applaud his resolution, and
- b to promise to assist him in it with all their might.

ALL this while his troops revelled in the city and country with all the licentiousness and insolence imaginable, and committed the most shocking disorders with surprising impunity, the *Algerines* neither daring, nor being in a condition, to suppress them; and *Barbarossa* not only conniving at it, but privately encouraging them, with a view of bringing things to such a crisis as would facilitate the execution of his treacherous scheme. In the mean time, the better to delude the *Algerines*, he caused a battery to be erected at the marine gate, opposite to the *Spanish* fort, and at the distance of about 500, or, according to another author, 300 paces^f. and from thence continued battering it for the space of a whole month, without any effect, his cannon being much too small: upon which he thought proper to put off his expedition to some other

Barbarossa's ingratitude and treachery to the Algerines:

- c time. In all this he acted in so arbitrary a manner, without consulting the prince, or shewing the least regard to his being pleased or displeased with what he did, whilst his soldiers behaved with the same brutish insolence to the *Algerines*, that they could no longer doubt of his perfidious design, and began to complain of his perfidy in so loud and public a manner, as gave the pirate reason to think that their next step would be to oppose him with all their might; to prevent which, he resolved to be before-hand with them, and at once to rid himself of prince *Eutemi*, get himself proclaimed by his troops king of *Algiers*, and oblige the *Algerines* to acknowledge him as such (D): all which he but too easily accomplished, with little or no danger or difficulty. With relation to the first, his being lodged in the prince's palace gave him an opportunity of concerting his measures both for the time and means of privately dispatching
- d him; for having observed that he usually staid a while alone in the bath every day before the time of prayer at noon, he took that opportunity of surprising him there, unperceived, in that naked and defenceless condition; and having strangled him with a napkin, immediately withdrew, without being observed by any one; presently after this he returns thither, attended with a considerable retinue, under pretence of bathing, as usual, and put on the most lively tokens of surprize and grief at the sight of the murdered prince; but to avoid suspicion, gave it out that he was fallen into a fit, and had been suffocated in the bath: and though the inhabitants of *Algiers* did but too justly suspect the perfidious and inhuman pirate to have been the author of that tragic scene, they had been already so cruelly treated by his soldiers, that they dared neither complain, nor oppose any thing he did. On the contrary, they began to fear that the

resolves to murder prince Eutemi:

^f Compare TASSY, p. 11, & MORGAN, p. 236.

(D) We are told by a late writer, that there was still another motive which hastened the execution of this perfidious design; viz. *Barbarossa's* secret affection for the excellent and beautiful *Zaphira*, prince *Eutemi's* wife. This secret piece of history, he tells us (1), he met with in a vellum manuscript, in the hands of a famous marabout, of the family of that unfortunate prince. The substance of which is, that the pirate's addresses to that virtuous princess being rejected, with that resentment which the murderer of her husband, and the enslaver of the *Algerine* kingdom, justly deserved, his passion grew the more furious, and made him resolve to use force towards her. He made no scruple to threaten her with revenge; to prevent which, she took care to arm herself with a dagger and a dose of poison against his next visit, designing with the one to stab the tyrant to the heart upon his first attempt, and to dispatch herself by the other, if she missed her blow.

He came accordingly on the next day, and on some pretence, got all her women into one room, and having locked them up in it, entered into that of the princess, whom he found sitting on her sofa, and all bathed in tears, and overwhelmed with the deepest grief. He

endeavoured at first to sooth her by the gentlest carriage, but grew the more furious upon her next repulse, and had no sooner laid his hands on her, than she drew out the dagger, and tried to plunge it into his heart. He did, however, so far ward off the blow, that it only wounded him in the arm; but that proved sufficient to oblige him to leave her for a while, till he had bound up his wound, and called in one of his guards to disarm her, resolved now more than ever to force her at any rate: but whilst that was doing, she had swallowed the poison, which operated with such quickness, that she expired soon after at his feet; whereupon the brutish tyrant wreaked his revenge on her women whom he had locked up, caused them to be all strangled, and privately buried with their mistress, and a report to be given out that they had made their escape (2). But whether this story might not be contrived by some of prince *Eutemi's* descendants to blacken the name of *Barbarossa* the more, we leave to our readers to decide, especially as our author doth not pretend to answer for the authenticity of the manuscript out of which he took it. The reader may see it at full length in his history of *Algiers* (3).

(1) Preface to the Hist. of Algiers. Morgan's Reflections on this romantic story, p. 239.

(2) Lib. i. chap. 1.

(3) Ibid. p. 11, 28. See also

causes himself
to be proclaim-
ed king of
Algiers.

slaughter would be universal; upon which many of them abandoned the city and country; and, with what little they could take with them, fled into some of the neighbouring states, whilst others barricaded themselves in their houses, and left the *Turks* masters of every thing, which paved the way to the execution of the other two parts of his treacherous plot, getting himself proclaimed king by his troops, and acknowledged by the *Algerines*; the former of which was but too readily complied with by his forces, and without the least opposition from the latter. *Barbarossa* was accordingly proclaimed through the city with great pomp; he rode through the streets on horseback, attended by his *Turks* and *Moors*, who cried, “Long live *Aruch Barbarossa*, the invincible king of *Algiers*, the chosen of God to deliver the people from the oppression of the Christians, and destruction to all that shall oppose, or refuse to obey him as their lawful sovereign;” which last threatening words so confirmed the inhabitants in their fears of a general massacre, that those few that were left in the city began to think of preventing it by a timely submission.

THE cavalcade ended, the tyrant was accompanied to prince *Eutemi*’s palace, where, being seated on the throne under a stately canopy, he received the congratulations of his *Turks*; immediately after which his troops dispersed themselves, as was agreed, through all parts of the city, to acquaint the *Algerines* with what had been transacted, and to invite them, in the new king’s name, to come and swear allegiance to him, with assurances, that as many as should comply, would be treated with particular regard by him, and entitled to his special favour. Accordingly many of them came and complied with his invitations, paid homage to him, signed the instrument of his coronation, and were dismissed with tokens of his esteem and very large promises. The rest were brought in by degrees soon after, more through fear than love or hope, though he had taken care to allure them to it by a proclamation; in which he gave them the greatest assurances that he would govern them with the equity of a good prince, and the indulgence of a tender father. He had also issued out another edict for the establishing a better discipline and regularity amongst his soldiery, forbidding them, under severe penalties, to molest the inhabitants in their going in and out in pursuit of their respective callings: but all this proved mere grimace, and so little observed or minded by him or his *Turks*, that strangling, confiscation, imprisonment, fines, and banishment, were some of the first tokens he gave them of his pretended equity and fatherly tenderness; insomuch, that both he and his *Turks* became so dreadful and detestable to their oppressed subjects, that they used to shut up their houses and hide themselves, whenever he appeared in public. Whilst he was thus exercising his tyranny over all whom he suspected of disaffection, he did not forget to strengthen himself by every means that could terrify them from attempting the recovery of their liberty. He began with regulating and augmenting his forces, fortifying the citadel of his capital, supplying it with sufficient artillery, and other warlike stores, and placing a strong *Turkish* garrison in it. He next coined new money^g, with his name and stamp upon it (E); and sent ambassadors to all the neighbouring princes, in order to get himself acknowledged by them. In a word, he so confirmed himself on his new throne, allowed his *Turkish* soldiers so much liberty, and they grew so insolent and brutish with it, that neither the *Algerine* women, nor even their children of either sex, dared to appear in the streets, for fear of exposing themselves to some bestial attempts: whilst the men were quite drained and impoverished with heavy taxes by their pretended protector, nor dared so much as complain of their unhappy slavery, without danger of a still worse treatment.

Barbarossa
guilty of three
overights.

BARBAROSSA, in spite of all his craftiness, suffered his brutishness and ambition to hurry him into three oversights, which were like to have proved fatal to him; for his treacherous and inhuman way of treating them could hardly fail, he must needs think, of driving them upon some desperate way of recovering their liberty; and he knew well enough how ready the *Spaniards*, under whom, tyrannic as they were, they could hardly fare worse, would be ready to assist them with all their might, to crush at once both him and his *Turkish* bloodhounds. The next false step he took was the disobliging the warlike *Arabs* within his dominions, already but too justly provoked at his perfidy and murder of the brave prince *Eutemi*; for though he had made use of all the artifices he could think of to wipe off the imputation of it, he was still firmly believed to be the author of it; and though he had, by fair promises and caresses, so far gained upon them, that they had agreed to pay him a small tribute, yet he had suffered his harpies to invade them, and violently to drive away their flocks, seize on

^g LEO AFRIC. lib. iv. MARMOL, l. v. c. 11, & seq. DAPPER, TASSY, & al.

(E) This coin was of gold and silver; and though some pretend that it had the Soltan’s name on it, and that *Barbarossa* acknowledged himself under his protection, yet neither of them are true; for his coin, as

we are told, was inscribed *Soltan Aruche*, in *Turkish* characters; and he always acted independent either on the *Porte* or any other power (4).

(4) See Morgan’s *Hist. of Algiers*, p. 240.

a their granaries, &c. under pretence that they refused to pay it; by which means they were become no less inveterate against him than the *Algerines*. The third oversight he committed was the disbanding the greatest part of his *Moorish* troops, who were mostly of the province of *Jigel*, vulgarly *Gigel*, whom poverty, and the sweets of sharing with the *Turks* in plunder and oppression, had wholly attached to his service, but were now returned home with no small grudging and discontent ^b.

THE *Algerine* chiefs were apprised of all this, and began to think it a favourable crisis to make a bold push for liberty. They found means to send privately some deputies to the *Arabians* of the *Mettijeau* plains, the country and dominions of their late noble Cheyk, prince *Selim Eutemi*, whose son had happily escaped to *Oran*, and put himself under the protection of the Marquess de *Gomarez*, governor of it, and was treated by him with all the tender-
ness and respect due to his birth, youth, and unhappy circumstances. The design of this ambassy was no other than to stir up those brave *Arabs* to join with them in revenging the murder of their prince, to put an effectual stop to the *Turkish* tyranny, and to restore his son to his father's throne and dominions: they likewise found means to carry on a secret correspondence with the governor of the *Spanish* fort opposite to *Algiers*. The result of the whole was, that *Barbarossa* and his *Turks* should be all assassinated at once, and that the *Algerines* should again become tributary to *Spain*. The day being agreed on for the execution of this important attempt, it was resolved, that a considerable number of *Moors* should bring their fruits and herbs, as usual, to the market, with arms concealed under their gowns; and that another set of them should privately glide themselves to the gallies which were drawn up upon the shore on each side of the city, and set them on fire: so that whilst the *Turks* were employed in extinguishing the flames, the citizens should shut the gates upon them, and the gar-
rison of the fort attack them in their armed boats on all sides, whilst the cannon of the ramparts kept firing upon them. The misfortune was, that the persons engaged in this design were too numerous; and *Barbarossa* had so vigilant and jealous an eye over the *Algerines*, that he discovered the whole design time enough to prevent its taking effect. So that, without betraying the least suspicion or uneasiness from them, he caused a strong guard to be placed both at the city gates and about the gallies, under pretence of securing them from the *Spaniards*, and by that means prevented the farther execution of that plot, without giving them the least suspicion
of his being apprised of it: and whilst they were patiently waiting for a more favourable opportunity for resuming it, he was meditating on the most effectual means of wreaking his vengeance on the contrivers of it. Accordingly, as he was soon after going with his usual retinue to the mosk, at the hour of prayer, he was followed thither by a number of the *Algerine* chiefs, who were no sooner entered than the gates were ordered to be shut, and the place to be surrounded by the *Turkish* soldiery, to prevent the citizens approaching it. Immediately after which *Barbarossa* begun with upbraiding them in the strongest terms for their intended treachery, as he stiled it, against him; then caused the heads of twenty of the principals of them to be cut off at the mosk's door, and, with their bodies, to be flung into the streets, and thence buried in some great dunghills, which were then in the heart of the city. He likewise
confiscated most of their estates, and laid a heavy fine on the rest. Which dreadful execution so terrified them, that they never dared since to attempt any thing against him or his successors, but have patiently submitted their necks to the galling yoke with the most surprising patience, in spite of all the insolence and oppression they have groaned under ever since ^c.

IN the mean time the young *Arabian* prince, the son of *Eutemi*, whom we left at *Oran*, thinking himself no less able than he was eager to revenge the wrongs done to his family, laid before the marquess of *Gomarez* a very practicable plan for putting the city of *Algiers* into the king of *Spain*'s hands, in which he proposed to become the principal actor; and was thereupon sent to lay it before cardinal *Ximenes*; who approving of it, sent a fleet with 10,000 land
forces, under the command of *Don Francisco*, or, as others call him, *Don Diego de Vera*, to drive *Barbarossa* and his *Turks* out of *Algiers*, and to restore young *Selim Eutemi*. But the fleet was no sooner come in sight of the place, than it was dispersed by a storm, and the greatest
part of it dashed against the rocks: most of the *Spaniards* were drowned; and the few that had escaped to shore, either killed by the *Turks* or made slaves (E). So that instead of driving the tyrant out of *Algiers*, this sad disaster not only confirmed him the more in it, but contributed

^b *Iidem* *ibid.* vid. & MORGAN, *Algiers*, part i. c. 3. TASSY, c. i. p. 29, & seq. GRAMMAY, LEO AFRIC. DAPPER, TASSY, MORGAN, &c.

^c MARMOL,

(E) *Marmol* says, they landed 7000 troops, whom *Barbarossa*, who was apprised of their coming, so fiercely engaged, that a great part of them were killed on the spot, or made prisoners, while the rest, endeavouring to recover their ships, perished with the rest of the fleet by the storm that arose immediately after (1).

(1) *Marmol, Afric. lib. v. c. ii.*

Arabians
league with
the king of
Tenez against
him.

to swell his pride and insolence to such a degree, that he began to imagine himself invincible, ^a and that the very elements conspired to make him so, and to grow more cruel and oppressive than ever towards the inhabitants both of the city and country; and indeed, not only the *Algerines*, but the *Arabians* and *Moors*, began to look upon him as a prodigy of good fortune, as well as of insolence and tyranny: and well they might, considering to what pitch of power and grandeur he had raised himself with so small a handful of *Turkish* desperadoes*. The *Arabians* of several tribes in particular were so alarmed at it, that they held several conferences; in which they at length resolved to send on an embassy four of their most distinguished chiefs for wisdom, to implore the assistance of *Hamida Al Aabd*, vulgarly *Hamidel Abdes*, king of *Tenez*, a prince no less uneasy than they at *Barbarossa's* exorbitant power; and who readily promised to do his utmost to drive him and his *Turks* out of *Algiers*, provided they engaged to ^b settle that kingdom upon him and his descendants. Their present fears made them readily agree to his conditions; so that he immediately set out, at the head of 10,000 *Moors*; and, upon his entering into the *Algerine* dominions, was joined by the *Arabians* of the whole country. *Barbarossa* had timely notice of his approach, and, trusting to his good fortune, engaged him at the head of only 1000 *Turkish* musqueteers, and 500 *Granada Moors*, and totally defeated his numerous army (F), and pursued him to the very gates of his capital, which obliged him to remove farther towards *Mount Atlas*; upon which he laid siege to, and easily carried it; and after having given it to be plundered by his *Turks*, obliged the inhabitants to acknowledge him their sovereign (G).

ONE would have imagined that such an unequal victory and rapid success, when weighed with ^c the tyrannic use he made of them, would have inspired all the neighbouring states with a suitable dread of his government. Nevertheless, he had no sooner made himself master of the kingdom of *Tenez*, than the inhabitants of that of *Tremecen*, which borders upon it, upon some dissatisfaction against their then reigning prince *Abuzeyan*, vulgarly *Abuzijen*, who had, it seems, dethroned his nephew, and forced him to flee to *Oran* for refuge, sent some of their principal citizens on an embassy to him, with very advantageous offers, and even of the sovereignty of their noble city and fertile territory, if he would come to their assistance; which he readily accepted. His brother *Hairadin*, *al. Cheredin*, was immediately ordered to send him the artillery and other warlike implements, necessary for that enterprize, from *Algiers*. His other brother, *Isaac Zemi*, was left governor of *Tenez* with only 200 *Turks* and a few *Moors*, whilst himself ^d hastened by long marches towards *Tremecen*, with the rest of his forces, attended with a great number of camels and horses laden with provision; his army still increasing as he went, by the addition of several *Moorish* tribes, which joined him with no other view than that of plundering. *Abuzijen*, who suspected nothing of his subjects treachery, being informed that *Barbarossa* was marching with full speed towards his dominions, went to meet him with an army of 6000 horse and 3000 foot. The battle was fought on the plain of *Agbad*, *al. Agebel*, near *Auran*, with great bravery for some time; but the invader's artillery gave him such an advantage at length, that he forced him to retire to his capital, where he no sooner arrived, than the *Tremecenians* struck off his head, and sent it on the point of a spear to the victorious *Barbarossa*, with a fresh invitation to him to come and take possession of the kingdom. Upon his approach, ^e they all went out to meet and welcome him, whom he received with his usual complaisance, and many fair promises; but was no sooner entered that city with his *Turks*, than he began to give them some marks of his tyrannic temper; and either by foul or fair means compelled those, who had rifled the palace of their late king, to refund every particular to him; by which means he raised an immense sum upon his new subjects, some part of which he employed in repairing the fortifications of the city and citadel, called *Al-Meshuar*, and the rest in rewarding his *Turks* and *Moors*. The *Tremecenians* were highly exasperated at this extreme severity, as they deemed it, and were not long before they gave him cause to fear that his reign over them would prove but uneasy and precarious; and as, on the other hand, he rightly judged his neighbourhood, with the *Spaniards* of *Auran*, would prove troublesome and dangerous, he ^f thought proper to enter into an alliance with *Muley Hammed*, king of *Fez*, who was then at war with that of *Morocco*. After which he took care to seize on and secure the remaining cities of that kingdom to his obedience, by garrisoning them with his own troops¹: and as

* MARMOL, ubi sup. GRAMMAY, lib. ii. c. 17, & 18. DAPPER, DAVITY, TASSY, MORGAN, &c.

¹ MARMOL, ubi sup. GRAMMAY, lib. vii. c. 27. TASSY, & al. sup. citat.

(F) This victory was, however, chiefly owing to the advantage which his troops had from their fire-arms, the enemy having no other weapons than arrows and javelins (2).

(G) The city of *Tenez*, or *Tennes*, the capital of the kingdom of that name, is situate near the sea, about

forty leagues west of *Algiers*, and near as many east of *Oran*, and had at this time a considerable territory, both under the possession of prince *Hamida*, surnamed *Al Aabd*, from his swarthiness, his mother being a black, whence he is vulgarly called *Hamidel Abdes* (3).

(2) Marmol, ubi sup. Tassy, p. 32, & seq. Morgan, Algiers, vol. i. ch. 3. p. 245.

(3) Ibidem ubi sup.
some

- a some of them ventured to revolt soon after, at the report of the tyrannies which he every where exercised over those that fell under his power, he was again obliged to send one of his corsairs, named *Escander*, a man no less cruel than he to reduce them; so that the *Tremecenians* began now to repent in good earnest of their having invited such a tyrant to their assistance, and to consult on the means of driving him away, and bringing back their lawful prince *Bubama*, or, as others call him, *Abuchen Men*, or *Abu Hommen*; but, unfortunately for them, their cabals were discovered soon after, and a great number of the conspirators were massacred in the most cruel manner, *Abuchen Men* had the good luck to escape to *Auran*, and to be received under the protection of the marquis of *Gomarez*, governor of it, who sent immediate advice of it to *Charles V.* then lately arrived in *Spain*, with a powerful fleet and army. Some say, that that governor took the young prince with him to *Spain*, whither he repaired to lay before the emperor a plain state of the affairs and transactions in *Africa*, and to advise with him about the means of suppressing the power and success of the now dreaded *Barbarossa*^m. However that be, no doubt can be made about the readiness with which that politic monarch undertook to reinthrone an unfortunate prince, who would thereby become not only tributary to him, but might be made very instrumental in driving the usurping tyrant out of his other conquests. He immediately ordered him a succour of 10,000 men, under the command of the governor of *Auran*, who, under the guidance of *Abuchen Men*, began his march towards *Tremecen*, and in their way were joined by prince *Selim*, and a great number of *Arabs* and *Moors* from the adjacent countries. The first thing they resolved upon was to attack the important fortrefs of *Calau*, situate between *Tremecen* and *Algiers*, and commanded by the corsair *Escander*, at the head of about 300 *Turks*. They invested it closely on all sides, in hopes that *Barbarossa* would thereby be induced to come out of *Tremecen* to its assistance, which would give the citizens an opportunity to rise up in arms during his absence, and to keep him out. The *Turks*, however, made a brave defence, and, in a sally they made at night, surprised and cut off near 300 *Spaniards*. This encouraged them to venture a second time, in which they found the besiegers so well upon their guard, that they were repulsed with great loss, and *Escander* himself was wounded in the thigh by a musket ball; soon after which they surrendered upon honourable terms (H); and the place, after a severe plunder, was put into the hands of the king of *Tremecen*.
- d ALL this while *Barbarossa* kept himself close in his capital, not daring to stir out for fear of a revolt, and no less embarrassed on account of the politic delays which the king of *Fez* made, to send him the quota of auxiliaries stipulated by the late treaty of alliance between them, notwithstanding all his pressing instances to him.
- At length being informed, that *Abu Hammen* and his *Arabs*, accompanied by *Martin Argot*, the *Spanish* commander, were in full march to lay close siege to *Tremecen*, he judged it more safety to come out of it, at the head of 1500 of his *Turks* and 5000 *Moorish* horse, and to break his way through the enemy in the open field. He was not gone far from the city, before his council advised him to return and fortify himself in it; but it was now too late, the inhabitants being resolved to keep him out by main force, and to open their gates to their own lawful prince as soon as he appeared. In this distress he saw no way left but to retire to the citadel, and there defend himself till he could find an opportunity of stealing out with his men and all his treasure. Here he defended himself vigorously, and made several successful sallies against the enemy, as if he designed to hold out a long siege; but his provisions failing him, he took the advantage of a subterranean back way, which he had caused to be digged up for that purpose, and taking his immense treasure with him, stole away as privately as he could. His flight was, however, soon discovered, and he so closely pursued, that to amuse, as he hoped, the enemy, he caused a great deal of his money, jewels, plate, &c. to be scattered all the way, thinking they would not fail to stop their pursuit to gather it up. This stratagem failed him, through the vigilance of the *Spanish* general, who was himself at the head of the pursuers, and obliged them to march on, till he was come up close to him, on the banks of the *Huexda*, about eight leagues from *Tremecen*. *Barbarossa* had just crossed the river with his vanguard, when *Argot* fell upon his rear on the other side, and cut them all off; then crossing the water, overtook him, at a small distance from it. Here a fresh and bloody engagement ensued, in which the *Turks* fought

A. D. 1517.
Charles V.
assists the young
king of Tremecen.

Barbarossa leaves Tremecen at his approach.

^m *Idem ibid.*

(H) This capitulation was, however, broken by the besiegers, and the *Turks* all massacred except sixteen, who went and clung close to the stirrups of the king, and of the *Spanish* general. The occasion of which was owing to a young *Arabian* officer, who, having discovered his father's shield upon *Escander*, who had formerly

taken it from him, and had greatly abused his wives, fell upon him in a violent fury, assisted by thirty young warriors of his own tribe, and a good number of others who followed after them and cut them all in pieces, notwithstanding all the king's and general's endeavours to prevent it (4).

(4) *Marmol, &c al. sup. citat.*

like

Barbarossa and
his army in-
tirely cut in
pieces;

his head carri-
ed in triumph.

Hayradin cho-
sen king and
high admiral
of the sea.

Obtains his
protection, and
a strong rein-
forcement.

His fleet and
army daily in-
creased, by
new supplies
from Turkey.

like so many lions, till being over-powered by numbers, they were all massacred by the *Spaniards*, and *Barbarossa* among the rest, in the 44th year of his age. Thus fell that famed corsair, four years after he had raised himself to the royal title over the city of *Jigel* and adjacent countries, two years after his making himself to be acknowledged king of *Algiers*, and scarcely a twelve-month after his treacherous reduction of that of *Tremecen*. His head, set upon a lance, was carried in triumph to that capital, where the marquis of *Gomarez* settled the king again upon his throne, not only without opposition, but with the joyful acclamations of all the inhabitants. Some few days after the fight, the king of *Fez*, who had, till then, artfully delayed sending his ally any succour, made his appearance at the head of 20,000 horse near the field of battle, as if he came to his assistance; when, upon hearing the news of his defeat and death, he marched off with all possible speed, to avoid being attacked by the enemy ^a.

THE consternation was still greater at *Algiers*, when this news reached the *Turks* that were left therein in garrison; and not without great cause, considering that they were not only surrounded with enemies on all sides, but that they were left to defend a city, to whose inhabitants they were become so justly, and on so many accounts, odious, ever since their arrival thither ^b. However, they soon agreed, as the most effectual way to prevent a revolt from that side, to cause *Aradin*, or *Hayradin*, the late *Barbarossa's* brother, to be proclaimed king of *Algiers*, and high admiral of the sea; which was done without any great opposition, though the generality of the captains, and some say *Hayradin* himself, were at first more inclined to embark their forces and riches upon twenty-two galleys, which was all their naval strength at that time, and to abandon *Algiers*, than to trust to the inactivity of the inhabitants: and this must, in all probability, have proved their safest way, had not the marquis *Gomarez* been guilty of too much precipitation in sending the emperor's forces back into *Spain*, so soon after his reinthroning the *Tremecen* king, instead of keeping them still in *Africa*; by which means he lost, for ought that appears to the contrary, the fairest opportunity of driving those *Turks* quite out of *Barbary*. *Hayradin* was too quick-sighted not to perceive the advantage which the removal of those forces was to him, in ridding his friends from all farther dread, and disheartening the malecontents from all farther hopes from that quarter: of all which he so well convinced his officers and militia, that they all resolved to stand by him to the last ^c.

HE was, not, however, without some just fears, that the *Algerines*, to whom his government became daily more insupportable, on account of the cruel tyrannies and oppressions which his officers exercised over them, would, upon the first opportunity, join themselves with the *Arabians* and *Moors*, and break out into some open revolt. He had scarcely held the reins two years, before he had such pregnant proofs of an universal ferment throughout the kingdom, as made him apprehend some speedy insurrection, unless he found some more effectual means to over-awe them than his few insolent *Turkish* forces, which were now detested by all his subjects. The more effectually, therefore, to secure himself against all events, he had recourse to *Selim I.* then emperor of *Constantinople*, to whom he dispatched an ambassador, with magnificent presents, to notify to him the death of his brother *Aruch*, and his own election to the *Algerine* crown, and to make him at the same time an offer of submitting the kingdom to his protection, and to pay him an annual tribute, provided the emperor would assist him with forces sufficient to maintain himself in his station and his new conquests. He was moreover to inform the *Porte* with the situation of the affairs in *Barbary*, and to represent to him how easy it would be to reduce that whole country under its protection and government; and last of all, if the Grand Signor refused those offers, they were then empowered to offer to him an entire cession of the *Algerine* kingdom, on condition that *Hayradin* should have the dignity and title of viceroy under him ^d.

SELIM, who had but a little before, by the conquest of *Egypt*, put a final end to the long usurpation of the *Mamelukes*, was highly pleased with this proposal, as it was so considerable an addition to his dominions, or, at least, to his glory; and sent *Hayradin* word, that he readily received him under his protection, appointed him his *Basha* or viceroy over the kingdom of *Algiers*, and that he would speedily dispatch to him a reinforcement of 2000 *Janissaries*, completely armed, which he accordingly did; by which means *Hayradin* became so absolute a master, both of the *Arabians* and *Moors*, that they were forced to become his submissive slaves, without daring to utter the least complaint against his government. After this he continued in *Algiers* without the least fear or danger, well guarded by his bold and resolute *Turks*, increasing daily in power and wealth by the number of his corsairs, and their successful depredations at sea: whilst the *Porte* kept sending him a constant supply of recruits every year, with money for the payment of his troops; insomuch, that vast numbers of *Turks*, who were either malefactors, or persons in debt, or desperate circumstances, broken fortunes, or on any other ^e

^a MARMOL, TASSY, & al. sup. Vid. & VERTOT Hist. of Malta, lib. x. p. 541.
p. 242, & seq. ^b Ibidem ibid. ^c Ibidem ibid. ^d See before, vol. iv. p. 106, & v. sub
SELM I. p. 239, & seq.

a account uneasy at home, resorted thither from the *Levant*, and gladly listed in his service either for the land or sea; so that in a little time the *Turks* under him became capable of suppressing both *Moors* and *Arabs* at home, and of opposing and annoying the Christians at sea^a.

He was now at leisure to put two grand projects in execution, which he had been meditating for some time. The first was to destroy the Pegnon or *Spanish* fort, which was a great nuisance to his metropolis, or at least to force the garrison out of it: the other was to make that city a commodious harbour for his ships, by building a mole from thence to the island, in order to shelter them from the weather and the north sea, as well as from being within the reach of the fort guns; to avoid which, they were obliged to lie about a mile west of the towns, and without any good anchorage. As to the first, after having made several fruitless attempts to compass it by force, he at length bethought himself to do it by stratagem; to which end he directed two handsome young *Moors* to convey themselves privately into the fort, and to get admittance to the governor, under pretence of being desirous of becoming Christians; and these acted their part so well, that they were kept in his house, in order to be instructed, before they were admitted to baptism. They had continued there some time without the least mistrust, when, on *Easter* day, whilst all the garrison were at church, one of the governor's domesticks observed them both very busy at the top of a watch tower in making signals to the city by the motion of the muslin of their turbans; upon which he alarmed the garrison, which immediately put itself in arms to prevent a surprize. The two young *Moors* being seized and brought to the governor, were soon forced to discover the whole secret, and that they were sent thither by *Hayradin* to watch a proper opportunity for surprizing the fort, and to give notice of it to the town by a signal. Upon which the governor ordered them to be hanged upon a very high gallows, as a signal to the town that their plot was discovered; which so exasperated *Hayradin*, that he resolved to leave no experiment untried till the fort was either taken or destroyed. He sent accordingly a herald, on the next day, to summon the governor, *Martin de Vargas*, either to surrender the place upon the honourable terms he offered him, or expect the utmost severity of military law, in case he refused. To this the brave governor sent an answer, that he was a *Spaniard*, and equally despised his offers, and his menaces; which so exasperated him, that he swore upon the Koran, before a full council, to begin the siege immediately, and not to quit it till he had mastered the fort, or perished in the attempt. News being brought to him on the same day, that a *French* vessel was stranded upon his coast, and implored his protection and assistance, he readily granted it; but caused the cannon to be taken out, in order to be employed in battering the fort, along with the few field pieces which he had by him; and he continued firing at it with such vehemence, during a whole fortnight, that the walls and fortifications were almost quite demolished, and the garrison made so weak a defence, that he rightly judged it to be reduced to the last extremity. Upon which, *The Spanish* getting about 2000 musqueteers on board his galliots, he reached the fort of the place, and *fort taken.* mounted the breach without any opposition. Here he found the governor dangerously wounded, and the rest of the garrison either slain or wounded. He caused them to be removed to *Algiers*, and healed of their wounds; but some months after, either upon some dislike or suspicion, caused the brave governor to be bastinadoed to death, and the rest to be made slaves^c.

BEING now become master of that important fort, he delayed not to put his next project in execution; which was to build a strong mole for the safety and convenience of his ships; in which he employed no less than 30,000 Christian slaves, whom he obliged to work without interruption; so that he had quite completed the whole within less than three years, without any expence to him. His next care was to cause the fort to be repaired, and a good garrison to be sent into it, to prevent any foreign vessels coming into the harbour, without previously giving a good account of themselves. These two important works added so much strength and wealth, not only to the city, but to the kingdom, that *Hayradin* soon became dreaded, not only by the *Moors* and *Arabians*, but by the maritime Christian powers, and more particularly the *Spaniards*, from whom they had been in constant apprehension of some powerful descent; whereas they were now in a condition not only to annoy all their trading vessels along the *Barbary* coasts, but likewise to make frequent and successful incursions upon their own, and bring from thence great numbers of prisoners, and other valuable plunder. *Hayradin* failed not to acquaint the *Porte* with an account of all these transactions, and to represent them to the best advantage, in order to obtain a fresh supply of money from thence, to enable him to build a stronger fort, and to erect new batteries in all the places which seemed most exposed to favour an enemy's landing. He made no request but what was readily granted by the Grand Signor; neither lost he any time to make

Hayradin makes Algiers a convenient harbour.

Successful incursions on the Spaniards.

^a MARMOL, GRAMMAY, TASSY, MORGAN, & al. ubi sup.

^c Ibidem ibid.

those additional fortifications, both to the fort and the mole; all which have still received a greater improvements from time to time, as often as there was occasion for them^y.

Succeeded in
Algiers by
Hassan Aga.

The Pope en-
gages Charles
V. against him.

IN the mean time the Soltan, whether out of a sense of the great services *Hayradin* had done him, or perhaps, out of some jealousy, left, after having raised himself to such a height of power and wealth, he should attempt to make himself independent, raised him to the dignity of Captain Basha of the empire; and appointed *Hassan Aga*, a *Sardinian* renegado, an intrepid warrior, and an old experienced officer, to succeed him as Basha of *Algiers*; who had no sooner taken possession of his new government, than he began to pursue his cruises and ravages on the *Spanish* coasts, with greater fury and success than ever, and extended them to those of the ecclesiastical state, and other parts of *Italy*. This soon alarmed Pope *Paul III.* and obliged him to apply to the emperor *Charles V.* and to exhort him to send a powerful fleet to suppress those frequent and cruel piracies. The emperor, on his part, wanted not to be spurred up to it. His resentment for the loss of the *Spanish* fortresses, the indignities which had been offered to his governor there, and the hostilities they continued still committing on the *Mediterranean*, to which we may add, the invitations he received from several *Arabian* chiefs, who promised to assist him in restoring the prince *Selim* to his throne, easily determined him to equip a powerful fleet, and to command it in person; in which he flattered himself with an easy conquest, not only of *Algiers*, but of the greatest part of *Barbary*. The account he had received of the situation, strength, and valour of those people, all contributed to confirm him in his noble views, as nothing, indeed, could immortalize his name so much as the suppression of such a vast number of sworn enemies to Christianity, and the reducing of those vast countries under the standard of Christ. That nothing might be wanting to render so glorious a design successful, by engaging all Christian powers to join in it, Pope *Paul* published a bull, with a plenary absolution of all sins, and the promise of the crown of martyrdom to all those who should fall in battle against those infidels, or be taken slaves by them, and a variety of other indulgences and blessings, suitable to the services which every one should do in so glorious a cause^z.

THE emperor accordingly set sail towards the end of the summer, at the head of a powerful fleet; consisting of 120 ships and 20 galleys, and having on board 30,000 chosen troops, and an immense quantity of money, arms, ammunition, &c.; besides great numbers of young nobility and gentry, who came in as volunteers, and attended him at their own expence, upon the only motives of religion and glory. Among these were many brave knights of *Malta*, of whom we shall speak more largely in a subsequent chapter; an order of noblemen of all the nations of *Europe*, whose greatest ambition it always was to signalize themselves against all the enemies of *Christianity*; and who were ever ready to join in any expedition against them, and always behaved themselves with uncommon valour and intrepidity. Besides these, many ladies of birth and character likewise helped to increase the splendor and greatness of his court; and the wives and daughters of the officers and soldiers, who followed them with a view of settling in *Barbary*, when he had finished the conquest of it. All these meeting with a favourable wind, soon appeared before the coast of *Algiers*, every ship displaying the *Spanish* colours on the stern, and another at the head, which had a crucifix to serve her for a pilot.

Algiers in
great conster-
nation.

IT is hardly possible to express the general consternation which the appearance of this powerful fleet threw the city of *Algiers* into. It was at this time surrounded only with a wall, without hardly any out-works. The whole garrison amounted only to about 800 armed *Turkish* soldiers and 6000 *Moors*, without fire-arms, and poorly disciplined and accoutred; the rest of their forces being then dispersed in the other provinces of the kingdom, to raise the usual tribute on the *Arabs* and *Moors*. In this distress the Douwan immediately assembled, to deliberate on the most effectual measures for defending the place. One of their first resolutions was, not to hazard their forces in a fruitless opposition to the enemies landing, but to reserve them within the walls, in order to make the best defence they could against their attacks, till the return of those detachments which were then scattered through the kingdom; to hasten which they dispatched expresses every where, acquainting them with their danger, and to desire them to make what additions they could to their number, in order at least to obtain a more favourable capitulation from the enemy. The place where the fleet came to anchor was near cape *Matabuz*, about two small leagues to the eastward of *Algiers*; where the army being landed without opposition, the emperor took his post on an eminence, and caused his standard of the cross to be set up at the sound of trumpets, kettle-drums, &c. whilst the rest of the army worked night and day with indefatigable alacrity in erecting a fort, which hath retained ever since the name of the emperor's fort. The army was encamped under the cover of the artillery of the fort, and near a spring which supplied the whole city with fresh water; whose course being turned by the *Spaniards*, soon reduced the inhabitants to so great a want of it, that

^y Relation addressed to Pope PAUL, VERTOT, Hist. Malta, lib. x. p. 128, & seq. TASSY, MORGAN, & al. sup. citat. ^z Ibidem ibid.

- a they were forced to make use of such a stinking fort as their cisterns and reservoirs furnished them with, and which would, ere long, occasion some dreadful disease among them. In this complicated distress the Basha *Hassan* received a summons from the emperor to surrender the place at discretion, on pain of being put to the sword with his whole garrison. Hassan summoned to surrender. The herald was moreover ordered to extol to him the vast strength of the emperor both by sea and land, and to make him very considerable promises, both of money and great preferments; and at length to strive to prevail upon him to take hold of that favourable opportunity to return to his native country, and be reconciled to God and his church, both which he had so greatly offended by his apostacy * To all which the surly *Hassan* returned this answer; That none but a madman would pretend to advise an enemy; but that the advised must still
- b act more madly, if he should take the counsel of such an adviser; and with it dismissed him. His answer to the herald. Others however tell us, that he freely owned himself to be, at that juncture, wholly out of a condition to resist so formidable a power; but, as the proposal was no less hard on his side, he hoped his majesty would grant a few days suspension to deliberate with his council. His only view in this was to gain time, in hopes that some of his expresses would reach those flying camps, that were then scouring the provinces. As he had heard no news from those quarters, he was just upon the point of surrendering, when advice was brought, that the forces belonging to the western government ^a were in full march towards the place; upon which the Douwan unanimously resolved to defend it to the utmost. On the other hand, *Charles* receiving no farther answer from the town, and being sensible that the situation of the place would not permit him to block it up by sea and land, which could not be done without dividing his forces,
- c resolved to try a general assault, which he could the more safely hazard, as he had taken care to dispose of his fleet so as to have it ready at hand for a re-imbarkation, in case of necessity. The city besieged, and ready to surrender. These precautions being taken, he lost no time to be beforehand with the troops that were coming to its relief, but kept a constant firing upon the town; which from the weakness of its fortifications, and the faint defence of the besieged, he began to look upon as already in his hands. In the mean time, whilst the Douwan were deliberating on the most effectual means of obtaining an honourable capitulation, a surprising scene opens itself to them, which makes them at once alter their resolution; and the assurances given them by a poor despised madman of a speedy relief, and of the total destruction of the Christian army and fleet, in some miraculous manner, before the end of the moon, encourages them to hold out till the time prefixed;
- d when the prediction met with an accomplishment, no less surprising and unexpected, than exact in every particular. The reader may see a more ample detail of this wonderful prophet, and his speech and behaviour before the Douwan in the margin (G); for the truth of which we have

* Relat. to Pope PAUL, VERTOT, ubi sup. p. 132.

^a See before p. 227, & seq.

(G) This surprising person was an eunuch named *Yusef*, or *Joseph*, much admired by the common people for his prophetic gift; but no less despised and ill-treated by the great ones on that account, as may be gathered from the speech he made to the Douwan upon this occasion, and wherein, after some long preamble in praise of God and his prophet, he addressed them in words to this effect:

“ My lords, I am the poor *Yusef*, the slave of slaves, and most abject of *Musfulmen*, persecuted by the great, represented as a madman by our Marabouts; on which account not only my advices have been rejected, but myself treated ignominiously. The Cadi, who is the judge of the law, hath often made me undergo very severe and public punishments; and why? Because the Almighty, whose ways are to us unsearchable, hath sometimes given me an insight into futurity; and what I have hitherto foretold hath been thought unworthy of their regard. I have remained silent towards those that despised me, but have informed those poor people, who pitied and relieved me, of things of the greatest moment to them. But at this juncture, *Hassan* being ruler of our city, the public danger forces me to speak.”

Here *Hassan* (whom the present distresses had a little humanized, as well as the clamours of the people that followed *Yusef* had over-awed, they all expecting some great revelation from their prophet), bid him speak on; upon which he proceeded in words to this effect: “ Here is a powerful fleet of infidels, whose vessels are crowded with armed men, and who have come as suddenly

“ upon us, as if they had risen out of the sea. We are destitute of every means of defence, and our only hope placed on an equitable capitulation, if equity can be expected from Christians. But God, who laughs at the machinations of men, hath quite other thoughts. He will release his people out of the hands of idolaters, in spite of all the Christian gods, be they ever so many. Lord *Hassan*, and you his ministers, and great men of the kingdom, and learned men in the law, I call upon you to take courage. Rely for this once upon the despised and abject *Yusef*, and be assured, that before the end of this moon, our God will display his glory to the utter confusion of the Christians: Their ships and army will perish in your sight, and our city be victorious and free. Their arms and equipage will fall to our share; and as they have already employed a vast number of hands, in erecting forts for our future defence against themselves, so shall they continue still slaves to us, and few of those blind and hardened people shall be permitted to return to their own country.” He concluded as he had began, with a kind of doxology, which was answered by the shouts of the whole multitude; which last proved, in all likelihood, more effectual in determining the Douwan to hold out till the end of the moon, than any confidence they had in his predictions (5).

Marmol, a zealous *Romanist*, hath indeed taken notice of this extraordinary prophet; but, instead of it, tells us, that there were at that time three prophecies current among the *Algerines*, which an old woman had uttered against the Christians; two of which had already

have no other evidence, but a received tradition among the *Algerines*, though the history of a that unfortunate expedition hath left us the most authentic, as well as dreadful proofs of its accomplishment.

*The besiegers
sadly annoyed
with rains.*

THE besiegers had already suffered greatly by the rains, which had overflowed their camp, damaged their provisions, and wetted their matches, so as to render their fire arms useless; of all which the governor being fully apprised, had galled them by his frequent sallies, in which they lost great numbers of their men, the *Maltese* knights being ever ready at hand to repulse them, even to the very gates of the city ^b. But all these losses were inconsiderable, in comparison of that which the fleet and army sustained on the 28th day of *October*, on which so dreadful a storm of wind, rain, and hail, arose from the north, accompanied with violent shocks of earthquakes, and a dismal and universal darkness both by sea and land, that the sun, moon, ^b and elements, seemed combined together to destroy them; whilst their ships, forced from their anchors by the violence of the winds and waves, either dash and split against one another, or against the adjacent rocks and shelves, in spite of all the united endeavours of pilots and sailors to prevent. Insomuch that in that one night, some say in less than half an hour ^c, no less than 86 ships, and fifteen gallies were destroyed, with all their crews and military stores; by which the army on shore was deprived of all means of subsisting any longer in those parts. Neither was this the only bad effect they felt from that destructive storm; for their camp, which spread itself along the plain under the fort, was, by the violent rains, laid quite under water, from the torrents that came tumbling down from the adjacent hills. Many of the forces, by trying to remove into some better situation, were barbarously cut in pieces by the *Moors* and *Arabs*; and several gallies, and other vessels, endeavouring to gain some neighbouring creeks along the coasts, were immediately plundered, and their crews massacred, by the inhabitants (H). ^c

*The siege rais-
ed in haste.*

BUT the most dreadful prospect of all was on the next morning, when, the storm being quite ceased, and the light returned, the surface of the sea seemed in some measure covered with the fragments of so many ships, and the bodies of men, horses, and other creatures, swimming on the waves. The sight of which appeared so melancholy and dreadful, that *Charles* immediately resolved to take the advantage of the present calm, to save himself and the sorrowful remains of his fleet and army; and abandoning his tents, artillery, and all the rest of his heavy baggage, to the enemy, marched directly, though in no small disorder, at the head of his army, towards cape *Malabux*, in order to re-imbark in those few vessels which had out-weathered the storm. But this *Hassan* did not permit him to do, till he had made him feel some fresh strokes of his fury and resentment. That subtle Basha, who had caused their motions to be carefully watched, allowed them just time enough to reach the shore, when he sallied out with his garrison, and fell upon them with such desperate fury, whilst they were in the midst of hurry and confusion to gain their respective ships, that he made a fresh slaughter of them, besides a much greater number which he carried away captives; so that they had seen the backs of their last enemies, and were quite freed from all fear and danger from this powerful crusado, before those troops were arrived at *Algiers*, which had been sent to levy the tribute; and, upon appearing at the metropolis, had nothing else to do but to join in the thanksgiving ^d ^e

^b Relat of the siege of Algiers, addressed to Pope PAUL. VERTOT, Hist. of Malta, vol. iv. lib. x. p. 134, & seq. & al. sup. citat. ^c Ibidem ibid.

been fulfilled, in the defeat of the *Spanish* general *de Vera*, and the shipwreck of admiral *Moncada*; but the third, and most fatal of all, was this of the destruction of the emperor's fleet and armada (6). But might not this turn be designedly given to it, to avoid giving offence to those of his church? Sure it is, that some of them have not scrupled to affirm, that this destructive storm was raised by some great magician, as we shall have occasion to shew in a subsequent note.

(H) Among a number of other instances of these inhuman butcheries, we are told of one, which serves as a taste of the barbarity of those coasters. The vessel belonging to Don *Antonio de Carrero*, one of the commanders of the *Spanish* Squadron, being one of those which were forced on shore by the violence of the storm, and split against a rock, a young beautiful *Spanish* damsel, richly clad, and bedecked with a good number of jewels, was cast on the shore, and fell a prey to one of those monsters of cruelty, who immediately ran to her, and having seized on all her rich ornaments, immediately butchered her; neither her tears, intreaties, nor her

her extraordinary charms, being sufficient to move his pity so far, as to let her escape with her life (7).

A favourite nephew of the famed admiral *Doria* had much the like mischance in his own vessel; and was on the point of undergoing the same dreadful fate, when the emperor, who happened to be a sorrowful spectator of all these disasters, chanced to be apprised of his danger, and immediately dispatched some *Italian* companies, under the command of Don *Antonio de Arragon*, who came just in time to rescue him out of the hands of those murderers.

The land forces were in no less danger in their unhappy situation, having neither tents, ammunition, nor victuals, for one day; nor any proper assistance for their wounded; insomuch that the author of the account sent to Pope *Paul III.* assures that pontif, that he had seen five knights of *Malta*, and above thirty gentlemen volunteers, wallowing in the mire, their wounds still flowing with their last blood, and lying quite destitute of all kind of assistance (8).

(6) Hist. of Barbary, p. 37, & seq. Morgan, Algiers, vol. i. c. v. p. 321. & seq. Hist of Malta, lib. x. p. 138.

(8) Ibidem ibid.

(7) Ulloa, ap. Vertot,

and

- a and rejoicings, which the governor ordered to be made on that occasion ^d. Soon after this the poor *Yusef* was not only declared the deliverer of his country, but had a considerable gratuity decreed to him, together with the full liberty of exercising his prophetic function unmolested. It was not long, however, before the Marabouts, and some of the interpreters of their law, made a strong opposition against him, and remonstrated to the Basha, how ridiculous and scandalous it was to their nation, to ascribe the deliverance of it to a poor paltry fortune-teller, which had been obtained by the fervent prayers of an eminent saint of their own profession (1). But though the Basha and his Douwan, seemed out of policy to give into this last notion, yet the impression which *Yusef*'s predictions, and the late accomplishment of them, had made among the common people, proved, it seems, too strong to give way to such an artifice.
- b And the spirit of divination and conjuring is since got into such credit and vogue amongst them, that not only their great statesmen, but their priests, Marabouts, and fantoons, have applied themselves to that study, and have dignified it with the title of *Mohammed's* revelations.

- WHILST the *Algerines* were making great rejoicings at their unexpected deliverance, the imperial fleet was forced to weather out a fresh storm, which arose against them soon after they had gained their ships; insomuch that they were all scattered from each other, and several of them perished; one of them in particular, which had 700 *Spanish* soldiers, besides sailors, sunk in the emperor's view, and not a soul of them could be saved, the sight of which greatly affected that monarch, as it gave him cause to fear, that the greatest part of the rest, which were out of sight, might have undergone the same fate. At length, with much labour and toiling, they happily reached the port of *Bujeiah*, or *Bujeya*, which then belonged to the *Spaniards*, whither *Hassen*, king of *Tunis*, repaired soon after, with a fresh supply of provisions and refreshments, and met with a gracious reception from the emperor, accompanied with fresh promises of his friendship and protection. Here he thought fit likewise to dismiss the few remains of the *Maltese* knights and their forces, who embarked in three shattered gallies, and with great difficulty and danger regained their own island. The emperor staid no longer there than till the 16th of *November*; when taking the advantage of a favourable gale, he set sail for *Carthage*, and reached it on the 25th of the same month ^e. Thus ended this unhappy expedition; in which, besides the loss of upwards of 120 ships and gallies already mentioned, above 200 colonels and other land and sea officers, and eight thousand soldiers and mariners, either perished by the first tempest, besides those that were destroyed by the enemy on their re-imbarkment, or were drowned in the last storm ^f. As for the number of prisoners it was so great, that the insulting *Algerines* sold some of them, by way of contempt, even for an onion (K) per head.
- c The *Spaniards* undergo a fresh storm. The fleet reaches Bujeya.

- AFTER this signal deliverance, the elated Basha of *Algiers* undertook an expedition against *Muley Hammed*, king of *Tremecen*, who had submitted himself to *Charles V.* in order to be restored by him to his kingdom. But that prince, being now in no condition to make head against him, was forced to procure a peace with him upon his own terms; which consisted in paying him a vast sum of money, and becoming tributary to him; after which he returned to *Algiers*, laden with immense riches, the greatest part of which he sunk into his own coffers. *Hassen* was not long after seized with a violent fever, which carried him off in the 66th year of his age.
- d Hassen's expedition against Tremecen.

^d Idem ibid. TASSY, Hist. of Algiers, p. 48, & seq. of Barbary, p. 39. MARMOL, lib. v. c. 41. MORGAN ubi sup. ^e See the Hist. of Malta, in a subsequent chapter. ^f Relat to Pope PAUL III. VERTOT, ubi sup. p. 139, & seq. TASSY, & al. sup. citat.

(1) The reputation and vast donatives which this poor eunuch had gained upon that occasion, had so far raised the jealousy and envy of the whole Maraboutic tribe, that they resolved, at any rate, to retrieve their lost credit upon the ruin of his. To effect which they trumped up one *Cid Utica*, or, as our *Morgan* will have him called, *Sidi Outedoula*, a Marabout, in high veneration for his frequent fastings, prayers, and other holy exercises, whom they affirmed to have continued in the most fervent addresses to heaven, from the first arrival of the *Spanish* armada, to the day on which the storm overtook and destroyed them; but that having on that day received a fresh inspiration, he went and gave the sea a certain number of strokes with a stick, which immediately after occasioned that fortunate tempest, which he had however forbore to divulge out of a downright spirit of humility.

The credit which the politic Douwan and great lawyers pretended to give to this cunningly devised fable,

failed not to raise the veneration of this pretended saint to a high degree; insomuch that after his death a stately mosque was erected over his tomb. Since which time the Marabouts found means to persuade the people, that, in all the like dangers of an invasion, the beating the sea with a bone of that saint would be immediately attended with the like destructive tempest on their Christian enemies (9). It is not however unlikely, that they have had since many occasions for trying the vanity and inefficacy of it.

(K) This is at least affirmed to this day by the *Algerines*, who add, that the emperor, vexed at his ill success, threw the diadem he had on his head into the sea, as soon as he was got on board, with these words, Let some more fortunate prince redeem and wear it; and that many of their *Spanish* slaves and renegadoes still give out, that the kings of *Spain* look upon their crown as forfeited, till they can make themselves masters of *Algiers* (10).

(9) Idem ibid.

(10) Morg. Algiers, vol. ii. c. 7.

Hassan dies, of his age. After whose death the *Algerine* militia, without waiting for any farther orders a
 and is succeed- from the *Porte*, chose *Haji*, or *Chaji*, an old officer from their own body, for his successor.
 ed by Haji. This new *Basha* had not long enjoyed his dignity, before he found himself invaded by a power-
 ful *Arabian* Cheyk, named *Abu Terici*, at the head of 20,000 men, whom he had however
 the good fortune to overcome, and put to a shameful flight. Yet was he soon after obliged
 to resign his dignity to *Hassan*, the son of *Hayradin*, the brother of *Barbarossa*, whom *Soltan*
Soleyman had been prevailed on to nominate to it; yet was he still respected by the new one,
 and all the *Algerines*, not only on account of his late defeat of the *Arabian* Cheyk, but much
 more for his gallant behaviour, whilst the emperor's army was besieging *Algiers*; for which
 it chiefly was, that they had raised him to that dignity without the *Porte*'s consent^z. He lived
 in this credit four years after his resignation, and died in the 80th year of his age. *Hassan*, b
 his successor, was born at *Algiers*, and was now about 28 years of age; and his father *Hay-*
radin, a *Basha* at the *Porte*, and great favourite of *Soleyman*, who had not only procured him
 this government, but obtained him a squadron of twelve stout and well equipped gallies, was
 welcomed at his arrival at *Algiers* with great demonstrations of joy. One of the first exploits
 after his arrival was, upon certain advantageous conditions, to set *Abu Zeyen*, the younger
 brother of *Abdalla*, upon the throne of *Tremecen*, in prejudice of his eldest brother, who had
 applied to *Charles V.* and promised to become tributary to him. To understand the source of
 this dispute, we must recollect that that emperor had settled *Abu Hammed* on the throne upon
 the same terms; who accordingly paid a regular tribute while he lived; but, after his death,
 his son *Abdalla* withdrew it from him*. After his decease, his two sons became rivals for the c
 succession. *Abdalla*, the eldest, applied to the emperor, and *Abu Zeyen* to *Hassan*; who marched
 accordingly against *Abdalla*, then upon the throne, at the head of a powerful army, and
 some artillery; upon which *Abdalla*, who was not in a condition to make head against their
 united forces, packed up the most valuable effects, and retired to *Auran*; so that it was with
 little or no difficulty, that he placed *Abu Zeyen* on the throne; who, on the other hand, to
 gratify him for this signal service, according to their agreement, was obliged both by fair and
 foul means to raise vast sums of money on his new subjects. After which *Hassan* immediately
 returned to *Algiers* with his forces, after the short absence of a few weeks, laden with a rich
 plunder and treasure. The new *Tremecenian* monarch did not long enjoy the sweets of his ill-
 gotten dignity; he having scarcely been seated one year upon the throne, before he was forced d
 by the *Spanish* count *de Alcandela* to resign it to his brother, and to retire to *Fez*, as his bro-
 ther had been obliged to do before to *Auran*. The count, who was then governor of that place,
 had procured *Abdalla* a reinforcement from *Don Carlos* of 2000 *Andalusians*; and with these,
 and a great number of *Moors*, who came with their chiefs to offer their services to them, and
 some pieces of artillery, he marched towards *Tremecen*, and in his way was met with the brave
Almanzor, uncle, father-in-law, and prime minister, of *Muley Hammed Abdalla*, who was
 waiting for him at the head of 5,000 horse; and, upon his joining him, entertained him and
 his *Spaniards* with a dramatic entertainment after the *Moorish* manner (L). After which both
 took their way towards *Tremecen* with their joint forces. Upon their approach to that capital,
 the *Tremecenians* sent to beg of *Almanzor*, that he would not bring the count thither, seeing they e
 were fully resolved to surrender the place to him, and drive the *Turks* out of it. To that
 the general sent answer, that the people, who had been traitors to their prince, deserved to
 lose their heads, and added, that he was bringing a set of Christian executioners to perform
 that office. However *Hassan*, the *Basha* of *Algiers*, found means to compromise matters, by
 sending a venerable fanton to him, by whose mediation a treaty was agreed on between them,

^z MARMOL, MORGAN, & al sup. citat.

* See before p. 145, & seq.

(L) This was a representation of a very late rencounter between one of the Cheyks and his *Arabs*, with a *Turkish* party of fuzileers going to reinforce *Tremecen*, who were defeated by the following stratagem; finding his *Arabs* unwilling to attack them, he went about to all the *Adowars* with a halter about his neck, and swore he would never take it off till he had fought with them; but, finding them unwilling to follow him, he dispatched six of the handsomest damsels he could get after them, mounted upon camels, crying out as he rode, Now shall I see what courage these gallants will shew in rescuing such beauteous virgins out of the hands of these *Turkish* tarpaulins, which set them all on fire for the onset. Upon which he caused a great drove of camels, trained up for such purposes, to be made march before them;

which they did with such resifless violence, as he knew would throw the *Turks* into great disorder; who accordingly were forced, in their defence, to fire upon them as fast as they came; so that, as soon as the Cheyk perceived they had spent all their fire, he immediately advanced, and, breaking through their ranks, easily cut them all in pieces. This warlike piece was not only acted to the life, but decorated with other circumstances; particularly a scene of twelve women mounted on camels, and attended by their cavaliers, who came to compliment the *Spanish* Don, with the swollen titles of restorer of the realm, protector of the orphans, &c. in *Arabic*; which was interpreted to him, and accompanied with the loud shouts of the *Moors*, &c. (11).

a that the *Turks* should immediately evacuate *Tremecen*, and have a sufficient guard of horse to conduct them safely to *Algiers*, which was executed accordingly. After which the count went to lay siege to *Mostagan*; and *Almanzor*, who had declined to accompany him thither, marched directly to *Tremecen*. The *Turks*, under their safeguard, arrived at *Algiers*; and *Abdalla* was restored to his kingdom, though only as a tributary to *Charles V*.²

The Algerines evacuate Tremecen.

HASSAN Basha had not been long at *Algiers* before he received a fresh invitation from the restless *Tremecenians* to return to them, and even to take upon him the reins of their government, or to put them into such hands as he should like best; upon which he immediately took the field, at the head of 3,000 *Janissaries*, 1,000 *Spahis*, and 2,000 *Moorish* cavalry, under the *Mulatto* king of *Tenez*, and some artillery, and took the direct road to *Tremecen*. Being
b come to the river *Sagu*, about four leagues from *Auran*, he was met by the *Spanish* count *Alcandela*, at the head of 6,000 *Spaniards*, and as many *African* and *Arabian* horse, commanded by the *Tremecenian* king, which obliged him to halt that night to give his men some repose, intending to attack them the next morning. A bloody engagement would doubtless have ensued, had not a *French* courier been dispatched to him by two galleys, with a letter from the *French* king, to condole with him for the death of his father *Hayradin Barbarossa*, whom a
c severe fever had carried off in *May* last at *Constantinople* (M). The news of which so afflicted him, as well as most of his officers, that on the next morning he entered into a treaty with *Don Martin*, the *Spanish* count's son; by which he engaged to leave the king of *Tremecen* in quite possession of his throne, and continue a vassal to the emperor, without any further
d molestation from him. The treaty being signed, the *Algerines* stayed only two days longer in their camp, where they put themselves in deep mourning; after which they returned with their Basha to *Algiers*. This is the true account of that transaction; though the *Spanish* authors, after their usual manner, have turned it into a precipitate flight, as if *Hassan* had not dared to look the enemy in the face³. However, the *Tremecenians* were not at all pleased with this peace: they hated their king on account of his vassalage to the emperor, and his amity to the Christians, besides a great deal of mal-administration which they charged him with. This made them at length apply to the Sharif of *Fez*, and make him the same offers which they had done before to *Hassan*, Basha, who accepted them with so much greater readiness, as he had for some time a longing mind after that kingdom, which we shall see in a subsequent chapter. The preparations which he made for that expedition soon alarmed the *Algerines*, who saw with no small envy the swift progress which those upstart brothers had already made in those parts. *Hassan*, Basha, accordingly sent an army of 5000 foot and 1000 horse, with ten field pieces, under the command of a *Turkish* alcaide, and two renegadoes, with orders not to engage the *Fezians* till they were joined by the *Beni Amar*, a warlike *Arabian* tribe in the neighbourhood of *Auran*. By this time the *Fezians*, who had got within sight of *Mostagan*, were not a little surprised to see them making to the same place: so that *Abdalla*, the Sharif's younger son, who commanded them, seeing himself in no condition to engage, found no other way to avoid it than by turning his horse's head westward, and betaking himself to a speedy flight, leaving his camels and baggage behind him. The *Algerines* and *Arabians*, however,
e soon overtook his rear, which was commanded by his brother; and after a bloody fight on both sides, killed the young prince, defeated his forces, and carried his head in triumph on the point of a lance. The news of this disaster no sooner reached *Abdalla's* ears, than he posted away with his equipage and forces to carry the unwelcome news of it to his ambitious father; whilst the victorious *Algerines* entered and plundered *Tremecen*; and, in a general council, resolved to keep possession of that city in the name of their Basha; and leaving the alcaide
f *Sepher*, with 1500 *Turks* in it, returned directly to *Algiers*, laden with rich spoil, where they met with a gracious welcome. *Hassan* caused the head of the young Sharif to be put in an iron cage, and placed on the principal gate of the city, called *Bab Azoun*, where it continued till an. 1573⁴.

Hassan receives the news of his father's death;

makes peace and returns.

Tremecen taken and plundered by the Algerines.

² MARMOL, lib. 15. p. 345, & seq. D. HAEDO, MORGAN, Algiers, vol. ii. c. 7. MORGAN, ubi. sup.

³ Ibidem ibid.

⁴ HAEDO, MARMOL,

(M) This old warrior, who *Vertot* says was above 80 years old (12) when he died, had, after his being recalled from his government of *Algiers*, given himself up to pleasure, and passed the rest of his days and nights with his fairest slaves: so that carrying his debauches too far, he was found dead in his bed of those excesses, to the great grief of Soltan *Solyman*, who appointed the famed

Dragut to succeed him in the command of the fleet, though without giving him the title of admiral, which he had bestowed on *Hayradin* (13). However, our author must be mistaken about the age of this last, considering, that his elder brother *Aruch Barbarossa* was scarce forty-four years old when he died an. 1518.

(12) *Vertot's Hist. de Malthe*, lib. xi. p. 163, & seq. c. 7. p. 264.

(13) See before p. 248, & Morg. Algiers, vol. ii.

Hassan erects
some edifices in
Algiers, and
is recalled.

IN the very same year *Hassan* caused a tower to be built on that very spot where the emperor ^a had pitched his pavilion, when he made that unfortunate attempt on *Algiers* formerly mentioned. He likewise laid the foundation for an hospital for the wounded *Janissaries*, and finished a magnificent bagnio, in imitation of that which his father had built at *Constantinople*; but this last occasioned the loss of his Bashaship for some time: for having refused to part with the former to *Rustan*, a proud avaricious *Basha*, in great authority at the *Porte*, he was given to understand, that his denial would soon be attended with the loss of both, as well as of his government of *Algiers*. To avoid so terrible a blow, *Hassan* immediately equipped six gal-
lies, and set sail for *Constantinople*; but took care to leave his government in the hands of the
alcalayde *Sepher*, lately mentioned, a person of tried conduct and valour; who, from a mean
extract, had raised himself to that height by dint of merit; and who, during the seven months ^b
administration, behaved with such prudence and equity, that no one had suffered death, or
even corporal punishment during that time; a thing till then scarcely ever known under that
arbitrary government. He did moreover begin and complete the great bastion over the mole
gate; supply the city with corn and other provisions, which had laboured under a grievous
scarcity some time before; and did several other public acts both in *Algiers*, and in his alcalayde-
ship of *Tenez*, in which he died about ten years after, greatly esteemed and regretted. He
was succeeded in that of *Algiers* in the month of *April* by *Basha Salha Rais*, to whom *Rustan*
procured that dignity, in revenge to *Hassan*, who had tried all possible means to pacify and
reconcile him, but in vain.

Hassan suc-
ceeded by *Basha*
Salha Rais.

SALHA RAIS, the fifth *Basha* of *Algiers*, and the first of *Arabian* extract that the *Algerines*, ^c
in all probability, ever had, or ever will have, as they are now become independant on the
Porte, had, among other exploits, accompanied *Hayradin Barbarossa* on several expeditions,
and behaved with such valour and conduct, that he was become his particular favourite; so
that his merit was very well known among all the *Algerines*. The first thing he signalized
his new government by, was the reduction of the Soldan, or king of *Tocost*, or *Tuggert*, who
had lately revolted (N); against whom he marched through part of the *Numidian* desert, at
the head of 3000 *Turkish* foot, 1000 *Spahis*, and 8000 other auxiliaries, all with fire-arms,
besides two or three field pieces, and other heavy luggage; with all which he arrived within
sight of that prince's capital, before he had the least intimation of his being in march against
him. In this surprize the young king, not above fourteen, was, however, advised by his ^d
prime minister, and easily persuaded, to keep the city gates chained up, in hopes of some
succour from his vassals and the neighbouring *Arabs*, who are mortal enemies to the *Turks*;
but the *Basha* battered the walls so successfully, during the first three days, that he made
himself master of it by assault on the fourth. A terrible slaughter ensued; and the young
prince being brought prisoner, and asked how he dared lift up his arm against the Grand
Signor's awful banner, was glad to lay all the blame on his prime minister, who had, indeed,
shewn an uncommon zeal against the *Turks* on that occasion; to reward him for which the
Basha, upon such conviction, caused him to be fastened to a cannon, and blown up into the
air. The surviving inhabitants, to the number of 12,000, were sold for slaves, and the city
was plundered and left quite desolate. After which *Salha Rais*, taking the young king with
him, marched directly against *Wargala*, another *Numidian* principality, which had likewise ^e
revolted. Upon his arrival at its capital he found it quite abandoned; the prince having, at
his approach, retired with all his subjects and their effects, to some inaccessible deserts; only
forty rich negroe merchants, whose camels the fugitives had taken from them, were forced
to stay behind; who redeemed themselves at the price of 200,000 ducats worth of timber or
gold dust. *Salha Rais* immediately dispatched a courier on a swift dromedary to the fugitives,
with solemn promises, that if they would return, and continue faithful tributaries for the
future, they should receive no injury for what was done; and, upon their return, kept his
promise inviolably with them, not, however, without threatening them with another visit, in
case they broke their own again; in which case they would find to their cost, that the *Turkish* ^f
Algerines were not to be trifled with¹. On his return, as he passed through *Tuggert*, he gene-
rously set the young king of it, with other prisoners, at liberty, on the same conditions and
warning; and, if *Marmol* be right in his account, brought to *Algiers* fifteen camel loads of
gold dust, besides a great deal of other valuable plunder^m; and, in his way, rebuilt the now
neglected castle, of which we may have occasion to speak further in the sequel.

¹ *Iidem* *ibid*.

^m *Lib. v. c. 57. p. 427, & seq.*

(N) This prince, whose territories, the *Spanish* writers tell us, consisted of a very considerable city, and about thirty large towns and villages, lying upwards of 150 leagues south of *Algiers*, and producing the finest dates,

was obliged, among other things, to send an annual tribute of fifteen black female slaves to the *Algerine* *Basha*, but had now refused to continue it (14).

(14) *Marmel, Haedo, Morgan, Alg. vol. ii. c. 8.*

- a On the next year he equipped a fleet of forty galleys, brigantines, and other vessels, and A. D. 1553. made a descent on *Majorca*, where he met with so warm a reception from the islanders, that he lost, according to the *Spanish* writers, near 500 of his men, and among them some of his best officers. His next attempt was on the *Spanish* coasts, where he found every place likewise ready to give him the same welcome: at length, sailing towards the *Streights* mouth, he saw four or five *Portuguese* frigates of war, newly come from *Lisbon*, with *Muley Abu Hassan*, king of *Bedez*, vulgarly *Velez*, a pretender to the crown of *Fez*; who, after a vigorous defence, was taken prisoner, with about twenty of his *Africans*, and the greatest part of the *Portuguese*ⁿ: with these he steered directly towards the *Pennon de Velez*; where the alcaide *Moussa* governor
- b for the king of *Fez*, thinking that he was come to attempt that strong fortress in favour of his prisoner, the king of *Bedez*, sent him offers to surrender it to him; to which the generous *Basha* answered, that being in alliance with his *Fezian* majesty, he was so far from a design of violating it, that he came to make a present of those prizes he had taken from his enemies; and that he was carrying his rival, who had been begging the assistance of Christian princes against him, prisoner to *Algiers*, in spite of all the advantages with which he offered to buy his friendship; adding, that all he required of him in return was, that he would not suffer his *Fezian* subjects to molest him in the quiet possession of the kingdom of *Tremecen* (O); but that the river *Mullujah* might continue still the boundary between *Fez* and *Algiers*, and that neither side may cross to disturb the other. This message, together with the captures and
- c cannon, he desired that governor to deliver to his master, and then set sail for *Algiers* °.

Salha's noble answer to the governor of Pennon de Velez.

- By this time the two Sharifs had made such progress, and gained such power in those parts of *Barbary*, as justly raised the jealousy of *Salha Rais*; who, under pretence, true or false, that some *Tingitanians* had, by their order, crossed the *Mullujah*, and committed some depredations, raised a considerable army of horse and foot, and, with ten or twelve pieces of cannon, marched directly to the city of *Tessa*, or *Tedza*, about eighty miles short of *Fez*, where one of them waited his coming, at the head of forty thousand horse, and the same number of foot; an army sufficient to have dismayed a less brave commander than *Salha Rais*. But it is more probable that he chiefly depended on some alcaides in the enemy's camp, whom he had secured in his interest: for the onset had no sooner begun than several of them wheeled about
- d to him; upon which the Sharif was put to flight with a considerable loss. The *Basha* having left a garrison of 200 *Turks* in *Tedza*, led his troops on to *Fez*, where he attacked the Sharif afresh, who had by that time recruited his army. Here he gave him a second overthrow, and pursued him so closely into the new city, that he entered it at one gate, at the very time the flying Sharif was marching out at another, in order to retire to *Morocco*. The city was plundered as usual, only the *Jews* redeemed themselves with the round sum of 300,000 ducats. One royal courtesy, to use *Haedo's* words, he shewed to the chief wife of the Sharif and her two daughters, who were fallen into his hands, whom he caused to be used with all possible respect, and to be safely conducted to *Morocco* °.

- e He staid in that city near two months, till he had fixed *Muley Abu Hassan*, whom he had caused to be proclaimed king, upon the throne, and reconciled him to the alcaides, and then returned in triumph to his own capital. Soon after which, the governor of the *Pennon Velez*, afraid of the *Fezian* king's resentment, quite abandoned that fortress; of which the *Algerine* squadron having got notice, seized upon it without opposition, and left a garrison of 200 *Turks* in it; for which signal service they were amply rewarded by the *Basha*.

On the next year *Salha Rais* raised a new army, and equipped a large fleet, in order to lay siege to the city of *Bujeyah* (P). About which time Signior *Strozzi*, the *Maltese* admiral, arrived 1555. *Salha Rais began sieges Bujeyah.*

ⁿ See *Marmol*, lib. v. *HAEDO* & al.

^o *Iidem* *ibid.*

^p *Iidem* *ibid.*

(O) We have seen a little above how the *Algerines* got possession of that kingdom under the bashaship of *Hassan* (15). As for *Muley Hammed Abu Zeyen* the then king of it, they let him enjoy the title, upon condition that he delivered up all the fortresses of it into their hands; to which he was forced to submit; and continued to live in friendship with that *Basha* and his successor *Rais* to his death.

Marmol, however, tells us, that the grievous oppressions and bestialities which they committed every where some years after, made the unfortunate prince so uneasy, that he began to apply again to count *Alcaudela* for fresh assistance; but the *Algerines*, who got intelligence of it, raised such a storm against *Hassan*, *Basha*, as if he connived at it, that he was forced to put an end to it, and

obliged that prince to retire to *Auran* with his family; where having lived about three years, in expectation of being again restored to his dominions by that governor, he was carried off by a contagious distemper, leaving only one son, six years old, on whom *Philip II.* king of *Spain*, bestowed some lands in *Castile* for his subsistence: since that time *Tremecen* hath remained in the hands of the *Algerines* (16).

(P) This fortress, of which we have elsewhere spoken, is, by most *European* writers, called *Bugia*. It stands about thirty leagues due east from *Algiers*, at the foot of a hill, and is commanded by several eminences, and was taken from the *Moors* by Don *Pedro Navarro*, an. 1510, and was still in the hands of the *Spaniards*, as well as that of *Auran*, taken by the same admiral; both

(15) See before, p. 253. & seq.

(16) *Marmol*, lib. v. c. 11. *Morgan*, vol. ii. c. 8.

arrived with orders from the *Porte*, that he should assist him with what galleys he could spare, a in order to assist the *French* king, *Francis I.* against *Philip II.* king of *Spain*; to whom the Basha was forced to lend 24 large ones, well provided and manned, which greatly lessened his naval strength. This was in some measure made up by a reinforcement which he received from the king of *Cuco* of 30,000 *Arabs* and *Moors*. Upon his arrival before the place, he made no delay of cannonading it from two eminences that commanded it; one of which he directed in person, and the other was committed to a *Greek* renegado. Whilst this was doing, a *Spanish* galleon arrived with a supply of men, money, and provision for the garrison; but was soon after sunk by the cannon of one of the batteries. By the eighth day of the siege, the fort *El Vergelette* being become indefensible, and most of its garrison being slain, the rest retired into the town. In six days more, the other had suffered so much by the besiegers cannon, that it was forced to do the same. Soon after which the governor, *Don Alonso de Peralta*, surrendered the town upon honourable terms, though king *Philip* caused him to be beheaded for it soon after his arrival into *Spain*. *Salba Rais* made a great number of slaves and rich plunder, which he sent to *Algiers* by sea, whilst he and his land forces returned thither by land, after an absence only of two months. Thus was this considerable place regained from the *Spaniards*, after they had held it 35 years⁹. We have elsewhere taken notice of a change that happened immediately after the surrender of it; viz. that the *Weyd-el-quebir*, which runs by it, and had its mouth choaked up with mud at the time the Christians held it, so that no vessel could enter; but that it was quite cleared up by the violence of the rains which fell the following winter, and carried all that mud and sand into the sea¹. Towards the end of the year, the Basha sent his son *Mohammed* to the *Porte* with the news of his success, and some very considerable presents; all which met with a gracious reception, and obtained in return a reinforcement of 40 galleys and 6000 *Turkish* soldiers, which were to be employed on a private expedition the following year.

THEY set sail accordingly the next *May* for *Bujeyab*, whither the Basha repaired with thirty more galleys of his own, and four thousand men, on this intended expedition; which he, however, kept as private as he could, though it was suspected to be against *Auran*. The rendezvous was to be at *Temendefust*, vulgarly *Metafuz*, four leagues east of *Algiers*; where he was scarcely arrived, before the plague, which then raged violently in that metropolis, broke out in his groin, and, maugre all the remedies that could be used, carried him off in twenty-four hours. It is hardly possible to express the concern and regret which his death spread over the whole fleet: they immediately set sail for *Algiers*, where they buried him among the Bashas, his predecessors, in a sepulchre near the sea side, over which his unfortunate successor, *Hassan Corso*, his own brave renegado, caused a handsome dome to be erected, which was some years after much embellished by his own son *Mohammed*, who also became Basha of *Algiers*² (Q).

Hassan Corso
chose by the
Janissaries.

IMMEDIATELY after his interment, the *Algerine* soldiery chose his favourite renegado, *Hassan Corso*, a native of *Corfica*, in his room, till they received further orders from the *Porte*. He was no less beloved by the *Janissaries* than he had been by the late Basha, under whom he had served as Beyler Bey, or captain general of the land forces, with great reputation; and yet so modest, that it was with no small struggle that he was prevailed upon to accept of the Bashaship. Soon after which, the fleet sent from the *Levant*, who were not yet apprised of *Salba Rais* death, arrived at *Algiers*; where it was resolved, in a grand council, that the news of it should be dispatched to the *Porte* with all speed and secrecy; after which they were immediately to steer for *Auran*, without waiting for an answer from the court. They sailed accordingly, with all necessaries for the siege, but had scarce began their hostilities against the outworks, when orders came from the *Porte*, expressly forbidding *Hassan Corso* to begin the siege; or, if he had, enjoining him to raise it out of hand: the Grand Signor, it seems, not hoping for the same success under that new Basha as he did under the old³. These orders, though brought by the famed renegado *Ochali*, were received with great heart-burning by the whole fleet and army, who looked upon themselves as sure of success, the garrison of the place being

⁹ MARMOL, DE TORRES, HAEDO, MORGAN.
¹ HAEDO, MORGAN, &c.

² See before p. 225, note (D).

³ *Idem* *ibid.*

which were looked upon as thorns in the *Algerines* sides; *Bujeyab* in particular was defended by two castles, one built on the brow of a hill by *Charles V.* called since the *Emperor's Castle*; the other, called *El Vergelette*, commanded the mouth of the port; but neither of them in a condition to stand it out long.

(Q) *Salba Rais* died in the 70th year of his age.

He was of a middle stature, corpulent and swarthy, steady in all his resolutions, sedulous in all his warlike concerns, and successful in all his enterprizes (18).

We are obliged to omit several of his other wars, particularly that against the brave *Moer*, *Beni Abba*; being content, in a work of this extensive nature, to confine ourselves to the most interesting transactions.

(18) *Marmol, Haedo, Morgan, & al. ubi sup.*

a then very weak. Nevertheless, as they dared not disobey them, they immediately broke up, and returned to *Algiers* by land and sea as they came.

Corso had hardly enjoyed his dignity four months, before news came that eight gallies were bringing a new *Basha* to succeed him: viz, the famed *Tekelli*, a principal *Turk* of the Grand Signior's court: upon which the *Algerines* came to an unanimous resolution not to admit him into their territories, but to continue *Hassan Corso* in his government, and to send notice of their resolutions to the *Porte*. Accordingly orders were forthwith sent to the alcaides of *Bujeyah* and *Bona*, on no account to let him come to land; and, in case he attempted it by force, to fire upon him; and let him know, that they were fully determined not to receive him as their viceroy. Those two governors punctually obeyed those orders; and *Tekelli* was repulsed from *Bona* and *Bujeyah*, and last of all at *Algiers*; which drove him into such confusion and discontent, such complaints and menaces, that the *Levantine* fleet, which was still at anchor there, began to fear the consequences of such an obstinate refusal. And as there never was a good understanding between these and the *Algerine Janissaries*, whose singular privileges they envied, but could not enjoy^u, they agreed at length, unknown to them, to introduce *Tekelli* by stratagem.

They begun with expressing some fears, lest the new viceroy, provoked at their opposition, should come and set their gallies on fire in the night, as they lay unguarded and disarmed in the port, which would infallibly ruin them: but, said they, if you *Janissaries* will take care of the town, we will undertake that of the fleet, and keep a strict and armed watch on board our vessels, and so be safe on all hands. This being readily agreed on by both sides, their next advice was to send *Tekelli* notice of their resolution to oppose him one and all, and to insist upon his immediate leaving of their coasts: to this they also readily agreed; and *Chaloc*, called by the *Spaniards* *Xaloque*, their admiral, was appointed to carry the message to him.

He went accordingly; but, instead of the message, gave him a long detail of the arrogance, cruelty, and tyranny of the *Janissaries*, and of the necessity there was of suppressing their power, in order to prevent their shaking off their dependance on the *Porte*. *Tekelli* greedily listened to him, and gladly approved of the method he proposed to introduce him into the town. The darkness of the night favouring them, they came with their gallies to the mole gate, where they found the *Levantines* in swarms upon the marine, armed and ready to assist him. All this time the *Algerine Turks* slept safely, as they thought, in their beds, little suspecting what was doing on the sea-side; when *Chaloc*, entering the town at the head of 300 men, introduced *Tekelli* into the old palace, till the new one could be evacuated; immediately after which the whole city was alarmed with the shouts of the *Levantines*, Long live Soltan Ottoman, *Tekelli*, *Tekelli*. This soon roused up the *Janissaries*, who came armed out of all their quarters; but finding themselves overmatched, were glad to make as speedy a retreat. *Tekelli* seeing every thing succeed to his wish, marched directly to the new palace, attended by about 2000 musqueteers, and was met at the porch with great submission by *Hassan Corso*, who came to welcome him, and to assure him, that the part he had had in that transaction was wholly through compulsion, and against his will. To which excuses he vouchsafed no other answer than an angry disdainful look, and ordered him forthwith to be secured.

MORNING no sooner appeared than he dispatched two gallies, one to *Bujeyah*, and the other to *Bona*, to bring the two alcaides prisoners; after which he entered into a strict enquiry about the ringleaders of the revolt; but his predominant passion, avarice, seemingly getting the better of his resentment, he readily accepted of all the bribes that were offered on all sides, and promised that he would put none to death, but the renegado *Corso* and the two alcaides.

f ACCORDINGLY, a few days after, the unfortunate *Corso* was condemned to the Chihun, or hook, a dreadful punishment, formerly described^w, on which he hung by the right ribs three whole days, and expired in the most exquisite torture (R).

^u See before, p. 218, & alib. pass.

^w See before, p. 232, sub. note (A).

(R) It being then the month of *October*, and the season excessively cold, we are told (19), he continued begging of the Christian slaves that passed by, for God's sake, that they would throw something to cover him; but, as there are guards all about, none dared venture to approach him.

Thus died that brave renegado, if any of that class

deserve that title, in the thirty-eighth year of his age, and in the fifth month of his *Bashaship*; a dreadful instance of fortune's inconstancy. He was interred near his old master and predecessor, *Salba Rais*: where his own renegado and generous avenger, *Yusif*, erected handsome cupola to his memory (20).

(19) *Hæto, ubi sup.*

(20) *Idem ibid. Marmol, Morgan, & al.*

THE next that fell a sacrifice to the inexorable *Tekelli* was *Alifardo*, a *Sardinian* renegado, and a governor of *Bujeyah*; who, being reckoned immensely rich, underwent the most cruel tortures of bastinadoing, burning, scarifying, &c. in order to make him discover his wealth, and was at last impaled alive: the governor of *Bona* was likewise condemned to be impaled; but by the intercessions of some of the *Algerine* grandees, and a good round sum, had the good fortune to obtain his pardon; notwithstanding which, the cruelty of the new *Basha* to *Alifardo*, and the ignominious punishment of the brave *Corso*, their favourite *Basha*, raised a general resentment among the *Janissaries* ^x.

BUT none took it more at heart than his own renegado *Yusef Calubres*, mentioned in the last note, who was then governor of *Tremecen*; who no sooner heard the news of it, than he resolved at any rate to revenge his death, or perish in the attempt. The *Turks* which he had under him, and who were no less exasperated at *Tekelli's* cruelty, were easily persuaded to join with him in it; upon which he sent word to some of the principal officers of *Algiers*, that if they would assist them, or only promise to stand neuter, he would engage to free them from that tyrant. The plague then raged furiously at *Algiers*, which obliged him to remove to an old demolished town near the sea, about five miles westward, and this appeared very favourable to their design. Upon which *Yusef*, with 300 *Turks* and renegadoes, some say 600, marched with such speed and secrecy, that he appeared before *Tekelli's* pavilion before he had the least notice or apprehension of it (S). The fright which it threw him in would not permit him to consult his safety by any other means than a hasty flight, to which he betook himself, accompanied only by a few servants: but upon his appearing before the town of *Bebazon*, he was still more surprised to find the gates shut against him by the *Janissaries*, which threw him into such a despair, that he betook himself with all possible speed to an eminence near the sea, about a mile and a half west of *Algiers*, where he took sanctuary under the dome of a famed saint that lies buried in it. *Yusef*, who had followed him closely all the way, was got there by that time he was dismounted from his horse; and, without any regard to the place, pierced him several times with his javelin, and left him weltering in his own blood. This action was highly applauded by his and all the *Janissaries*; and, upon his entering into *Algiers*, he was received with universal acclamations, as their deliverer from the tyranny of *Tekelli*, who fell a just sacrifice to his avarice and cruelty, in the fiftieth year of his age, and third month of his viceroyship ^y.

*Yusef chosen
Basha, and
dies.*

YUSEF, al. *Joussouf Calabres*, a *Calabrian* renegado, was, for this signal service, unanimously chosen *Basha* of *Algiers*, without the consent or knowlege of the *Porte*, towards the latter end of *December*; but had hardly reigned six days, before he was struck with a pestilential carbuncle in his groin, which carried him off in less than twenty-four hours, in the 26th year of his age, to the great grief of the *Algerines*, especially of the *Janissaries*, who caused him to be buried in the same grave with his late patron, the unfortunate *Hassan Corso* ^z.

AFTER his death they contented themselves with chusing a deputy only to succeed him, till the *Porte's* pleasure was known; and the person pitched upon was a considerable *Turk*, named *Chajab*, al. *Tajab*, who entered on his government with the new year, and behaved with singular prudence during the six months it lasted; and, upon the arrival of the new *Basha* from the *Ottoman* court, quietly returned to his former condition of a private man, till he was some time afterwards raised to the regency.

*Hassan restor-
ed to the
Bashaship.*

THIS new viceroy was the son of *Hayradin*, who had been forced to go to *Constantinople*, to justify himself against his inveterate enemy *Rustan*, *Basha*, and had the address to get himself replaced in his *Algerine* government. He arrived accordingly about the end of *June*, and received some days after the news that the *Sharif* had lately defeated and killed *Muley Abu Hassan*, whom *Salba Rais* had settled on the *Fezian* throne, and was got to *Tremecen* at the head of a powerful army: upon which he marched out of *Algiers*, at the head of 6000 *Turks* and renegadoes, besides 16 *Arabs* and *Moors*; and, being got within four days march from *Tremecen*, had the news sent to him, that the *Sharif* had fled towards *Fez*, as soon as he heard of his approach; upon which he turned out of the road to *Tremecen*, resolved to pursue him to the gates of his capital. There he found him waiting for him, at the head of a powerful army, in battle array. A bloody fight ensued the next day, in which the *Algerines*, who were vastly inferior in number and strength, were so severely beaten, that the *Basha* thought fit to retire on that very night, leaving a considerable number of fires to conceal his flight. He took his way northwards with such silence and privacy, that the enemy had no notice of it till late

^x HÆDO, & al. sup. citat.

^y Ibidem ibid.

^z Ibidem ibid.

(S) This quick march is so much the more surprising, as it was then about *Christmas*, the roads very bad, and *Tremecen* is above 300 miles west of *Algiers*: but, it is said, that he disguised his design, under pretence of raising of the usual tribute in the provinces of that kingdom

nearest to *Algiers*, by which he might advance still nearer to the capital without giving any suspicion. However, one method he took to prevent a discovery, which was, to order all the *Moors* he either met with or overtook to be fastened to trees.

a the next morning ; and the Sharif let him go unmolested till he had recovered his shipping, in which he failed back to *Algiers*, much displeased with his ill success.

THE next year proved more glorious to the *Algérines*, though fatal to the *Spaniards*, by the death of the brave count d' *Alcandela*, and his son Don *Martin de Cordono*, in their unfortunate expedition against *Mostagan*, or *Mostaganem*. Besides the loss of those two brave warriors, and a great number of other noble *Spaniards*, a great many thousand more were made prisoners, and doomed to a most dreadful captivity. This sad disaster was chiefly owing to the count's redundant bravery. He had obtained a fresh supply of 12,000 men from the king his master, one half of which could only be transported at one time into *Barbary*, and arrived about the middle of *June*; the rest, commanded by his son, were to follow after, on the return of the transports, and did not arrive till the *August* following. Had he immediately marched with the first troops from *Auran* to *Mostagan*, which are but twelve or fourteen leagues asunder, as he was advised to do by several of his best officers, he would have found the place so weakly guarded, that he might, in all probability, have made himself master of it with little expence or difficulty ; whereas his staying for the rest of his troops, and moving by slow marches, gave the neighbouring *Moors* time to form a camp of 6000 horse, and 10,000 foot, and to join the *Algerine* Basha, who, at the head of 5000 *Janissaries* and 1000 *Spahis*, with twelve field pieces, had come within sight of the place before the *Spanish* army had fate down before it. So that now he was obliged to engage the *Turks* at a great disadvantage ; whereas, had he gained the town before their approach, he might have expected them either within or without it, as he saw occasion : but his excess of courage made him overlook that good council, as it would lessen his glory in proportion as it lessened his danger. The consequence of which was, that he lost the battle with his life, his army being totally routed, and more than 12,000 *Spaniards* made captives : among whom was his son, the brave Don *Martin*, marquis de *Cortes*, and a great number of noblemen and gentlemen. This fatal battle was fought on the 26th of *August* ; immediately after which *Hassan*, Basha, returned to *Algiers*, laden with laurels and spoils ^a (T).

ON the next year he was obliged to march against *Abdalazis*, prince of the *Beni Abbas*, ^{Hassan marches against the Beni Abbas} who inhabit the mountains, and had discontinued to pay the usual tribute to the *Algerine* state. Before he proceeded on this expedition, observing that *Algiers* now swarmed with Christian slaves, especially since the battle of *Mostaganem*, he caused a standard to be set up in the bagnio, in which his own, who were no less numerous, were lodged, with a proclamation, that if any of them would turn *Mohammedans*, they should have their liberty, and enter into present pay, and be sent to fight against the king of the *Beni-Abbas* : upon which, great numbers of them, *Spaniards* especially, gladly embraced his proposals ; by which means he soon got an army of 6000 *Turkish* foot, 1000 *Spahis*, besides 9000 *Arabian* and *Moorish* cavalry. *Abdalazis*'s forces were in no respect inferior to his, either for valour, discipline, or arms ; nevertheless the war was soon at an end, by an unfortunate musket-ball which went through his breast, notwithstanding his being always armed with a double coat of mail : his fall having so disheartened his troops, that his brother, who succeeded him, was glad to clap up a peace with the Basha ; which, we are told, he obtained, without engaging himself to pay the arrears,

^a HAEDO, MORGAN, &c. ub. sup.

(T) *Marmol*, who has given us a longer detail of this unfortunate action than our limits will allow us, and hath endeavoured to represent almost every circumstance of it more in favour of the *Spanish* count than our *Spanish* author, tells us, among other things, that he had no more than 6,500 men to oppose the *Turkish* army ; next that the want of provisions, and especially water, occasioned a great faintness, murmuring, and disorderliness amongst them ; and, lastly, that as he was attacking the enemy with his usual bravery, at the head of a small party of his men, his frightened horse rearing himself up, threw him flat on his back on the ground, where he was trampled to death by the enemy ; whilst his cowardly troops, instead of assisting him, only consulted their safety by flight.

Yet maugre all these palliatives, he has been obliged to give us some other particulars, which do but too plainly prove *Haedo*'s reflection, that his excessive courage occasioned his overthrow : for, when informed by his son of the arrival of the *Algerine* Basha and his *Turks*, and advised by his council to fall upon them that very night, as they could not but be very much fatigued by

their long marches, by which means he might easily rout them, and seize on their provisions, to enable his famished troops to go on with the siege, he only answered, *that it was not at all convenient* ; and when they represented to him, that if he did not, they would certainly attack him the next morning, he readily answered, *they dare not ; if they attempt it, they are all lost* : and, without acquainting them with his design, ordered his troops to be furnished with match and powder, and, after midnight, to decamp, and march to *Mazagran* with all possible silence ; which was executed with such precipitation, that a great number of their sick and wounded were left behind, and their doleful outcries were distinctly heard, while the garrison from the town were cutting them in pieces. He adds another instance of his martial rashness ; viz. that when he found it impossible to rally his scattered troops, he rushed, sword in hand, into the thickest of the enemies ranks, at the head of a small number of them, and crying out *St. Iago, St. Iago, the victory is ours, the enemy is defeated* ; soon after which he was thrown by his horse and trampled to death (21).

(21) *Marmol*, lib. v. c. xi. p. 352, & seq. xii. p. 366, & seq.

or even to continue paying the usual tribute to the *Algerine* republic ^b. The most probable motive of which singular condescension in the Basha, we shall offer to our readers in the margin (U). As for *Abdalazis*, or, as others call him, *Abassi*, he is celebrated by most historians of his time for his signal valour and conduct, and was for this in high esteem and friendship with *Hassan*, Basha. One remarkable instance of his bravery, which we cannot pass over in silence, is that which he shewed in that famed battle, wherein the Sharif's eldest son, *Muley Cadder*, who had made himself master of *Tremecen*, was slain. *Hassan Corso* commanded at that time the *Algerine* army; but finding his men averse to an engagement, and he declining to give the enemy battle, after a severe, but ineffectual reprimand, repaired to his own troops, rushed boldly on the Sharif's army, and, with his own hand, struck off the head of his son *Muley Cadder* abovementioned, who commanded in chief, and carried it in triumph to *Algiers*; by which the *Turks* became masters of *Tremecen*. In this last action of his life, he is reported to have stood the fire of the whole line of the *Turkish* foot before he fell; and in all others he always behaved with a surprising conduct and intrepidity. The only thing in which his character is justly blamed, is his revolting against the *Algerines* at this time, when he had received the greatest marks of friendship from *Hassan*, Basha, from the time of his return to his viceroyship; some of which were reckoned, indeed, very impolitic: for he had not only bestowed upon him the town of *Mefila*, bordering on the *Numidian* desert, with all its revenue, and presented him with some pieces of cannon, which *Salba Rais* had left there on his return from *Tugurt*, but had furnished him with engineers to convey them to *Alcala*, his capital town on the mountains. His revolt and ingratitude could not, therefore, but highly exasperate him; and though he made peace upon so easy terms, he forgot not to build some fortresses in such parts as would most effectually curb and keep him under, and, in due time, bring those mountaineers under their former vassalage. About this time the company of *Marsilian* merchants began, probably with his permission, to build a fort on these coasts, at some small distance from *Calle* (where the *French* have since settled themselves) that it might serve them both for a magazine for the corn they purchased in those parts, and for a refuge for their pearl fishery men. But it was some years after demolished by the *Algerine* forces, by order of some of his successors, under pretence that the *French* there had bought all the corn, which had caused a famine in their kingdom *.

ANOTHER impolitic piece of complaisance *Hassan* was guilty of, which proved of worse consequence to him. He had married the king of *Cuco*'s daughter, and *Alicaid*, his favourite renegado, his niece; in consequence of which affinity, he permitted his subjects to come in droves, and buy ammunition at *Algiers*; a privilege that had never been granted to them, and of which they were so excessively glad, that the streets of that metropolis swarmed with those mountaineers, insomuch, that above 600 on a day have been observed to have gone out of it laden with those warlike commodities; which created such a jealousy in the government, that the *Janissaries* raised an insurrection, seized on the Basha, his renegado, and another of his chief officers, and sent them in irons to *Constantinople*, and accused him to the *Porte* of having a design to make himself king of *Algiers* (W); which was the more likely to be true, as they had tried all other means in vain to oblige him to recall his permission. In the meantime *Bosnoc Hassan*, Aga of the *Janissaries*, and *Couza Mehemed*, the Beyler-Bey, or general of the land forces, took the joint administration of the state.

HASSAN being arrived at the *Porte*, easily found means to clear himself and his two companions, and was accordingly set at liberty with them. But a new viceroy being sent to *Algiers*,

^b HAEDO, MORGAN, &c. ubi sup.

* TASSY'S Hist. d' Algiers, lib. i. c. 9.

(U) The *Beni-Abbas* have in their mountains sundry narrow passes, through which the *Algerine* troops must pass, whenever they go their eastern circuit (22); so that whenever any quarrel or dispute happened between them, they immediately stopped their passage, which obliged them to take a vast, long, tedious, and difficult compass, through the streights of the *Numidian* deserts, which were inhabited by a brave martial tribe of *Arabs*, called *Mauthi*, which made it still more dangerous, as these last were seldom or never at peace with *Algiers*, and often terribly annoyed them in those narrow defiles: for which reason it was ever of the greatest importance, and is so to this day, for the *Algerines* to secure the former of these streights, either by keeping the *Beni-Abbas* under tribute, or, if that could not be done, by being at peace and in friendship with them, as it is likely to have been the case at this critical juncture (23).

(W) This jealousy and resentment was far from being ill-grounded, seeing those Highlanders are reckoned the most expert marksmen in all *Africa*; and among whom it would be a difficult matter for a young fellow to get a wife, till he was expert enough to shoot at a mark with a single ball with great dexterity and exactness; and are so extremely curious, that they will hardly touch the barrel or lock with their naked hand for fear of soiling them. It was, therefore, very impolitic and dangerous in him to suffer them to provide themselves with such quantities of fire-arms, which they might in time turn against him or his successors, unless he had formed some private design like that they accused him of (24).

(22) *De bis*, vid. sup. p. 224.

(23) *Marmol*, lib. v. c. 57, p. 425, & seq. *Haedo*, *Morgan*, &c.

(24) See

a was no sooner arrived than he caused the two officious deputies to be seized and sent to *Constantinople*, where they quickly after lost their heads ^d.

THIS new Bascha was named *Abamed*, vulgarly *Achmet*. He was a great favourite of the Soltan, and a man of such known insatiable avarice, that, upon his arrival at *Algiers*, all ranks of people came in shoals to make him presents; all which he the more greedily accepted, as he had bought his dignity by dint of the money which he had heaped together during the several years he had been *Bostanji Bashee*, or head gardener to Soltan *Solyman II*. He enjoyed it, however, no longer than four months; and, after his death, his lieutenant *Tajah* took care of the state another four months, when *Hassan* was sent a third time viceroy of *Algiers*: such was his merit, and the esteem *Solyman* still bore to the memory of the two famed *Barbarossas*,
b his father and uncle. He came accordingly about the beginning of *December*, attended with ten royal gallies, which that monarch had ordered his high admiral *Phiali*, Bascha, to furnish him with; and such was the joy of the *Algerines* at his arrival, that the very women appeared on the terrasses and balconies to welcome him.

HE spent the rest of the year in raising such an army as no Bascha before him ever had; it consisted of 15,000 *Turks*, renegadoes, *Morescopes*, &c. all musqueteers, 1000 *Spahis*, besides 10,000 horse, which the king of *Couco*, and other Cheyks, had furnished him with. His fleet was not inferior to his army, consisting of thirty-two gallies and galliots, all well manned and equipped, besides three *French* vessels laden with biscuit, oil, and other provisions. With this great armament he set out on the *February* following, with a design to make himself master
c of *Marsa-al-quibbir*, and its spacious port; and, on the 3d of *April*, began the siege of it in form, intending, immediately after the taking of it, to attempt that of *Auran*, which is but about a league from it. This last was commanded by the count *d' Alcandela*, who had succeeded his father; and the former by his brother *Don Martin de Cordova*, who had obtained his liberty at the price of an immense sum from the *Algerines*, and made now a most gallant defence against the *Turks*. The *Algerine* fleet arrived soon after that brave governor had thrown himself into the town: so that it was attacked both by sea and land with such desperate bravery, that they had made several considerable breaches both in the forts and town, some of them wide enough to have been entered on horseback. The *Turkish* standards had been several times
d planted on the ramparts, and as often dislodged. The attacks were daily renewed, and continued for several hours, fresh men being still sent to supply the place of those who were either wounded or over-tired, without diminishing the ardor and courage of the besiegers. Notwithstanding all which surprising bravery, the town, now in some measure reduced to ruins, must have fallen shortly into the besiegers hands, had not the Bascha been forced to break up with the utmost precipitation, on the news that the famed *Genoese* admiral *Doria* was approaching, with a powerful succour from *Genoa*, *Naples*, and *Sicily*. He arrived at *Algiers* on *July* next, and found the whole city in tears and lamentations for the loss of their relations and friends, who had perished at the inauspicious siege; whilst he, who, doubtless, naturally partook of the ferocity of the *Barbarossas*, silently rejoiced that it had rid him of so many inveterate enemies, especially among the turbulent *Janissaries*; and it is plain by the sequel that he
e was actually premeditating such another expedition, as would quickly rid him of all the rest ^e.

IN the mean time the Christian armada having missed its aim of intercepting the *Algerine* gallies, bore away for *Pennon de Velez*, their common lurking place, in hopes to ferret them out of it; but in their attempt received such an unexpected repulse from the handful of *Turks* that were there in garrison, that they were glad to sail away *re infecta*, and with no small loss and disgrace. On the next year the *Algerines* received a considerable damage and mortification by the loss of the *Pennon de Velez*; a place, till then, justly looked upon as impregnable; and which, in all probability, would have continued so, had it not been basely abandoned by their governor: but of this we have already given a full account, to which the reader may
f recur ^f.

THIS loss was greatly regretted by the *Algerines* and their Bascha, as well as by Soltan *Solyman*, especially against the brave knights of *Malta*, who had had the greatest hand in the reduction of it. So that he was at length persuaded by his viceroy, as well as by the famous corsair *Dragut*, to undertake the conquest of that island (X). But of the ill success of this expe-

^d MARMOL, HAEDO, TASSY, & al sup. citat. before, p. 182.

^e MARMOL, HAEDO, TASSY, VERTOT, & al.

^f See

(X) What chiefly determined that wavering monarch to it, was the loss of a *Turkish* Maon, of a monstrous size and strength, and laden with an immense treasure from the east; and which the *Maltese* gallies made a

prize of, after a desperate fight on both sides, on their return from the taking of *Pennon de Velez*, between the islands of *Zant* and *Cephalonia* (25).

(25) See *Marmol, Morgan, Tassy, & al. sup. citat.*

dition we shall speak more fully in the subsequent history of that island and order. All that a need be said of it here is, that the *Turks* being forced to abandon the siege at the approach of the Christian armada, *Hassan*, *Basha*, returned with his twenty-eight galleys to *Algiers*, where he arrived about the beginning of *October*. From that time, till about a year and a half after, nothing of consequence occurred; but then, about the middle of *February*, eight galleys arriving at *Metafuz* from the *Porte*, he was soon after given to understand, that they were conveying *Mahamed*, *Basha*, the son of *Salba Rais*, to *Algiers*; by which he rightly concluded, that he must now take a final leave of that government; and, though contrary to custom, immediately evacuated his palace for his successor, whom he likewise presented with the noble bag-nio he had built in that metropolis, besides a great number of Christian slaves; most of them noted artists in several faculties. He arrived soon after, with all his wealth, at *Constantinople*, b where he lived only three years longer. He died in the 50th year of his age, and 8th of his last *Bashaship*, and was buried under the same cupola with his father, leaving two sons behind him; the eldest of whom, named *Mahamed*, *Bey*, married the following year the daughter and heir of the famed corsair *Dragut*, who had been killed before *Malthe* (Y); and the youngest, whom he had by the king of *Couco*'s daughter, and whom he left with his mother at *Algiers* at his departure thence for *Constantinople* s.

Hassan's
death, 1570;

Succeeded by
Mahamed
Basha.

His successor, *Mahamed*, upon his arrival, performed several public-spirited deeds, which gained him the love of all the *Algerines*. He not only supplied that country with provisions, under the scarcity of which it had laboured for some time, but freed the roads from the swarms of robbers, which, in a great measure, occasioned it, insomuch that scarce a day passed without some public execution. And so little occasion was there for his martial genius, that he employed great part of his time in hunting and hawking. The only expedition which called him abroad was to quell an insurrection at *Constantina*, the capital of the eastern province; where the governor, having attempted to force a young damsel from her parents, the citizens had driven out the whole *Turkish* garrison, except some few *Turks* which had been slain in the tumult. His presence soon reduced the mutineers; but his untimely severity, in selling all the inhabitants for slaves that fell into his hands to the highest bidder, was highly resented; and, in less than a year, cost him the loss of his government, notwithstanding the signal services he had done to that republic, besides those already mentioned. For it was, by his prudence and address, that the *Janissaries* and *Levantine*s, two distinct bodies, till then eternally d jarring, to the no small disturbance and detriment of the state, were at length reconciled by being incorporated together. A bold stroke of politics this was, which paved the way to that independency and power which the republic hath since gained over the *Porte*, and the rest of the states of *Barbary*. He likewise added some considerable fortifications both to the city and castle; and seemed to have nothing so much at heart as to render that place impregnable; which may, in all probability, be the cause why the *Porte*, ever jealous of its dependants, did deprive him so soon of his government. However, whilst he was thus consulting how to advance the *Algerine* power and wealth, a bold *Spanish* adventurer, named *John Gascon*, a native of *Valentia*, was hatching a design against him; which, if it had taken effect, would have occasioned the destruction of all his corsairs, and an infinite deal of mischief. It was no less than to surprise the whole piratic navy in the bay, and set them all on fire in the dead of night, when they lay defenceless and in their first sleep; and for this he had obtained not only king *Philip II*'s permission, but proper vessels, mariners, fire-works, and all other materials necessary for the execution of his plot. With these he set sail for *Algiers*, at the most proper season; viz. in the beginning of *October*, when most, if not all the ships, lay at anchor in the harbour, and easily sailed near enough, unsuspected, to convince himself of it with his own eyes, and to view the port and their manner of riding, in order to catch them napping, at a time when the greater part of their crew were dispersed here and there in their quarters along the marine. He came accordingly, unperceived by any, to the very mole gate, and dispersed his men with their fire-works; but, to their great surprise, found that they were so ill-mixed, f

8 HAEDO, MORGAN, & al. ubi sup.

(Y) This young gentleman, whom *Hassan* had by a beautiful *Corfican* renegado, commanded a large gally of his own, being closely pursued by the marquis of *Santa Cruz*, general of the *Neapolitan* galleys, at the siege of *Nazarin* in *Morea*, was so mortally detested by his slaves on account of his inhuman disposition, that, as soon as they perceived the *Neapolitans* ready to board him, they immediately fell upon him, and tore him all to pieces before the marquis could come near enough to prevent it; and with him, in all likelihood, the family

of the *Barbarossas* became extinct, since we do not hear of any issue either he or his brother left behind.

As to his marriage with *Dragut*'s daughter, we take it from *Haedo*. *Vertot* not only takes no notice of it, but affirms, *Hassan*, his father, to have married her; but this last must be a mistake of that otherwise exact author, since he calls him there a young hot-headed *Turk*; whereas *Hassan* was twenty eight years old when he was made *Basha* of *Algiers* the first time, which was above twenty years before the death of *Dragut* (26).

(26) *Conf. Haedo, ubi sup. & Vertot's Hist. de Malthe, vol. v. p. 26. See also Morgan's Hist. Algiers, vol. ii. p. 432.*

that

- ^a that they could not, with all their art, make them take fire (Z). In the mean time, *Gascon* Galcon's fire-works fail him; his bravado at the city gate; took it into his head, by way of bravado, to go to the mole gate, and to give three loud knocks at it with the pomel of his dagger, and to leave it fixed by the point into it, that the *Algerines* might have cause to remember him, which he had the good fortune to do without meeting with any opposition or disturbance: but it was not so with his men, who, finding their endeavours unsuccessful, began to make such a bustle as quickly alarmed the guard posted on the adjacent bastion; from which the uproar spread itself through every part of the garrison. *Gascon* finding himself thus frustrated, and in the utmost danger, had no other way left but to ply his oars and sails, and speed away with all possible haste. By this time the *Basha*, being apprised of the design, ordered four of his best gallies to go in pursuit of our *Spaniard*, with forced to sail away with all speed.
- ^b express order not to return without bringing him some satisfactory account of at least one of their vessels. Whilst this was doing at *Algiers*, the *Spanish* brigantines had made such speed in their retreat, that they found themselves twenty leagues off; and thinking themselves now past all danger, being quite tired and fatigued, began to slacken their oars and take some rest. They had not long enjoyed this respite, before that in which *Gascon* was, perceived one of the four galliots above-mentioned, making all the sail they could after them, and gaining ground every minute; so that they were again forced to ply their oars with the utmost fury and dread. This they had continued near eight miles, when, finding themselves overtaken, they were forced to surrender. The captain, who commanded the galliot, was a *Greek* renegado, named *Delli Rais*; who was no sooner apprised that *Gascon*, the captain and contriver of that design,
- ^c was in his possession, than he immediately tacked about for *Algiers*, without troubling himself farther about the rest, rightly judging that he was bringing the most welcome prisoner to *Mahamed*, *Basha*.
- ACCORDINGLY as soon as he was delivered up into his hands, *Mahamed* ordered a gibbet of considerable height to be erected on the spot where he landed, and ordered him to be hoisted up, and hung by the feet to a hook, that he might die in the most exquisite torture; and to shew his resentment and contempt of the king his master, ordered his commission to be fastened to his toes. The sentence was punctually executed, and the *Basha's* severity highly applauded by the exasperated *Turks*; whilst the prisoner, our author says ^b, bore this dreadful punishment with the patience and constancy of a martyr; for such he really reckoned him.
- ^d He had not, however, hung long in that excruciating misery, before *Delli Rais*, the renegado captain, who had taken him, came at the head of a number of other corsair captains to *Mahamed*, *Basha*; and, in the strongest terms, represented to him the injustice and cruelty it A strong representation in his favour. was to condemn prisoners of war to such dreadful punishments, alleging, that it was the ready way to provoke the *Spaniards*, and other enemies they fought against, to make the same reprisals; so that it might one day be their fate to be treated in the same inhuman manner, unless he immediately ordered his prisoner to be taken down, and proper care taken of him. They added, that as to the stratagem which he had contrived against them, it was no more than what one nation practised against another, and what they themselves would gladly try against any enemy, were it in their power.
- ^e By these and such like arguments, they at length prevailed on the *Basha* to comply with their request; and *Gascon* was not only taken down, but conveyed into the royal bagnio, where he was carefully attended by some Christian surgeons, and visited, out of curiosity, by people of all sorts and persuasions: but it was not, it seems, his fate to escape so well; great murmurings arose soon after among the people, which made the *Basha* repent of his lenity; and two days were scarce past since his release, before some *Moors* came, who pretended to be just arrived from *Spain*; and, whether true or false, affirmed, that it was the common talk and belief there, that the *Algerines* dared not hurt a hair of *Gascon's* head, lest their armada should come and blow their town into the bottom of the sea. At which the too credulous minister was so exasperated, that he ordered the unhappy *Valentian* to be brought forth, and hoisted up
- ^f by a pulley to the top of the execution wall, and let down again upon the Chinghun or hook; which, in his fall luckily took hold of him by the belly, and gave him such a mortal wound, that he expired without the least groan: nor did the *Basha's* resentment stop there; for he ordered the body to hang there *in terrorem*, as it actually did, till, being partly wasted, some slaves ventured to take it down in the night, and buried it privately in the Christian cemetery without the western gate. Thus ended the ill-timed project of the unfortunate *John Gascon*,

^b HAEDØ.

(Z) The superstitious *Algerines* look upon *Gascon's* powerful saint, *Sidi Outeddada*, whose prayers raised that disappointment as miraculous to this day, and to have terrible storm against the *Spanish* armada, *an.* 1541; of which we have treated a little above (27). been owing to the efficacious protection of the same

(27) See before, p. 253. *Haedo, Morgan, &c. ubi sup.*

which yet hath procured him a place among the *Spanish* martyrs. Our author mentions many instances of such kind of martyrdoms, which only serve to display the cruel and irradicable hatred which reigned at that time between the *Morescos* and the *Spaniards*; but which by no means disculpates the latter from the inhuman reprisals which they made on the former, if they were not the first aggressors: for if the evil grows still more desperate and incurable, unless one side think fit to put a stop to it, of whom may it be more reasonably expected, the Christians or *Mohammedans*? Nevertheless, if we look so far back as the time in which those mutual barbarities begun to be suppressed, we shall find that the *Turks* bid fair for having shewn the first example of lenity and humanity towards their captives and slaves.

A complaint
made against
the Basha to
the Porte.

Ochali sent
thither.

BUT to return: whilst *Mahamed* was exercising a quite opposite behaviour at *Algiers*, as he had lately done at *Constantina*, some of the inhabitants of the latter found means to lay their complaints before the *Ottoman* court; which, either mistaking such arbitrary tyranny in a substitute, or, perhaps, liking still worse the public spirit which he had shewn towards the *Algerines*, immediately sent thither the famed corsair *Hali Fartaz*, commonly known by the name of *Ochali*, in his roomⁱ, before he had governed that state full fourteen months (A).

OCHALI, commonly called in contempt *Hali Fartaz*, or the scald head, an obscure native of a poor village in *Calabria*, who from a slave and renegado (B), raised himself to the dignity of Basha by his valour and merit, if this last can be properly ascribed to an apostate, arrived at *Algiers* about the beginning of *March*, 1586, the following year; about which time the war against the revolted *Morescos* in *Granada* was at the hottest. So that, upon his arrival, he was strongly solicited by them for assistance against the *Spaniards*, and freely gave leave to all that would go adventurers at their own expence; but refused to send them any himself, alleging, that *it more concerned him to defend well his own state, than to interfere with the affairs of others*. And when great numbers of *Algerines*, who had engaged in that quarrel, had embarked a vast quantity of arms for that purpose, he would not suffer them to go; but, with much intreaty, consented, that those, who had two of a sort, should send one of them, provided it were done *gratis*, and not for lucre; and ordered they should all be carried to a certain mosk, that he might be a witness of their zeal for the cause. But here again, finding the quantity too great, he caused part of them to be conveyed to the city arsenal, and permitted the rest to be shipped away. In this first year he likewise laid the foundation of the fortress, called *Babel-weyd castle*; of which we have spoke in the beginning of this chapter^k.

Reduces the
kingdom of
Tunis;

IN the next year he signalized himself by the total reduction of the kingdom of *Tunis*, then under the protection of *Spain*, to the obedience of the *Ottoman* empire; of which transaction a full account will be given in the next chapter. Towards the close of the year, as he was

ⁱ HAEDO.

^k See before, p. 232.

(A) *Mahamed*, Basha, was about fifty years of age when he was forced to quit his government, but went and served the Grand Signor against Don *John de Austria*, an. 1571, who defeated the *Turkish* fleet; and being then taken prisoner, with several other great officers, was sent to *Rome* as a present to pope *Pius V.* but was not long after exchanged for some Christian cavaliers, who were made prisoners at the taking of the *Goletta* (28).

(B) This surprising man made his first appearance at *Algiers* in the condition of a slave, having been taken prisoner at sea, and sold to an *Algerine* corsair; but in so wretched a state, so full of vermin, scabs, &c. that he was shunned by his fellow slaves. In a short time his patron, finding him industrious and sturdy, took him from the oar, and made him boatswain of the ship. He turned *Mohammedan*, that he might be upon the par with, and revenge himself on, the *Lewantines* that had affronted him; and having gained his liberty, and picked up some money to purchase part of a brigantine, he went on the cruize, and soon got to be master of a galliot, and passed for one of the best and boldest corsairs in *Barbary*. He became a great favourite to the famed *Dragut*; and from this time became known by the title of *Hali Rais*, especially with the *Porte*, whither he was sent to solicit fresh succours against the duke of *Medina Celi*, and the Christian armada, and obtained a reinforcement of 100 royal galleys, commanded by the famed admiral *Phiali*; of which expedition we shall speak more fully in a subsequent chapter, and only take notice, that *Dragut* and *Hali Rais* gained no

small honour in the defeat they gave to the Christian fleet, an. 1560. He accompanied him five years after to the siege of *Malta*, where both signalized themselves; and when *Dragut* was there slain, the great admiral named him his successor in the government of *Tripoli*, in which he was soon after confirmed by the *Porte*. Thither he carried the body of his old friend and benefactor, and buried him in a manner suitable to his rank; and there he took possession of all his galleys, arms, treasure, slaves, and other effects, which were likewise confirmed to him by the *Porte*. During the two years and a half of his government, he acquired fresh wealth and reputation by the frequent and dreadful depredations which he made on the Christians along the *Mediterranean* coasts, especially those of *Naples*, *Sicily*, and *Calabria*. In the course of all his successes he forgot not his friend *Phiali*, but sent him continually some noble presents; for which grateful returns, that great admiral, upon the recall of *Mahamed*, Basha, from *Algiers*, procured him that government from the Grand Signor (29). So that he, entering that metropolis in a capacity and equipage vastly different from that in which he was brought in thither at first, we thought our readers would not be displeased with this short account of his strange advancement, and the various steps by which he climb'd up to it. We shall only add, that the name of *Ochali* is a corruption of *Ali al-ali*, or *Ali* the renegado; a term of reproach, which seldom fails sticking close to those who have apostatized. We shall, however, give him no other appellative henceforth than that of *Ali*, or *Hali*, Basha.

(28) *Haedo*, *Morgan*, &c.

(29) *Iidem ibid.*

- a entering in triumph into that metropolis, he was met by many of the *Arabian* Cheyks, who came to congratulate him on that occasion, to whom he at first gave a very kind reception; but to their great surprise, acquainted them, a day or two after, that he expected they should pay tribute to him, and help to bear the charges of the government's defence against all enemies, foreign and domestic. At which they were so shocked, being always used, till then, to be courted for their friendship and service, that they frankly told him, he must never expect any tribute from them, but what he should extort from them in the field, and lance in hand; for no where else would they part with one single asper to him. This answer did no less surprise our proud Basha; but, as the case then stood, he thought it the wisest way to disguise his resentment.
- b HE continued the whole year at *Tunis* to settle the affairs of that kingdom; and, in *February* next returned to his own government, after having left there, as his viceroy, a *Sardinian* renegado, named *Ramadan Sardo*, who became afterwards Basha of *Algiers*. He likewise appointed another renegado, named *Mahamed Neapolitano*, to act as field general, and garrisoned the city with 3000 *Turks*; after which, taking his journey by land, he arrived at *Algiers* about the middle of *February*. His design was not to stay longer there than till he got all his captains and gallies ready for an expedition, which was quickly done, as he had sent them orders beforehand; and with these he sailed directly for *Constantinople*, to solicit the Soltan for a fleet, in order to retake *Goletta* from the *Spaniards*; without which he could not keep long in the possession of *Tunis*, being the castle and main strength of that capital. This at last was
- c the pretended design of this excursion; but on a sudden he altered his course, to intercept four *Maltese* gallies, which were then sailing in the chanel between *Malta* and *Sicily*. The *Maltese* finding themselves surprised, agreed that it was the best way to try to escape; upon which three of them fled with all their sail and oars; and that, called the *St. Ann*, was the only one that engaged, and maintained a most desperate fight against eight of the *Algerines* during the space of two hours and more, and did not surrender till every one of the knights, and the greatest part of the equipages were either slain or disabled. From thence the Basha sailed in pursuit of the other three, two of which they overtook, and fought with the same success; and found them laden with abundance of rich merchandizes, besides some hundreds of fettered rowers, most of them *Moors*; and with those rich prizes sailed back directly for *Algiers*, where
- d he caused to be hung under the arch of the marine gate most of the *Maltese* shields and bucklers, together with the image of *St. John*, taken from the poop of their admiral's galley, as trophies of his victory. This did not hinder his being greatly embroiled with his soldiery, and being several times in danger of his life, on account of their not being duly paid according to their establishment; an omission which a viceroy of *Algiers* ought carefully to avoid by all means: instead of which, he suffered their resentment to rise to such a height, that he would, in all likelihood, have been assassinated, had he not kept himself closely shut up in his own palace, till he could get another fleet equipped, and made the best of his way after a new cruize. It was the month of *April*, the weather very boisterous; so that having the wind full in his teeth, and the incensed *Janissaries* at his heels, he was forced to spur his rowers to such a degree,
- e that some of them expired at the oar of his own galley before he could get out of their reach. As he was sailing towards the *Levant*, he received orders from the *Porte* to come and join the *Turkish* armada with his gallies at *Coron* in *Morea*, which was designed against the island of *Cyprus*, which he did with all possible speed, having twenty stout vessels, well manned and equipped, and where he was received by the rest with great joy, they being exceedingly glad to have such an expert sea commander to accompany them. It was in this expedition that
- f the famed battle of *Lepanto* was fought, which proved so glorious to the Christians and so fatal to the *Turks*; and in which *Hali*, Basha, who commanded the left wing, came off alone with honour. Among other of his exploits, he engaged the *Maltese Soltana* with such fire and fury, that most of her knights being either slain or disabled, he boarded and carried her off; and though he was afterwards forced to abandon her upon the total defeat of the *Turks*, yet he took care to secure the great standard of the order, which not only gained him great honour, but likewise served him in great stead: for, before he could reach *Constantinople*, to which he repaired after the fight, the *Janissaries* had preferred such grievous complaints against him as might have proved fatal to him. But when, upon his appearing before the grand Signor, he laid that standard at his feet, instead of a reprimand he was loaded with caresses and applause, and confirmed in his viceroyship of *Algiers*, with permission to govern that state by his favourite *Memmi Corso*, whom he had left there as his deputy, when he fled from the fury of the *Janissaries*, and had behaved himself with such prudence and moderation, that he had kept every thing in quiet during his absence, and gained the love of the militia¹.
- g *HALI*, Basha, obtained soon after, by the interest of his patron, *Phiali*, a fleet of 230 royal gallies, with the title of *Captain Basha*; with which he sailed from *Constantinople* the following

his bravery
and success at
Lepanto.

¹ HAEDO MORGAN, &c.

Arab Ach-
med sent vice-
roy ;

June. He soon overtook the Christian armada, and boldly challenged them to a second engagement; but these, for what motives is not easy to guess, unanimously declined it; by which, says our author, the Bascha acquired near as much honour as if he had gained the victory over them^m; and, at his return, became a greater favourite to the *Porte* than ever. But whilst he was on this expedition, the Soltan, who, it seems, had given him leave to retain the title of Bascha of *Algiers*, was soon after prevailed upon to bestow that government on *Arab Achmed*, a native of *Alexandria*, but of *Arabian* parents; who sailed accordingly to *Algiers* in the month of *March*, attended by six *Ottoman* gallies.

Sent to the siege
of Goletta ;
and succeeded
by Ramadan
Sardo.

At his arrival he found the people under dreadful apprehensions of a visit from the victorious Christian armada; and immediately applied himself to repair the old, and to add some new fortifications to this place; levelling to the ground a large and beautiful suburb without *Beb-azoun* gate, pulling down the gate, with part of the city wall, and rebuilding it with great improvements. In these, and other embellishments and fortifications (C), he employed the two years and two months of his government; which is the more remarkable, because the city laboured all that time under a grievous pestilence, which carried off near one third of its inhabitants. He took care, however, to secure the love of the militia, by paying them duly, and by other acts of complaisance, lest their prejudice against him, as an *Arabian*, should bring any insult or murmuring against him; but he was no less severe, even sometimes to a degree of barbarity, towards the *Moors*, poor patient slaves, who dared not complain. Towards the end of *May* he set out of *Algiers* with three of his own, and some of his friends gallies, being ordered to go and assist his predecessor, *Hali*, Bascha, at the siege of *Goletta*; and, at the close of the same month, arrived his successor, *Ramadan Sardo*, a renegado of *Sardinia*, whom, as hath been already hinted, *Hali*, Bascha, had left his deputy-governor in the city of *Fez*, as the properest person to keep that new conquered city in due subjection (D). This man, it seems, was so well beloved by the *Algerines*, that they had sent a deputation to the *Porte*, to intreat the Soltan, that if he recalled *Arab*, Bascha, he would send them no other governor than *Ramadan Sardo*. At the head of those deputies, was *Memmi*, Rais, late admiral of *Algiers*, and a great favourite at the court; who, without any difficulty, obtained his request: and *Arab*, Bascha, was ordered to the siege of *Goletta*, to make room for *Sardo* at *Algiers*. All this was done without his knowledge, insomuch, that the news of his advancement came to him at *Kayrwan*, where he still resided, by a courier sent to him by his friend *Memmi* from *Fuza*, where he had just then cast anchor.

RAMADAN received them with no less surprise than joy; and having left a renegado of his now to supply his absence, till the arrival of the Captain Bascha with the *Ottoman* fleet, set sail directly for *Algiers*, where he was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy. His first care was to make the best preparations he could to assist his predecessor both at *Goletta* and *Tunis*, and *Muley Moluch*, in an expedition into *Tingitania*, according to the instructions he had received from the *Porte*. And, upon hearing of the arrival of the Captain Bascha with the *Turkish* fleet at the bay of *Tunis*, about the end of *July*, he immediately dispatched thither his admiral, *Memmi*, with nine large gallies and galliots, well manned and provided; his predecessor being already departed with another squadron for the same service. The success of which was, that the *Spaniards* were expelled that whole realm with considerable loss, as will be seen in the next chapter.

A LITTLE before the beginning of the next year he set out, at the head of 6000 *Janissaries*, 1000 *Zowwowa*, or mountaineers, 800 *Spahis*, and twelve field pieces, for the kingdom of *Fez*, where he was to assist *Muley Moluch* against *Muley Mahamed*, king of *Fez*, who waited

^m HAEDO, ubi sup.

(C) Among the former we may reckon the Fanar, or lantern, upon the island before the city, and standing on the castle, built formerly by *Barbarossa*, and which is still there to be seen; and the two noble fountains which run with a constant stream, the one without the gate *Beb Azoun*, and the other without that called *Babel-veyd*, which receive their clear water from a multitude of fine springs, which run down from the adjacent hills.

Among the latter we shall only mention the stout fort or bastion near the *Beb Azoun*, where the town is most liable to be attacked by land, which bastion is at that point of the city wall which runs out into the sea (30). He was seldom seen abroad without either a half pike or a cudgel in his hand; which he was very prone to make use of upon all occasions, agreeable to his original occupation of a driver. He was very cruel, not only to the *Moors*, but much more so to the Christian cap-

tives; of which our authors give us some shocking instances, which we shall spare ourselves the trouble to transcribe (31).

(D) This person had raised himself from a slave to that dignity, by his sense and good conduct. His patron, finding him a very ingenious boy, sent him to the renegado school, where he soon became master of the *Arabic* and *Turkish* tongues, read and writ to admiration; and, after having followed traffick for some time, his good qualities gained him the affection of *Hali*, Bascha, who adopted him, and left him *Kiayah*, or lieutenant of his new conquest, where he behaved with great prudence and conduct till an. 1573, when *Don John of Austria* retook the city, and forced him and his *Turks* to retire to *Kayrwan*, as we shall see in the next chapter (32).

(30) *Haedo, Morg. ibid.*

(31) *Iidem ibid.*

(32) *Iidem ibid.*

- a for him, at the head of 30,000 renegadoes, and a considerable number of *Moors*; all furnished with fire-arms, besides about 30,000 horse, well mounted and equipped; whilst *Ramadan*, at the head of his own forces, was met in his way to him by a reinforcement of 6000 *Arabians* and *Moorish* horse. We have seen in some former chapters a full account of the state and strength of this opulent city, as well as of its several reductions under different powers*; and shall only observe here, that it proved so much to their advantage and satisfaction (the young Sharif being abandoned by most of his forces, and forced to betake himself to flight) that, though he was at no farther expence or trouble than shewing himself at the head of his army, yet the grateful, and now overjoyed *Muley Moluch*, failed not to reward the *Algerines* and *Arabs* in a most generous manner; insomuch that the lowest groom among them did not go
- b ungratified. Among the presents which he also made to *Ramadan*, or, as it is commonly ^{Muley Moluch's} styled, to the Grand Signor's standard, was a purse of 300,000 ducats, with a considerable ^{present to} quantity of valuable rarities, and ten Christian slaves, which had belonged to this now van- ^{Ramadan;} quished *Muley Mahamed*.

RAMADAN returned to *Algiers* in *March*, and was received with as great applauses by his people as if he had gained a complete victory: but continued no longer in his viceroyship than till the 29th of *June* of the following year; when, to their inexpressible sorrow, and general murmuring and discontent, he was forced to resign it to *Hassan Venedic*, ^{1576.} *Basha*, a ^{1577.} *Venetian* renegado, a man of the most opposite character, after he had governed *Algiers* three years and one month, with so much justice and equity, that not one single complaint had ^{Ramadan re-} been heard against his administration: and the *Porte* was so sensible of his merit, that he met ^{called, and} with a most gracious reception; and was quickly after promoted to the *Bashahip* of *Tunis*^d; ^{sent Basha of} where we shall hear more of him in the next chapter.

- HASSAN VENEDIC had been taken a slave, when a boy, by the famed *Dragut*; and from ^{succeeded by} him passed to his heir *Hali Fartaz*; and had imbibed so much of their haughtiness, avarice, and ^{Hassan Ve-} cruelty, that when he came to his government of *Algiers*, he met but with a cold reception ^{nedic;} there. He began his administration by some very tyrannic acts; the first of which was to compel all that had any slaves, from whom a good ransom might be expected, to sell them to him at a little more than prime cost. He next exacted a fifth, instead of the usual seventh part of all prizes taken by the corsairs. His next step was to monopolize all the corn, of which there
- d was then a great scarcity, oil, butter, honey, fruit, &c.; insomuch that the *Janissaries* were not afraid to tell him to his face, that there was nothing to be bought in the markets but what was his, except onions and cabbages. He exercised the same tyranny on the *Arabs*, and *African* subjects abroad, on whom he levied a much heavier tribute; and what made it still more insupportable, obliged them to pay it in wheat and barley, of which there was a great scarcity, and retailed it at an exorbitant price. With the same avaritious view he turned butcher, money-changer, broker, &c. in all which he added cheating to extortion, not only towards the *Algerines*, but to all the foreign merchants; and had reduced the *Algerine* state to the most contemptible and miserable condition that it ever had been in. All these, and a great variety of other tyrannies and oppressions, the *Turks* bore with surprising patience, till he took it at length into his
- e head to curtail their stipends; upon which they preferred such grievous complaints against him to the *Porte*, and exposed all his cruelties, injustice, and extortion, in such lively colours, that he was soon recalled, and a new one sent thither in his stead, after he had been suffered to reign three whole years and a quarter^e.

THIS new *Basha* was called *Jaffer*, *Aga*, an *Hungarian* renegado (E), who arrived at *Al-* ^{and he by} *giers* about the end of *August*, at a time when that metropolis, as well as the whole country, ^{Jaffer Aga.} was ^{1580.}

* See before, p. 154, & seq. Vid. & p. 128, & seq.

^d HAEDO, & al.

^e Ibidem ibid.

(E) He had been taken prisoner by a body of *Turks*, with his mother, and two other children; and brought from *Hungary* to the *Porte*, and presented to the Soltan, who caused him to be made at once an eunuch and a *Musfulman*, and committed the care of the infant prince his son to him. In which, as well as in all other posts he was advanced to, he gave the most shining proofs of his singular prudence and justice, and of his generous disposition to all mankind, except criminals. In consequence of which he had often expressed his utmost dislike and abhorrence against the rapacious behaviour of his predecessor; who, notwithstanding the many crimes laid to his charge, had the good fortune to come off scot free, on his return to the *Porte* (though not without being forced to refund some of his ill-gotten wealth amongst the courtiers), and to be, not many years after, nominated to the same government; where we shall find him again acting the same part.

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During his first his viceroyship, there flourished at sea a famed corsair, named *Morat Rais*, and surnamed the grand. He was a native of *Albania*, and born of Christian parents; but fell into the hands of the *Algerine* corsair *Kara Hali*, who made him turn *Turk*, and brought him up in the piratical trade under him; in which he became so famous, that we cannot avoid giving a short account of some of his most considerable exploits against the Christians. One of the first was in a small brigantine, with which he rowed to the *Spanish* coast, and got back to *Algiers* in seven days with 140 Christian captives; which gained him a great reputation with the *Algerines*, and his own patron. His next was with *Hali Basha* against the *Maltese*; in which he had the courage to engage the Soltana, and was like to have been killed by him, for robbing him of that glory. So successful was he in all his excursions against *Christians*, that he became formidable on those seas. Insomuch that, in

Z z z

the

*A grievous
famine at
Algiers.*

*Jaffer relieves
it by his ex-
cellent conduct.*

was reduced to the greatest misery by a raging famine; insomuch, that 8,000 *Arabians* and *a* *Moors* are said to have died in the streets for want, within the space of six weeks, chiefly thro' the avarice of his predecessor. Notwithstanding which he let him depart quietly, on the *September* following, with all his immense wealth, amidst the loudest curses and execrations of the people; though he did not delay applying himself to the most expeditious means of relieving their present distress. The first step he took was to proclaim a free access to that port for all Christian merchants, both to carry on the usual commerce, which had been greatly obstructed by his predecessor, and likewise to treat about the redemption of captives, which proved an effectual spur to promote the other, and to bring in a speedy supply of corn, and other provisions; for having upon his arrival, sent for the fathers of the redemption, and all the Christian merchants that were there, he desired them to write to all their Christian correspondents about it, assuring them, *b* that they had not now a rapacious *Hassan* to treat with, but one that would deal with them with all possible justice and equity; for that, being incapable of having any children, he had not the least desire to accumulate riches, but rather to gain the love and good wishes of all under him, by his moderation and benevolence.

He proved as good as his word; neither did this his generous disposition make him in the least remiss against those who deserved a contrary treatment; so that, from the very first year of his government, he began to give some instances of his severity against them; and displaced his own Kayia, or lieutenant, on account of some just complaints preferred against him.

1581.

*A plot formed
against him.*

In the year following, the Aga of the *Janissaries*, who was likewise come with him from the *c* *Levant*, being accused of bribery and extortion, he caused a Douwan to be convened, and got him condemned and despoised by a great majority ^a. Notwithstanding which prudent caution, both Aga and Kayia, provoked at their own disgrace and his severity, soon after formed such a conspiracy against him, as was like to have proved fatal to him. It was no less than getting him assassinated. After which the former was to step into his government, and the latter was to succeed him as Aga. A wealthy *Moorish* merchant was to have supplied them with money to bribe the assassins; for which, besides extravagant interest for it, he was to be put into some considerable post. *Ben Delli*, the treacherous Aga, had already gained so many *Janissaries*, that he thought he might venture to propose the matter to a meeting of their officers; but, to his great surprize, four of the principal of them cried out, that they would rather be cut in pieces, *d* than prove traitors to the Soltan, and his worthy *Jaffer* Aga. The consequence of which was, that those who had engaged already in the plot began to relent, and the Aga was immediately clapped in irons, and the news of it sent to the Basha; who caused the Kayia likewise to be seized. A grand Douwan was convoked, in which, though the two grand traitors had many friends, yet none dared to speak a word in their behalf; upon which they were both condemned, and privately strangled in a vault on the night following, which was the first of *May*. The officious *Moorish* merchant fled at the news of it, but purchased his safety soon after at the expence of 30,000 ducats, the sum he had offered to advance to the traitors ^b.

BEFORE the end of this month arrived at *Algiers* the Captain Basha *Hali*, at the head of six royal gallies, from the *Porte*, on an expedition against the Sharif of *Morocco*, who was sus- *e* pected of being treating of an alliance with the king of *Spain* against the *Ottoman* interest. This Captain Basha, who had been the greatest friend and supporter of his favourite *Hassan*, the late viceroy of *Algiers*, had suffered himself to be so incensed, by the vile insinuations of that renegade, against his successor the noble *Jaffer*, that he did him all the ill offices he could, by virtue of his present commission, taking from him a great number of slaves, vast sums of money, and other pretended necessities for his present expedition; all which *Jaffer* was forced to submit to. But, when he came to order the *Janissaries* to march westward to his assistance, which

^a Idem ibid.

^b HAEDO, MORGAN, &c.

the year 1578, he could equip eight galliots of his own, with which he set out; and, in a little time, brought back with him the *St. Angelo*, and the *Capitana* of *Sicily*; which were conveying the duke of *Terra Nova*, late viceroy of that island, into *Spain*, with all his family and equipage. In the same year he made a descent into those of *Majorca* and *Iwica*, where, though stoutly repulsed, he brought away a good number of slaves; then attacked a rich *Genoese* ship near *Alicant*, with 90 Christians on board, all which he brought to *Algiers*, twelve days after his departure. In the year 1580, a few months before the arrival of *Jaffer* Aga, he surprised two gallies belonging to Pope Gregory XIII. on the coast of *Tuscany*. One of them, which was the *Capitana*, was

the pontif's newly created admiral, who was then taking his pleasure in *St. Stephano*, and both of them had a great number of monks, priests, and other considerable prisoners, as well as *Turkish* and *Moorish* captives; all which he brought safe to *Algiers*.

In the year 1581, he attacked two rich *Portuguese* ships; one of which he sunk, and took the other, after a desperate engagement on both sides; in this last, besides a great number of captives, he found a million of ducats in specie, all which he brought to *Algiers*; where we shall find him soon after stripped of a good part of his prize by the Captain Basha, and slaves, under pretence of forwarding his expedition against the Sharif (34).

a he did chiefly in revenge to the complaints they had preferred against his favourite *Hassan*, they all unanimously refused to stir a foot, unless he produced the emperor's express orders for it. And when he told them, that they were only verbal, but that he could soon procure a written one, they bad him do so, and then they would obey, and not till then. This obliged him to send another renegado to the *Porte*; but they would not suffer him to stir out of *Algiers*, without a deputation from their own body, which he dared not refuse. So they deputed the chief Marabout, a person in high veneration, with letters to the *Porte*, representing the danger of sending *Hali* Bascha against the Sharif, from whom they had as yet received no injury or insult; seeing, if he should so far succeed as to expel that prince out of his kingdom, it would be no difficult matter for a renegado of his aspiring and ambitious temper to make himself master
b of all *Barbary*; especially as another renegado of his own was then Bascha of *Tripoli*. Whilst these dispatches were sending to the *Porte*, arrived the fortunate *Morat* Rais, mentioned in the last note, with his rich capture, of which the Captain Bascha seized on a considerable share, in order, as he pretended, to help the carrying on of the *Tingitanian* war. But, towards the end of *July*, he had the mortification to receive an express order from the *Porte*, on pain of losing his head, to desist from his expedition; so well had the *Algerine* deputation succeeded there: so that he was immediately obliged to depart with his fleet, and arrived at *Constantinople* towards the close of *October*^d. Yet such was the inconstancy of that court, that, in spite of all the representations that had been made against him, and of all the crimes that had been laid to the charge of his favourite *Hassan*, he found means to get him nominated a second time
c viceroy of *Algiers*, as the only means he had to mortify and revenge himself against the *Algerine* *Janissaries*; and that vile and rapacious renegado was once more promoted to that dignity, to the great regret of all the militia, and the rest of the people; who had conceived a no less just esteem for their worthy *Jaffer*, though he had not been above two months with them, than abhorrence against his successor, under whose former administration they had suffered so long an oppression and tyranny.

It will not be thought foreign to our *Algerine* history to take notice, that it was about the beginning of *September*, of this very year, that queen *Elizabeth* granted her patent to our first
d Turkey company, which then consisted only of four eminent merchants of *London*; viz. Sir *Edward Osborn*, Mr. *Thomas Smith*, *Richard Staper*, and *William Garret*; which patent was signed on the 11th day of that month at *Westminster*. And, on the following year Mr. *Hard-
bane*, or, (as others write his name, *Hardbroien*, or *Hardbourne*), was sent first ambassador from her majesty to the *Ottoman Porte*, where he met with a splendid reception from Soltan *Morat* III. who likewise granted to our nation sundry considerable privileges, which the reader may see in the authors quoted in the margin^e. At which time his excellency Mr. *Hardbane* appointed Mr. *John Tinton* consul at *Algiers*, who was the first that ever bore that character^f.

BUT to return to our new Bascha; he arrived at *Algiers* towards the end of *May* of the same year, attended by eleven gallies, seven of which were his own, and the rest the Captain Bascha's. Not long after came in *Morat* Rais with upwards of 500 *Spanish* captives of both sexes, which
e he brought from the coasts of *Spain*. Upon which the new Bascha took occasion to call together all the other *Algerine* Rais or captains, and told them, that they were all, except this *Morat*, a pack of idle cowardly drones; that he himself would shew them how to go a cruising, and ordered them to get all their vessels ready, which was quickly done; so that 22 gallies and galliots were equipped, to which he joined his own eleven. These all set sail together towards the coasts of *Sardinia*; where they made descents in several towns, as they were directed by their *Sardinian* slaves, who were, for the most part, ready to sacrifice their country for the sake of regaining their liberty (F); and from which they brought away above 1,500 captives. Thence they sailed towards *Genoa*, where they broke into a town called *Sori*, whence they brought away about 150 more; of which prince *Andrea Doria*, who arrived at *Genoa* the night before,
f getting intelligence, he sailed in pursuit of him with his seventeen gallies; but *Hassan*, getting the wind of him, struck away for the coasts of *Provence*. We need not tell our readers, that in all these expeditions, how cautiously soever carried on, they frequently meet with a stout repulse, and lose many of their men, which are either killed or taken. Those maritime towns

^d Ibidem ibid.^e HÆLUT, vid. & MORGAN, Algiers, vol. ii. c. 14. & appendix.^f Ibidem ibid.

(F) It is we find a common, though melancholy, practice among those slaves, of all countries, to betray their own native place, and occasion the captivity of perhaps some hundreds of their own countrymen, or even townsmen, for the sake of obtaining their own freedom; so that these wretches will offer themselves of their own accord, to direct them the way to it. But

as some of them, out of remorse, have tried to make their escape before the ship could reach the place, it is now a common rule amongst those corsairs, to pinion those volunteers very closely, and to give the end of the rope that ties them in charge to three or four *Turks*, from whom they are not to be released, till they have performed their engagement (36).

He returns
laden with
immense spoil.

being accustomed to such visits, easily taking the alarm, and raising a numerous posse of horse and foot to oppose or pursue them; the very women, on such occasions, pelting them with large stones from the tops of the houses, and killing them in the streets, as was the case in this expedition we are speaking of. But his most profitable excursion was on the *Spanish* coasts, to which he had been invited by the *Moreiscos*, from whence he transported no less than 2,000 men, women, and children, with an immense wealth, into *Barbary*; and was liberally paid for his trouble. In his return he met with a *Ragusan* trader, laden with corn, whom he obliged to redeem himself, and cargo, at the price of 9,000 ducats; and being all now well satisfied with their good fortune, he led them triumphant into *Algiers*, after having been near three months out; and then asked his captains, *Who was the better corsair, he or they?* ^a

Sent viceroy
of Tripoli;

AFTER this we hear nothing of any extortions or cruelties at home; perhaps he was afraid of fresh complaints being sent to the *Porte*. But what wealth he could not amass by that, he did in the trading way, being represented as a very notable merchant, tho' far from a fair dealer. This did not, however, hinder his being recalled, sooner than he could have wished; at the news of which he could not refrain from tears. However, before he went away, he granted a pass to one *Singleton*, an *English* merchant, which hath been preserved to us by the authors lately quoted ^b; and which, giving us some insight into our affairs in those parts at that time, and being written in a style agreeable to his haughty disposition, our readers will not be displeased to see at full length in the margin (G). He departed in the month of *May* with his own gallies, which he had augmented by that time to twelve, together with the four which had brought the new *Basha* to his new government of *Tripoli*, to which he was commissioned by the *Porte*, after a short administration of less than one year at *Algiers*. We find little more of him, except that he staid two whole years at *Tripoli* in great credit; after which his patron, who was now grown aged, and willing to retreat, obtained for him the commission of Captain *Basha*, in which post he did great damage to the Christian merchants, and was at length poisoned at *Constantinople* by the famous renegado *Cigala*, who succeeded him in that post ^c.

poisoned.

Memmi sent
viceroy of
Algiers;

THE new *Basha* was called *Memmi Arnaud*, that is, the *Albanian*; but not the same whom we have had occasion to mention a little higher, as admiral of *Algiers*, but another of the same name and country, as we shall see in the sequel. He formerly belonged to *Kara Hali*, *Morat* Rais's patron, and was become a famous corsair, and had behaved with so much prudence and conduct, that, upon the Soltan's removing *Hassen* from *Algiers* to *Tripoli*, the Captain *Basha* recommended him as a proper person to succeed him in that government. He was accordingly sent thither, as hath been already hinted; and, after his arrival, gave signal proofs both of his great capacity and strict justice; so that he failed not giving great satisfaction, not only to the *Algerines*, but to those Christian merchants who traded with them. On the second year of his government, Sir *Edward Osborn*, then lord mayor of *London*, having been informed, that some of the *Algerine* corsairs had engaged and sunk one of the ships belonging to the *Turkey* company, contrary to the treaty of commerce concluded at the *Porte*, sent him a letter of complaint, the substance of which the reader may see in the margin (H), by which he may judge what ^d

receives a
letter of com-
plaint from
the Turkey
company.
1584.

^a *Iidem ibid.*

^b HAKLUYT, MORGAN, ubi sup.

^c HAEDO, MORGAN.

(G) *Noi Affan Basha, vice re, et lugo tenente, &c.*

"We *Hassan* Basha, viceroy, lieutenant, and captain-general, of the dominions and jurisdiction of *Algiers*, give and grant free and safe conduct to *Thomas Singleton* merchant; that with his ship and mariners, of what nation soever they be, and with his merchandizes, of what country soever they be, he may go and come, trade and traffick freely in the city of *Algiers*, and other places in our jurisdiction, as well of the east, as of the west. And in like sort, we farther command the admiral of *Algiers*, and other places of our jurisdiction, and all captains of vessels, as well of ours as of the *Levant*, both great and small, whosoever they be, we do command them, that on finding the said *Thomas Singleton*, of the *English* nation, in the seas of *Genoa*, east *France*, *Naples*, *Calabria*, *Sardinia*, &c. with his ship, merchandize, and men, of what nation soever they be, they molest them not; neither take nor touch any thing of theirs, whether money or goods, under penalty of losing their lives and effects. And, as you make account of the favour of his *Ottoman* Highness our sovereign Soltan *Morat*, you are to suffer him to pass on his way without the least impediment.

"Dated at *Algiers* in our regal palace, confirmed by our royal signature, and written by our prime secretary, *January 23, 1583.*"

(H) "Most high and mighty king, may it please your highness to understand, that the most high and mighty Soltan hath confirmed certain articles and privileges, with her most excellent majesty the queen of *England*, that her subjects may freely go and come, and traffick by sea and land, in the dominions of his Soltanic majesty, as appears more at large by the said articles; whereof we have sent a copy to Mr. *John Tipton*, our commissary, to shew the same to your highness. Against the tenor of which articles, one of our ships, which came from *Patras* in *Morcia*, laden with currants, &c. bought in those parts, was sunk by two gallies, belonging to your city of *Algiers*, and most of the ship's equipage either slain or drowned, and the residue detained captives; an act quite contrary to the articles and privileges aforesaid; wherefore we humbly beseech your highness, that since it hath pleased the Grand Signor's majesty to grant us the said privileges, you will please to assist us in the same; granting us, by your authority, aid, and favour,

- a what regard that piratic crew paid to the orders of the Soltan. On *September* following, the queen was pleased to write another letter to the Grand Signor on the same subject; in which, besides the complaint above-mentioned against the *Algerine* corsairs, another was subjoined against the Basba of *Tripoli*, who had seized on an *English* ship called the *Jesus*, which came thither to buy oils: which produced an express order from the Soltan to that Basba for the restitution of the said ship and effects, on that same year; and a fresh one from the *English* ambassador to him, dated *January* of the following year, to the same purport^k. But whether these orders were complied with or no, we are told. But we meet with, in the same author, another express order from the same Soltan, directed to the viceroys of *Algiers*, *Tunis*, and *Tripoli*, dated *June* 1, 1584, for the quiet passing and repassing, &c. of her majesty's subjects through all his dominions; for the further particulars of which we shall refer our reader to the authors above quoted, where he will find several other valuable pieces relating to the same subject, which we cannot allow room for in this extensive work. On the year following *Morat* Rais, being, as is most probably conjectured, spurred on and directed by some Christian slave or renegado, ventured, the first of all the *Algerine* and other *Barbary* corsairs, to sail thro' the *Streights of Gibraltar*, and out of the *Mediterranean* into the *Atlantic* ocean, and thence to the *Canaries*. His squadron had just reached the height of those islands, when his pilot told him he was afraid they had overshot the mark; upon which *Morat* told him, that, though he had never been there, he was sure that they were in the right road, and bid him steer on; soon after which they got sight of *Lancelota*. They staid at some distance, till night prevented their being perceived; and then made a descent into the island with 250 fuzileers, where they ravaged without opposition, and carried off, besides a considerable plunder, about 300 captives, among whom were the mother, wife, and daughter, of the governor, the count himself narrowly escaping being one of the number. This done, *Morat*, as usual in such cases, stood aloof, and hung out the flag of truce, for the islanders to come and redeem what they pleased, or could, of his captives; so that none staid behind, but those who were either friendless or penniless. How many and how much he got by those that were redeemed, we are not told; but, in his return, he was informed, that the admiral of the *Spanish* gallies, *Don Martin Padilla*, was waiting for him at the *Streights* mouth, at the head of 18 sail, to punish him for his insolent attempting to sail where no *Barbary* corsair had before ventured. *Morat*, though naturally rash, yet though it more adviseable, at this juncture, to retire to *Larach*, a *Morroco* sea-port, where he continued near a month. At length, taking the advantage of a stormy night, when he rightly supposed the *Spanish* admiral would take shelter in some port, he ventured to sail through the *Streights*; and, being got over them, fired a gun, to give him notice that he need wait no longer for him. In his return he met with *Memmi* Basba, who acquainted him with the news of his son's death, which so affected him, that he sailed directly for *Algiers*, after an absence of four months. But neither the loud welcomes he received there, nor the congratulations he met with on account of his being the first conductor into the *Atlantic*, could console him for the loss of his darling son^l. We find nothing else worth mentioning concerning him, during the two years of *Memmi*'s government, except that his rapacious successor *Achmed*, upon his arrival, exacted a fine of him of 30,000 ducats; which not being well able to pay, he was forced to get away privately to *Temendefust* in one of his gallies, leaving his wife and children behind; whom that griping Basba, however, suffered to follow him in another galley. This unexpected favour so highly obliged *Memmi*, that he generously sent him 25,000 ducats by the same galley, with a note for the rest, for which his namesake and countryman *Memmi Arnaud*, the admiral formerly mentioned, and the brave *Morat* Rais, became sureties. After this he set sail from *Temendefust* to *Tunis*, the new government to which he had been commissioned by the *Porte*; where, having governed three years, he was removed to *Tripoli*, of which he was twice viceroy; and in both governments gained the love and applause both of the soldiery and people, by his justice, courteousness, and affability, which he extended even to Christians, contrary to the practice of most renegadoes^m.

Queen Elizabeth sends another to the Porte.

Morat Rais sails to the Canaries. 1585.

Memmi succeeded by Achmed. 1586.

His promotion to Tunis, &c.

^k HAKLUYT, MORGAN.

^l HAEDO, MORGAN, &c.

^m *Iidem* *ibid.*

"vour, that those poor men, thus detained in captivity, may be set at liberty, to return to their respective abodes. And likewise, that your highness would give orders to the captains, and people of your gallie, that they henceforth suffer us to pursue our commerce with six ships yearly, into *Turky*, and all other the Soltan's dominions, freely and peaceably, without interruption of those privileges; since each of these ships carries his *Ottoman* highness's pass, whereby they may be distinguished. And, for this your singular courtesy, we shall remain your most

"obliged debtors, and be ready to return to your highness all the service in our power, as you will be farther informed by the said *John Tipton*; and shall ever pray for, &c.
"For, and in the name of, the whole company trading to *Turkey*,
"Your very humble servant,

"*Edward Osborne*,

"Lord Mayor of London (3)".

London, July 20, 1584.

(36) *Hakluyt, Morgan, ibid.*

ACHMED, a native *Turk* of noble descent, but extremely haughty and avaritious, purchased the a viceroyship of *Algiers* with a large sum; no wonder therefore he began his government by such a violent extortion on his predecessors. The next thing he did was to forbid his cruising captains to stir out, till he himself was ready to sail at their head, and make such another expedition against the Christians, as *Hassen* Basha had done; adding, in a haughty tone, that if that renegade had been so successful in his, surely they might expect something better under him, who was so far superior to that caitiff. He set sail accordingly, in June 1537, with 11 gallies and galliots, and made directly to the small island of *Galita*, thence to *Biserta*, and to *Maritimo*, near *Trapani*, in *Sicily*. His next course was, through the gulph of *Naples*, to the *Roman* territory; where himself leaped on shore at the head of his men in hopes of some great booty; but was soon glad to retire, and flee for his life; the prince *Andrea Doria*, being then sailing b for *Naples*, with all his family on board seven royal gallies, giving him a furious chase, till night put an end to it.

ACHMED, having thus happily slipped away from him, sailed to the gulph of *St. Florentine*, plundered *Faringola*, and brought away 240 captives; thence he ranged along the coasts of *Tuscany*, *Genoa*, *Provence*, and *Spain*; but without any great success, the people every where taking the alarm; so that, being weary of his cruising, he returned to *Algiers* towards the end of *August*, after ten weeks absence. This was the only excursion he made in person during his three years government, though he still continued sending out his captains at all proper seasons, who seldom failed of success. The share he had in those prizes prevented, perhaps, his oppressing the people, as several of his predecessors had done; so that, upon his leaving c that government for that of *Tripoli*, where he was to succeed the brave *Memmi*, he went off with a good character; neither doth it appear, that the *Algerines* were much dissatisfied with his administration.

Achmed succeeded by Hidir. 1589.

His successor, *Hidir* Basha, a native *Turk*, who had also purchased that government by dint of money, arrived at *Algiers* in *August*, the same month in which *Achmed* had left it. About a week after arrived the famed *Morat* Rais, bringing in a noble *Maltese* galley, which he had taken after a bloody engagement on both sides, together with some smaller prizes which he had made, after his parting in great anger with his friend *Memmi* the *Algerine* general (I). His *Maltese* prize was reckoned so considerable an exploit, that he was received with joyful acclamations; and the Basha himself, who was no stranger to his character, sent a guard of *Janis-* d *saries*, and his own horse, to conduct him to the palace, where he was received with great pomp and triumph; whilst the news of so bold an action, considering the superiority and bravery of the enemy he had engaged with, made no less a noise all over *Christendom*. The reputation which he gained on this occasion not a little mortified admiral *Memmi*, who, arriving a little time after from his cruise, in which he had but a slender success, was every where upbraided with the loss he had sustained, by not following *Morat's* adviceⁿ.

A revolt raised by a fanton at Tripoli.

In the mean time a noted fanton, named *Sidi Chayah*, encouraged by the king of *Spain*, and the grand master of *Malta*, had raised a terrible revolt in *Tripoli*. He had already raised a considerable number of forces, which were to be augmented by large reinforcements from *Spain* and *Sicily*, together with a supply of warlike ammunition. The city of *Tripoli* was in a manner e invested, and kept in continual alarms, besides being almost reduced to a famine for want of provisions; whilst the promised supplies, which were to set up our fanton lord paramount of that kingdom, or, in truer *English*, a tributary viceroy to the *Spanish* king, were daily ex-

ⁿ HAEDO, MORGAN, &c.

(I) These two, having joined their forces together, which consisted of four galliots, were on a cruise round the coasts of *Sardinia*; where they perceived, near *Monte Christo*, four gallies belonging to Pope *Sixtus V.* which were sailing at some small distance from them. Upon which *Morat*, always bold, cried out to his company, come every man to his bird. But *Memmi*, more cautious, did not think it advisable with their four galliots to engage an equal number of such stout gallies. The other two were of his mind; and, in spite of all he could say to encourage them, one and all declined the engagement. And no wonder they should, seeing *Memmi*, who commanded in the admiral, which was the best of all the three, was the first who refused to fight.

However, *Morat* could not forbear expressing his resentment in warm terms; after which, parting with them, he steered his course towards the coasts of *Puglia*, where he furiously engaged and took a large

trader of thirty guns; but finding the cargo to be chiefly ballast, he only took the guns, men, and ammunition; and by that means was the better enabled to overtake and engage the *Maltese* galley, which made all the sail it could to escape him; for the captain under the notion, or perhaps pretence, that *Morat* had more ships following him, could not be prevailed upon to slacken his flight, notwithstanding his watch still assured him that there were no more than one after him. At length, his being nearly overtaken by him, and no other ship appearing, he thought fit to face about in his own defence. He made, however, a gallant and obstinate one; nor did he yield, till all his gunners, and other serviceable men, were either disabled or killed, and the few survivors obliged to surrender themselves to that dog *Morat* (as our author styles him) and to exchange seats with the *Turks* and *Moors*, there chained to the oar (36).

(36) Haedo, Morgan, ubi sup.

pected.

a pecked. But all that he could obtain from his catholic allies, to support him in his rebellion, was a *Maltese* brigantine, laden with powder, ball, and other such provisions. In the mean time the *Porte*, being informed of what passed there, had ordered the admiral, *Haffen* Bascha, to repair thither with 60 gallies; who accordingly set out of *Constantinople* in the month of *July*, and had sent orders to all the corsair captains of *Tunis* and *Algiers*, to join him with their vessels. His letters to those of *Algiers* were directed to *Morat* Rais, without taking notice of the rest; however, both they and those of *Tunis* joined him with their squadrons. He landed his army, which consisted of 12,000 *Turks*, besides those of his two auxiliaries, and of *Achmed*, Bascha of *Tripoli*; but, finding the season too far advanced to stay much longer on those seas with the Soltan's gallies, he contented himself with leaving there a considerable band of *Jannissaries*, with the *Algerine* and *Tunisian* forces, and set out for *Constantinople* in the month of *October*. He had not been long gone, before they came to a general engagement with the revolted, in which they gave them a total overthrow^a. *Sidi Chayab* was not only abandoned by his partizans, but had his head treacherously taken off by some of them, and brought to the *Turks*, which soon put an end to that revolt. Since which time they have continued to this day under the dominion of the Grand Signor, as will be further shewn when we come to the history of *Tripoli*. But to return to *Algiers*, from whence we were forced to digress, so far as the history of those kingdoms, as well as the Baschas that commanded in them, was so interwoven. The succour which the Bascha *Hidir* had been obliged to send to *Tripoli*, had so far exhausted him of men, that, for want of soldiery, he could not send abroad above four corsairs that year, to the great mortification of the rest.

c NOR was this all, for he had been obliged to take the field against the Soltan, or tributary prince of the *Beni Abbas*, a brave *Arabian* tribe, inhabiting the mountainous parts of *Algiers*, some of which are almost inaccessible. As he therefore knew how difficult it would be to reduce him by main force, he thought fit to try what might be done by stratagem; to which end he raised a high kind of fortrefs, of earth, stones, and trees, to defend his camp from surprizes, and, at the same time, prevent the enemy's being supplied with provisions from other parts, whilst he strove to destroy all their olive, date, and other fruit trees. Whilst things were in this position, and nothing else considerable acted between them, except their frequent skirmishes, a Marabout, in high veneration, found means to pacify both sides, by shewing them the absurdity of people of the same religion taking up arms against each other, which might be more properly employed against their common enemies the Christians. Which arguments, joined to a sum of 30,000 ducats, which the *Arabian* prince obliged himself to pay to the Bascha, soon brought them to a pacific treaty, and put an end to all farther hostilities. *Hidir* returned to *Algiers* after two months absence, as highly pleased as if he had gained a victory; a war being seldom known to be so easily terminated with that martial nation, on whose friendship the tranquillity of all the eastern provinces so much depends. But whilst he had such good success at land, his small and meanly equipped squadron met with a quite different fate at sea: they being chiefly manned by *Moorish* swabbers, and other such unexperienced sailors, instead of such brave veterans and expert renegadoes, met with such a violent storm near the coasts of *Sicily*, that two out of the four were driven on shore and lost; one near the city of *Augusta*, and the other against the rocks of the island of *Gosa*: the other two, indeed, by gaining the Cape of *Passaro*, had the good fortune to out-weather the storm, and to bring away from the coasts of *Puglia* and *Calabria* a considerable number of slaves, and what other plunder they could bring with them into *Algiers*^b.

e IN the following year *Morat* Rais and admiral *Memmi* had much such another squabble in their joint cruize, as they had two years before: the former, ever venturous and bold, was for engaging eight *Sicilian* gallies, near the island of *Lustrica*, about twenty leagues from *Sicily*: the other, ever cautious and fearful of buying a victory too dearly, as warmly opposing it; so that they parted without a blow; whilst the *Sicilians*, though superior in number and strength, were glad to let them go off scot-free, when they might easily have taken them, as our authors think, had they had the courage to engage them. So that they had the good luck to get safely to *Algiers* in *August* following, tho' without any other success than that of a narrow escape^c.

f IN *October* following happened that notable escape of fourteen corsair captains out of the castle of *Naples*; one of whom, called *Mustagha Arnaud*, was a very considerable *Algerine* Rais, nearly related by marriage to admiral *Memmi*, who had been there confined twenty-six years, and never could obtain his liberty, either by exchange or the largest sums; another was the famed *Jaffer* Rais, a *French* renegado, taken near the island of *Yvica*, an. 1586; the third was *Hamza* Rais, a native *Turk*, in high esteem at *Biserta* and *Tunis*, where he was admiral of all the corsairs, and was taken in his own galley in *April*, 1590, by the prince *Doria's* son,

^a HÆDO, & al. ibid.^b Ibidem ibid.^c HÆDO, MORGAN;

then coming from *Naples* with eleven gallies, on the *Roman* coasts. These three being the most a considerable of all the fourteen, had been guarded with great strictness; whilst the other eleven had the liberty to walk about within the walls. All these having obtained leave to sup together, it being the feast of *Biram*, or passover, sawed their fetters, got over one of the walls with cords, broke through another with crow's and leavers, and seized a pleasure boat of sixteen oars belonging to the governor, and rowed away for the island of *Lustrica*; where they were taken up by an *Algerine* cruizer that casually came that way, and arrived safe at *Biserta*, the residence of *Hamza Rais*. Great rejoicings were made both there and at *Algiers*, and other places, for the happy escape of so many of their brave captains; whilst it alarmed not only all the city of *Naples*, but all *Italy* and adjacent kingdoms, who were apprehensive that something worse than the strength and industry of those captives had been the means of their release. b Nothing happened remarkable during the remainder of *Hidir's* government, excepting that he was recalled on the year following, to the great joy of all the *Algerines*, by whom he was hated, on account of his haughtiness and tyranny, he being an old, gouty, petulant, and griping officer, and insolent tyrant; who, nevertheless, found means, after his return to the *Porte*, to be sent thither once more in the same capacity.

Hidir recalled;
1592.

Succeeded by
Shaaban,
Basha.

HE was succeeded by *Shaaban*, who arrived at *Algiers* in the month of *August*, and fell immediately upon a strict scrutiny into his predecessor's conduct, against whom great complaints were made, both by the soldiery and people. A grand *Douwan* was forthwith convened, wherein it was proposed to send a deputation to the *Porte*, accompanied with proper presents, in order to obtain some severe punishment against him. All this clamour was soon over-ruled by the address c of the new Basha, who contented himself with laying a considerable fine upon him, and giving him a severe reprimand; but the soldiery would not suffer him to come off upon so easy terms, and agreed to depute admiral *Memmi Arnaud* to carry their complaints to the *Porte*, which he readily undertook, being now grown weary of the piratical trade, wherein he had lately escaped being either sunk or taken, and had had a favourite nephew killed. He, therefore, took his leave of *Algiers*, and embarked for *Constantinople* towards the latter end of *August* in his own four galliots; two of which carried the family and equipage of *Hidir*, and the third the rest of the deputies: but, to their great surprise, when they came to the *Porte*, tho' their presents were accepted, yet they could obtain no audience against him, and so were forced to return *re infecta*, to the great mortification of the mutinous soldiery. d

Morat takes
two gallies by
stratagem;

NOTHING material happened during the two first years of *Shaaban's* government, except some captures, as usual, and some ships lost and sunk at the mouth of the harbour, he behaving all the time with great moderation and prudence. Among other prizes was that of *Don Pedro de Lieva*, general of the *Sicilian* gallies, whom that Basha's galliot surprized, and brought away from the island of *Lustrica*. On the next year *Morat Rais*, who, by this time, had succeeded *Memmi Arnaud* as admiral of *Algiers*, set out with his four gallies as usual; and, meeting with two *Tuscan* gallies near the coast of *Barbary* (one of which was the *Capitana*, and the other called the *St. John*), he made use of this stratagem, of causing two of his own vessels to take in their sails and let down their masts, and to be towed as prizes by the other two, till he was got near enough to his prey; which he easily did, they making all the sail they could e towards him, as to a prize they were sure of; when, on a sudden, he ordered his other two galliots to equip with all speed, and set on them with such fury as threw them into the utmost confusion; and, after an obstinate engagement, carried them both off, and brought them into *Algiers* about the middle of *July*.

engages some
Maltese gal-
lies, and
escapes from
the first.

FLUSHED with such constant success, he set out the following year on the same errand, and had the confidence to lay in wait for five *Maltese* cruizers, lying in the port of *Syracuse*; and whom he knew to be not only most inveterate enemies, but so much superior to him. Whilst he lay perdué at *Cape Passaro*, the *Maltese* admiral, having had intelligence of him, and the position he was in, immediately slipped his cables; and, with the other, made all the sail towards him, and surprized him as he was in pursuit of one of their own brigantines. They quickly knew f each other, notwithstanding the darkness of the night. *Morat* betook himself to flight; but the *Maltese* so closely chased him, that the *Capitana* soon overtook and engaged him. The fight was furious while it lasted; but the *Turks* played their fire so hotly upon it, that most of her gunners and soldiers were either slain or disabled, which gave him a fair opportunity to disengage himself from her, not without great loss, as well as imminent danger from the other four, which were crowding likewise all their sails after him; so that all his speed could not save him from the *Patrona*, which was next, peppering him in the rear; for they all levelled their aim chiefly at him. "But here," says our author, "he and his *Turks* were no less successful again, "and made such effectual discharges against her, that they forced her to retire, as they did "afterwards all the others, after they had, one after another, tried their chance against *Morat's* g

* HAEDO, & al ibid.

* HAEDO, MORGAN, ubi. sup.

a “galliot. So that, after having received five, not dangerous, wounds, and a considerable “damage, he escaped from the paws of those lions of *St. John’s* order ^d.” They did not, however, return to *Algiers*, till they had made a considerable number of prizes, and were enabled to enter that city laden with riches and captives, which they did in *September* next. This is the last tidings we meet with concerning that bold and fortunate corsair; who, at his arrival, found *Sbaaben* Basha departed for *Constantinople* about two months before, after having governed that state somewhat less than three years with credit, and a general contentment of the people.

b His successor, *Mustapha*, was a near relation of his, and no less courteous and upright; but *Mustapha* had not continued four months in his government, before he found himself supplanted by the late *Hidir* Basha, whose interest with the *Porte* had prevailed upon the Soltan to nominate him a second time to that advantageous post, to the great grief and mortification of all the *Algerines*; who, as they had conceived great hopes from the generous *Mustapha*, so had they much to fear from the relentment of his furly and vindictive successor.

AND, indeed, it was no less with a view of being revenged on them for their late clamours against him, than his avidity for that gainful government, that he had set all his engines at work to obtain it. And this was no more than what he had threatened their deputies to the *Porte*, bidding them to assure the people of *Algiers*, that they might depend upon his quitting scores with them, whenever occasion should offer. Accordingly, upon his arrival in *October* following, his first step was to extort a fine of 15,000 ducats from their favourite, *Mustapha*, under pretence that he had neglected to keep the mole in repair; which, he said, he would immediately do with that very money; though the sequel plainly shewed, that he had no other view in extorting it than to sink it into his own pockets, and to mortify him and the *Algerines*. *Mustapha* having, with no small chagrin, satisfied his extortionate demand, set sail forthwith for *Constantinople*; but with a full resolution, at all hazards, to regain that government, and deliver *Algiers* from a petulant tyrant, whom they had so much cause to detest. Nothing material happened during his short reign, except the frequent instances he gave, both to the militia and people, of his resentment and rapacious disposition; till, to his great mortification, and their excessive joy, news was brought to him, that his much abused predecessor was recommissioned for that vice-royalty, and on the point of entering that port. *Mustapha* had, indeed, made such successful use of his interest at the *Porte*, and had displayed *Hidir’s* character in such true colours, that his new patent ran in a manner absolute. Nevertheless, the only revenge he took of him, was to ease him of a good part of his ready coin, the only profitable commodity, he well knew, such a miser could carry into the *Levant*, as well as the most effectual engine he could play at the *Porte* against him; and this he did, first, by condemning him to pay 30,000 ducats, instead of the 15,000 he had extorted from him; saying, *he knew no reason why he, who had neglected a whole twelve-month to repair the mole, should not pay as much towards it as he had forced him to do only for a four months neglect*. The next was, by forbidding all persons, of whatever rank, under the severest penalties, to purchase any slaves or moveables from him; by which he prevented his recruiting his pockets with a fresh supply of cash; and for that reason we need not fear that any *Algerine* would transgress such an order. On the contrary, they all cried out, that he was too mildly treated, who had set such an example of extortion and revenge.

HIDIR departed soon after, full of envy and resentment; and from that time we hear no more of him. As for his successor, he became, by the contrast, more and more the darling of *Algiers*, by his courteousness and generosity, though nothing remarkable happened during his government, excepting his setting himself immediately about repairing the mole, fortifications, and other public buildings: and, with his easy and amiable government, we shall, with our two authors, bring this 16th century to a period.

^d *Idem* *ibid.*

S E C T. VI.

The history of Algiers, from the beginning of the 17th century to the conclusion of their last treaty with, and death of, Haly Dey, An. 1718.

Sequel of the history of Algiers.

BEING now deprived of our excellent, exact, and curious guide, whose long abode and acquaintance with this state had enabled him to furnish us with such a regular list of its Balhas, and most material particulars of them, we shall be now forced to shorten our method, and confine ourselves chiefly to their transactions abroad, which are the only ones that have been transmitted to us with any certainty; those that have been acted since, are, for the most part, unknown to us, for want of such another faithful compiler of them; but here, perhaps, the loss is not so much to be regretted, upon just recollection, as might appear at the first sight. If we consider all the domestic affairs that have been transmitted to us, from the foundation of it by the two *Barbarossas*, to the close of this century, we shall find them (except the reigns and surprising conquests and tyrannies of these two famed corsairs) to be made up chiefly of jealousies, supplantments, cruelty, revenge, murmurings, revolts, oppressions, and bribery, both at home and at the *Porte*, and such like disasters, which afford but small improvement, or even amusement, if not rather disgust and weariness, to the reader: for which reason we endeavoured to relate them in the most concise manner we could.

NEITHER can we reasonably suppose, that matters are mended much since that time, especially since that state hath been governed by Deys, or kings of their own chusing, and hath shook off its dependancy on the *Ottoman Porte*, as we have elsewhere seen*. On the contrary, we must expect to find little else but a continued series of the most horrid and cruel tyrannies, assassinations, revolts, dethronings, fightings, contentions, briberies, jealousies, and tumults, among the great; and misery, oppression, and slavery, among the low; intermixed with instances of the most inhuman resentment on all or most of the unhappy relations and partizans of a butchered monarch: confiscations, imprisonments, fines, and other persecutions, on those who are suspected to be in a different interest from the reigning tyrant; till at length, perhaps, in less than a year, a month, and sometimes a week, some dreadful fate justly falls on him, and is attended with all the same scenes of rage and fury, tyranny and bloodshed. These, we say, joined to their usual piratical excursions and depredations at sea, would make up the most considerable transactions of every reign; and a regular and continued history would be no better, bating some difference, perhaps, in the various ways and stratagems by which the actors have supplanted and massacred one another, than a continued repetition of the same scenes of treason and bloody revolutions.

WE have already taken notice, in a former section*, of a deputation which their militia sent to the *Porte*, about the beginning of this 17th century, to complain of the misconduct and horrid oppressions of the *Turkish* viceroys, who sunk all the publick revenue into their own coffers; and to whose avarice it was owing, that the state forces were so miserably paid, accoutred, and kept up, that they were in continual danger of being overpowered by the *Arabians* and *Moors*; who, by the assistance of some Christian powers, would quickly be in a condition to shake off the *Ottoman* yoke, and against whose united force, the now extenuated and discontented soldiery would be able to make but a poor defence. By which means they obtained leave of that court to chuse their own Deys; who, as they alleged, would of course take more care, that the revenue was applied to the keeping of the kingdom in a better state of defence, and that the usual tribute should be more faithfully transmitted to the *Porte*, instead of requiring new supplies from thence, as had been lately the practice of those rapacious viceroys. These deputies did moreover engage themselves still to acknowledge the Grand Signor for their Sovereign, and to be ready on all occasions to assist him with their forces and shipping, to pay a due respect to his Balhas, to lodge and maintain them and their retinue, in a manner suitable to their dignity, at their own charge, provided they were for the future excluded from assisting at any but their general Douwans, unless invited to it; and from having the liberty of voting in them, unless when their advice was asked, or the interest of the *Porte* was likely to suffer by their silence; but that all other concerns, which related to the government of *Algiers*, should be wholly committed to the direction of the Dey and his Douwan*.

THE deputies, having thus far succeeded, returned highly satisfied to *Algiers*, where they failed not to notify to the then *Turkish* Basha the privileges granted to them by his court; to which he had nothing to do but to submit. The great Douwan immediately proceeded to the election of a Dey from among their own body. They compiled a new set of laws, and made

* See before, p. 209.

* See before, *ibid.*

† MARMOL, TASSY, MORGAN, & al. *sup citat.*
several

The Algerines obtain leave to chuse their own Deys.

a several regulations for the better maintenance and support of this new form of government; to the observation of which they obliged all their subjects to swear; and the militia, navy, commerce, &c. were settled pretty near on the same footing which we have described in a former section †; though the subsequent alterations, which happened since between the Bashas and Deys, the first to recover their former authority and influence, and the latter to curtail it, still caused such frequent complaints and discontents at the *Ottoman* court, as made them repent of their untimely compliance to that proud and untractable body, which the sequel will quickly shew.

b THIS new century did likewise begin with a fresh attempt of the *Spaniards* on the capital of this kingdom, under the conduct of the famed *John Andr. Doria*; but which proved no less unsuccessful than the two former we have elsewhere spoken of ^b, excepting only, that it did not make such dreadful havock among their armada as the former had done. This fleet, which had luckily entered the bay on the 5th of *August* unperceived, being only forced, by contrary winds, to leave it quickly after; though, had it been otherwise, the place was then provided to give them such a warm reception, that this attempt, abortive as it was, may be justly looked upon as the most fortunate they ever made against that place, as that in which they got off with the least damage. We need not repeat here how much worse that fleet fared, which they ventured to send two years after on the same errand, and in which the elements seem to have been in league with these common disturbers of public commerce ^c.

c NEITHER need we observe here how much the joy, which the *Morescos* in *Spain* expressed at these frequent disappointments, may have contributed to hasten their expulsion out of that country, *an.* 1609, & seq. But one thing seems very evident, that these frequent attempts against the *Algerines* were the chief motive that put them upon providing themselves with a strong fleet of sailing ships, instead of placing their main strength on their galliots, and lesser vessels, altogether unfit for winter expeditions, or for any long ones at any season, especially as they were then at war with all the *European* powers, except their old friends the *French*, and of late years the *English*: though they have been since bold enough to bid even these open defiance, notwithstanding their being in alliance with the *Ottoman Porte*; and which is still worse, considering their openly acknowledging them both, and us in particular, as their chief benefactors and instructors, both in the construction of those large square-sailed ships, and in the art of rigging and steering them: in all which they not only became very expert in a little time, but were followed by their friends and neighbours of *Tunis* and *Tripoli*, even from the earliest part of this 17th century ^d, that the expulsion of the *Morescos* abovementioned, many of whom were, doubtless, very great sailors, and flocked in shoals to the *Algerines*, joined to the help of many of their Christian renegadoes, must have greatly contributed both to this quick increase of power at sea, as well as to that skill in navigation, which they had learned from the *English* and *French*, cannot be denied, since we find their navy, as early as *an.* 1616, to consist of forty sail of tall ships, between 200 and 400 tons, their admiral 500 tons, and divided into two squadrons, one of eighteen sail before the port of *Malaga*, and the other without the *Streights*, at the Cape of *Santa Maria*, between *Lisbon* and *Seville*, and both falling foul on all Christian ships indifferently that came in their way, *English* and *French*, as well as *Spanish*, *Portuguese*, &c. by which means they were now become formidable, not to the *Spaniards* only, their most inveterate enemies, but to most other Christian states (A).

THE

† See before, p. 205, & seq.
MORGAN'S Algiers, vol. ii. c. 14.

^b See before, p. 252, & seq.

^c Ibid. p. 247, & seq.

^d See

(A) This plainly appears by a letter sent by Sir *Francis Cottington*, king *James I.*'s ambassador at the court of *Madrid*, to the duke of *Buckingham*, then secretary of state, dated thence *October 1*, 1616; wherein, among other things, he acquaints them with the height of power and insolence they are grown up to, and what prizes they had made in both stations, as well on the *English* as other *Europeans*. To which he adds, that they had few or no Christians on board them, but all either *Turks* or *Moors*; (he should have added renegadoes) and that the most part of the latter consisted of those that were lately expelled out of *Spain*. They moreover gave out, that they lay in wait for the *West India* fleet, which was expected to arrive in a short time.

His excellency expresses his fears, that Don *Francisco Faxardo*, who was sent to convoy them, and fight those pirates at all adventures, would be able to do them little hurt, as his ships were of so heavy a burthen and so easily out sailed by the enemy, especially as their

other squadron within the *Streights* could so easily secure their retreat; and on the other hand, says he, if they return safe this year to *Algiers*, especially if they should take any of the fleet, it is much to be feared, that the *Spanish* forces by sea will not restrain them hereafter; so much sweetness do they find by making prizes of all Christians whatsoever.

In consequence of which, the *Spanish* council of war was very pressing with him, to use his utmost to obtain from that king, his master, a reinforcement of some of his *British* men of war, to assist his catholic majesty in suppressing the power and insolence of that piratical tribe.

The last particular of consequence in that letter we shall give in the writer's own words: "I may not forbear to advertise your honour of what the secretary told me withal, that the states desired leave of his catholic majesty last year for certain ships of war, which they had armed to sea against pirates, might have safe recourse to these parts, which was accordingly granted

Beaulieu sent
admiral
against the
Algerines.

THE *French*, however, were the first who dared to shew their resentment for their breach of friendship, and contempt to their alliance with the *Porte*; whilst the *Spaniards*, more insulted by, and in greater danger from them, were seeking for help from *England*, the pope, and other states, without success. We are not told what gave occasion to this rupture between *France* and *Algiers*, which is the very first we meet with between them, except that the coasts of *Provence* were grievously infested by the *Barbary* pirates; some of whom, in their cruising, might, perhaps, have seized indiscriminately upon some *French* vessel. However that be, on the very next year, Mr. *Beaulieu* was sent against the *Algerines* with a fleet of no less than fifty sail of men of war and gallies; who, having taken one of their corsairs in his way, sailed forthwith in search of the main squadron, which had done incredible damage on the *Spanish* and *Catalonian* coasts. He attacked one of them in person, which was commanded by a renegado of *Rochelle*; who, after a stout and desperate resistance, sunk his own ship and crew, rather than fall into the enemy's hands; another renegado left his to his mercy, and got away in his boat; and a third was sunk; but the rest had the good fortune to get clear off, and the admiral returned to *Marseilles* with those two prizes. He was no sooner gone, but the *Algerines* returned to their old depredations on the *Spanish* coasts: which, being best known by the expelled *Morestcos*, were exposed to all the barbarity and resentment of those exasperated infidels, who burnt, plundered, ravaged, and carried off all they could come at.

1617.

KING *James* was strongly solicited by the *Spanish* court to contribute his assistance towards their suppression and abolishment; but, though *Gondamar* had so great an influence over him, and most of his ministers, and made use of every argument he could think of to prevail upon him, and represented to him in the strongest terms how much his own trading subjects suffered by those corsairs, yet all he could obtain from him was, to have the matter debated before the council; in which Sir *William Monson's* opinion being asked, that consummate sea officer's answer was to this effect; viz.

An English
squadron sent
against the
Algerines.
1620.

THAT such an expedition, being not only of a general concern to all trading Christians, but likewise of a difficult, long, and expensive nature, ought to be carried on at the general charge of all parties concerned, in proportion to their respective share in the *Mediterranean* trade; for the settling and carrying on of which, he gives a good number of directions and cautions, equally judicious and worthy of so old and experienced an officer and statesman. He goes on with his reasons against attempting the taking of the city of *Algiers*; shews the expence and difficulty of keeping it, and the small advantage accruing from it; and concludes with the properest means for suppressing its pirates, by the joint forces and expence of each trading nation: and his memorial had such an effect on the council, that it cooled his majesty of his extraordinary warmth of obliging his great friend the king of *Spain*; whilst many of that honourable board looked upon the whole design as no other than a *Spanish* quarrel. However, *Gondamar* found means to carry his point so far, that a fleet was ordered to be equipt with all expedition, which was sent accordingly into the *Mediterranean*, about three years after, consisting of six ships, and two pinnaces of the royal navy, and twelve other stout vessels, hired and fitted out by the king, which set sail for the *Streights* on the 12th of *October* of the same year, and arrived safely at the bay of *Gibraltar* the 31st of the same month, under the conduct of Sir *Robert Mansel*, admiral. We shall not trouble our reader with an account of this ill-concerted expedition, as it proved at the end, only than by telling him, that, if the admiral and other officers concerned it were really in earnest to put it in execution, their design was to have sent some fire-ships, and other proper boats into the harbour of *Algiers*, and to have set all their ships on fire. This is what Sir *Robert Mansel* affirms in his letter to the duke of *Buckingham*, "It was with some difficulty performed, after the four vessels which carried the combustibles had been delayed several days, either by calms or contrary winds; the men sailing boldly on, with shouts of, God bless king *James*, &c. even at the mouth of the cannon and small shot, which showered upon them like hail, maintaining their ground to his great content, and that of all the spectators, till they had fired their ships in many places, and spent all they had in their bandoleers, striving all the while who should have the honour of coming off last: the which, at length, they resigned to their brave commander captain *Hughes*, as a reward for his intrepidity in leading them on. They retired at last in due order, with the same chearful repetition of, Long live king *James*, and the loss of twenty men, either slain or wounded, and leaving the fire flaming up in several places,

^c BURKET'S Journ. MORGAN'S Algier. vol. ii. c. 19.

^f Ibidem ibid.

" granted them: but that, instead of offending the pirates with them, the same ships sold in *Algiers* as much powder, and other warlike provisions, as served to

" furnish the abovesaid fleet now at sea; a thing which is here, he said, very ill taken (1).

(1) *Cabala*, vol. i. p. 206, & seq. ap. *Morgan*, ubi sup.

which

a “ which continued in some of them long after their retreat, and being got on board his
“ majesty’s ships.”

He goes on with acquainting his grace, “ That the cowardly *Turks*, who, before, dared
“ not shew themselves to so small a force, but from their walls and tops of their houses, no
“ sooner perceived all their boats, than they opened their ports, and sallied out in thousands;
“ and, by the help of such great multitudes, and a sudden shower of rain, seconded with a
“ a calm, which then happened, the fire was afterwards extinguished, without doing any
“ more hurt than making two of their ships unserviceable.”

SOME other service, as he styles it, the fleet did; such as sinking or taking three or four
ships, which we shall not mention at length, but go on with the sequel of their first design;
b which, to give nearly in his own words, is to this effect: “ I attended, ten days after our
“ first attempt, for an opportunity to send in the ships with the fire-works, to finish the ser-
“ vice began with the boats, but not a breath of wind favoured us all that time; notwith-
“ standing the ships were always ready to advance as soon as they received any directions.
“ At length, understanding by some escaped Christians how the pirates had boomed up the
“ mole with masts and rafts, doubled the guards of their ships, planted ordinance upon their
“ mole and walls, and sent out their gallies and boats, eastward and westward, to forewarn all
“ ships upon the coast from coming during my abode there; and so losing all hopes of doing
“ any farther service, in regard of the daily complaints of the king’s ships, as well as the
“ merchantmen, who complained of their want of victuals, I resolved, by the advice of a
c “ council of war, to sail away for this place, *Leon*, where my brother brought me your grace’s
“ letter, with his majesty’s pleasure, in regard to his recalling four of the ships under my
“ command.”

He concludes his long letter, with telling the duke, “ how dangerous it may prove, after
“ so bold and open an attempt upon the pirates, to recall those four ships, before the arrival
“ of others in their stead, and what encouragement the bereaving the fleet of so considerable
“ a force might give to the pirates, to set some equally pernicious stratagem on foot against
“ them. Such as, he is well apprized of, they have already taken into consideration, and which
“ he will send his grace an account of by the first opportunity.”

THIS long detail, artfully palliated as it is, being the only one we have of the particulars
d of that expedition, except the journal of it, we thought proper to extract the substance of,
out of the letter above-mentioned, and, as nearly as could be, in his own terms; by which
the reader may infer how formidable the *Algerines* were become by that time. But, as he hath *Algerines*
thought proper to suppress some other causes, equally productive of this disappointment, *grown for-*
though not quite so honourable to him and his armada, we shall conclude our account of this *midable to*
unsuccessful expedition in the words of the judicious Sir *William Monson* above-mentioned. *Europe.*

“ THIS fleet, by contract, was to receive some assistance from the king of *Spain*, at its
“ first appearance on his coasts: but such was the misgovernment of those ships, and the
“ negligence and vanity of some persons to feast and banquet in harbour, when their duty
“ was to clear and scour the seas, that they lost the opportunity of destroying the pirates, as
e “ appears by a pamphlet printed at their return; except their bare passage, they spent not
“ twenty days at sea during their stay in the *Streights*, but retired into the harbours, where
“ the pirates might find them, but not they the pirates.” Thus far Sir *William*; to which
we may add, what another, no less exact, says further of this expedition. “ The commander,
“ Sir *Robert Mansel*, appeared before *Algiers*, but he had not much reason to be satisfied
“ with the success he there met with; and, in return for the civility of his visit, his back was
“ scarce turned, but those corsairs picked up near forty good ships belonging to the subjects
“ of his master, and infested the *Spanish* coasts with greater fury than ever.”

THIS author is not the only one that hath given us this dismal account of the *Algerines* high *Great com-*
f resentment at this open attempt upon their city and navy. We could produce several others *plaints against*
of equal credit, who have given us various melancholy instances of it, were there are a necessity *the Algerines.*
for it, in a case wherein our merchants were such great and constant sufferers, that there was
nothing to be heard for a considerable time but complaints and outcries; the one against the
continual prizes made upon us by those corsairs, and the other against our open breach of
friendship, both with *Algiers* and the *Porte*ⁱ. Accordingly, we find them, the year after
this unsuccessful attempt against them, at open defiance with all the *European* powers, the
Dutch only excepted, to whom they sent a proposal, directed to the prince of *Orange*, that,
in case they would fit out twenty sail of ships against the following year, upon any good service
against the Spaniards, they would join them with sixty sail of their own^k; which, had it once
taken effect, might have proved no less ruinous to our commerce, than fatal to *Spain*; for
g howsoever the *Dutch* might have behaved toward us, the *Algerines* would still have looked

1625.

^s Naval Tracts, ap. MORGAN, vol. ii. c. 19.ⁱ Vid. BURKET’S PURCHAS and the Cabala, vol. i. p. 341.^h BURKET’S Journal. Vid. & MORGAN, ubi sup.^k Cabala, ibid. & seq.

upon us as *Spanish* allies; so that it was not without good reason, that our ambassador at the *Hague* (Sir *Dudley Carleton*) sent immediate advice of it to the king, and advised him, by any means, to procure a truce with the *Algerine* state ¹.

The *Coulolies* conspire against the *Algerine* state.

In this next year, under the government of *Maharan*, *Basha*, happened a most dreadful conspiracy, which was raised by the *Cologlies*, vulgarly called *Coulolies* ^m; who, having seized on the citadel of *Algiers*, wherein were repositied all the public treasury and warlike ammunition, had well nigh made themselves sole masters of that state. In which, it is thought, the *Moors* and *Arabs*, tired with the tyranny of the *Turkish* government, would not have failed to assist them. This plot, however, was timely discovered, and suppressed by the *Turks* and their fast friends the renegadoes, who defeated them with a terrible slaughter. Several scores of them were executed; and their heads are still to be seen in heaps upon the city walls without the eastern gate. Part of the citadel was blown up; but the treasury escaped. From that time the *Coulolies* were discarded from the militia, and none admitted to the pay of it during a great number of years; though they were again readmitted into it, with some restriction, as we shall see in the sequel.

ABOUT two years after this conspiracy happened that memorable change in the *Algerine* state, formerly hinted ⁿ; by which they became soon after able to shake off the *Ottoman* yoke, and to become an independent state under their own *Deys*. What gave the first occasion, or handle for it, was the peace, or rather twenty five years truce, which the Soltan *Morat*, or *Amurath* IV. (then engaged in a hot, though unsuccessful, war against *Persia*, and much embarrassed by other commotions in *Asia*) was, in some measure, obliged to clap up with the emperor, *Ferdinand* II. to prevent his being over-matched by two such potent enemies. This truce, which did not a little affect the piratical trade, was universally disliked by all the *Barbary* corsairs, who were all equally under the Soltan's protection; but by none more than the *Algerines*, who were, by this time, become too haughty and opulent, by the continual depredations they had made on the Christians during the last three years, to bear with any temper so considerable an obstacle put to them. Upon which they soon came to a unanimous resolution, whilst the *Porte* was entangled with so many difficulties, to set up for three independent states, and to look upon themselves from thenceforth as wholly unconcerned with any treaties made by that court with any Christian power. So that whoever thenceforward desired to be at peace with them, should be obliged, distinctly and separately, to apply to their respective governments ^o. This resolution was no sooner taken, than the *Algerines* began to make prizes of several merchant ships, belonging to powers at peace with the *Ottoman Porte*; they even pursued some to the very port of *Rhodes*; and, in spite of the fire which the castle made against them, boarded and carried them off. They did much the same at the port of *Salamis*, in the isle of *Cyprus*, where they attacked two large *Venetian* ships, which were both consumed by fire; one by the enemy, and the other by themselves. They carried their insolence still further at *Scanderoon*, or *Alexandretta*, where, after having seized on a *Dutch* ship, and a polacre, they ventured on shore; and, finding the town abandoned by the *Turkish* Aga and the inhabitants, they plundered all the magazines and warehouses, and then set them on fire. Much about the same time the *French* king, *Lewis* XIII. depending on his league with the *Turks*, undertook to build a new fort on their coasts, instead of that which the *Marsilians* had formerly erected, but had been demolished by the *Algerine* forces, as hath been formerly related ^{*}. This new one was to be called the *Bastion of France*; and an expert engineer was sent thither for that purpose. But the foundations were scarcely finished, before the *Moors* and *Arabians* came and demolished them, and drove the *French* away. The king, unwilling to abandon a design that would prove so advantageous to commerce, attempted a second time some few years after, and succeeded in it; and a new *French* colony was settled there. But the situation being found inconvenient, on account of its harbour, the company of the *Bastion of France* did afterwards agree with the *Algerines* for the port called *La Calle*, formerly described [†], and have obtained leave of the *Dey* for a trade with the *Moors* and *Arabians* [‡]. But to return to the *Algerine* depredations; the great number and variety of prizes they continued making on all nations indifferently that came in their way (the *Dutch* not excepted, from whom they took a ship, richly laden, from *Alexandria*), could hardly be looked upon at the *Porte*, but as so many open instances of defiance to its authority. On the other hand, the daily complaints and representations made to that court, by foreign ministers at peace with it, against those daring pirates, might, one would have thought, prevailed upon that court to have found some means of suppressing and punishing so flagrant an insolence. And would doubtless have had that effect, had not the Grand Signor at that time been so greatly embarrassed with the *Persian* war, and other eastern disturbances, which would not permit him to look so curiously after so low a branch of his honour and interest, which gave an

¹ MORGAN, ubi sup. c. xx. ^m See before, p. 218. ⁿ See before, p. 209, & seq. ^o Continuation of MARIAN Hist. MORGAN, ubi sup. ^{*} See before, pass. [†] See before, p. 225.
[‡] TASSY's Hist. of Algiers, lib. i. c. 9. Ditto English, 1750, p. 108.

- a opportunity to his Grand Vazier and courtiers to compound the injury with those pirates, by sharing with them the war-spoils they had made; those of the *English* alone being computed to amount to 40,000 dollars. However, for form's sake, the *Porte* sent them a severe reprimand, accompanied with threats; to which they were bold enough to answer, *that these depredations deserved to be indulged to them, seeing they were the only bulwark against the Christian powers, especially against the Spaniards, the sworn enemies of the Moslem name.* Adding, *that if they should pay a punctilious regard to all that could purchase peace, or liberty to trade with the Ottoman empire, they would have nothing left to do but to set fire to all their shipping, and turn camel-drivers for a livelihood*^p. With much the same, if not greater insolence they treated their *Bashas*, who were, by this time, become so weak and insignificant, that they dared
- b not offer to oppose them; and, if any had the courage to do so, he was sure to come off still worse with them.

It was much about the same time that four young brothers, of good family, ventured to try their fortune against those corsairs in a small frigate of ten guns, which they had equipped at *Rochelle*; they had obtained a *Maltese* commission, and bore the colours of that order, which had engaged near a hundred volunteers to accompany them in that expedition, besides an able master, and other officers, and thirty-six mariners. They had the good fortune, on the very first engagement, to take a ship laden with wine on the *Spanish* coast, which they looked upon as such a good omen, that they ventured three days after to engage two large *Algerine* corsairs; one of twenty-four, the other of twenty guns, both well manned, and

c commanded by such expert officers, as would lose no advantage they had over them, and seeing them make all the sail they could after them, slackened their own to wait for them. The *French* gave them the first salute with a broadside from their ten guns, and received the like from the two corsairs; who, taking her in the middle between them, plied her so furiously with their great shot, that one of them took off her mainmast. Notwithstanding which accident, as well as the disparity between ten and forty-four guns, our young *Frenchmen* made still a gallant defence, till the noise of their fire brought in five more *Algerines*; by which means she was so peppered and shattered, that the water gushing in on all sides, and having disabled her from swimming, she was easily boarded, carried off, and condemned: for, though

d *France* was at that time at peace with *Algiers*, yet she was allowed a lawful prize, both on account of her being the first aggressor, and of her carrying *Maltese* colours. The result of which was, that our young adventurers, after a dreadful seven years captivity, did at length redeem themselves, at the price of 6000 dollars, in the year 1642^q.

From this time we find nothing material in their history, saving their impunely carrying on their piratical excursions at sea, and depredations on the *Spanish* coasts, till about ten years after; at which time the *French*, then at war with *Spain*, receiving intelligence, that the *Conde de Monterreri* was embarked, with all his effects, at *Naples*, in some *Neapolitan* vessels, lay waiting for those transports in fourteen large galliots, which they had dispatched for that purpose from their fleet on the coast of *Monaco*; when, at the end of seven days, they were dispersed by a strong easterly wind, which drove the greatest part

e of them to *Algiers*. Here the impatient *French* admiral sent immediately to demand a release of all the captives of his nation; which, being as sternly refused by the regency, he, in revenge, seized on the *Turkish* viceroy and his Cadi, or judge, just arrived from the *Porte*, with all their equipage and retinue, and forthwith put to sea, and carried them all away. The *Algerines* were not, perhaps, so provoked at the capture of those two ministers of the *Porte*, as on the insolence of the *French* admiral; and, therefore, instead of complying with his demands, in order to obtain their release, suffered him to sail with them: but resolved soon after to shew their resentment against him and his nation; and having equipped eight of their best gallies, went, by way of retaliation, and surprised the *Bastion of France*, a fortress upon the *Algerine* coast, which they had held for some time on account of trade, and contained about

f 600 inhabitants; all whom, with their whole effects and ships, they carried off to *Algiers*. An odd way of carrying on their friendly correspondence, as our author observes^r; for which the admiral was so provoked, that he sent them word, he would pay them another visit by the next year with his whole fleet.

His threats did not, however, deter them, but that they made a much more considerable excursion the very next year, with a fleet of sixteen gallies and galliots, excellently well manned and equipped, under the command of *Hali Pechinin*, their admiral. The juncture was altogether favourable, because Soltan *Morat* was at that time closely engaged at his reduction of *Baghdad*^s: so that they had all the scope they could wish for to range the seas, and seized all the Christian shipping they could come at. But their chief design was upon the treasure of *Loretto*, which would have proved a vast prize indeed; but unluckily for them,

g the wind being contrary, would not permit them to sail so high into that gulph; upon which

^p *Idem* *ibid.* before, vol. v. p. 352.

^q *Idem* *ibid.*

^r The Continuator of MARIANA's History of Spain.

^s See they

they agreed on a descent in *Puglia*, in the kingdom of *Naples*, where they ravaged the whole a territory of *Necotra*, carried off a vast number of captives of both sexes ; and amongst them, some nuns, whom they failed not to prostitute to their own lust. From thence, steering towards *Dalmatia*, scoured the *Adriatic* ; and, after having loaded themselves with immense plunder, left those coasts in the utmost consternation and resentment ; whilst all this time the *Maltese* and *Spaniards*, who should have protected them, were employed ; the former in getting of prizes in the *Archipelago*, and the latter were loitering away the summer in making preparations, after their slow way, for their defence¹. All which gave a fair opportunity to our corsairs to bring their immense plunder home, without any opposition, had they been contented with what they had got : whereas their greediness after more occasioned the loss of a considerable part of their booty.

The Venetians
equip a large
fleet against
the Algerines.

FOR, by this time, the *Venetians* being alarmed at their wide depredations, had equipped a powerful fleet of twenty-eight sail, under the command of admiral *Capello*, with express orders to him to burn, sink, and take all the *Barbary* corsairs he met with, whether on the open seas, or even in the Grand Signor's harbours, pursuant to a late treaty made between that republic and the *Porte*. On the other hand, the Captain Basha, who had been sent out with the *Turkish* fleet to chase the *Florentine* and *Maltese* cruizers, who, as we hinted a little above, were pursuing the same piratical trade in the *Archipelago*, understanding that the *Algerine* squadron was so near, sent express orders to the admiral, to come and assist him in chasing those Christian robbers, as he stiled them, out of those seas. *Hali Pechinin* readily obeyed ; but, before he took leave of the *Adriatic* coasts, resolved to make a descent upon the island of *Lissa*, or *Lisina*, belonging to the *Venetians*. He was, however, overtaken by *Capello's* fleet before he could reach it, which obliged him to retire, and shelter his squadron under the castle of *Valona*, a sea port belonging to the Grand Signor. *Capello* followed him thither, and first saluted the castle with a gun, and sent an officer with the white flag, to demand of the Aga who commanded there, that those corsairs might, according the articles of the late truce, be ejected out of their shelter. His salute and demand were forthwith answered with a real cannon shot, which gave him to understand, that he designed to protect, instead of rejecting them ; upon which he withdrew at some distance, and cast anchor, with a view of blocking them up. At length, after a mutual watching upon each other some days, *Pechinin*, weary of his restraints, ventured one morning to give the enemy the slip ; but, being perceived by the vigilance of the *Venetians*, just as they got out of the harbour, *Capello* divided his fleet into two squadrons, and gave them a full broadside, which was as briskly answered by the *Algerines*. An obstinate conflict ensued, which lasted near two hours, notwithstanding the continual fire which the *Turks* made from the castle upon the *Venetians* ; a shot of which took off the mast of one of their galleasses ; the commander of which was wounded by a splinter. At length, the *Algerine* squadron was so shattered by their continual shot, that five of it were become disabled ; the rest were glad to betake themselves to their old shelter, after having lost 1500 men, *Turks* and Christian slaves, who were either wounded or slain, besides 1600 gally slaves, who regained their liberty by this rencounter. *Capello* had not long lain at his old anchorage, before he received an order from the senate not to make any further attempt on those miscreants, for fear of causing a fresh rupture with the *Porte* ; which was followed by a letter from the governor of the town, much to the same purpose, advising him to beware, that he did not incur the Soltan's resentment by such insults². However, before he obeyed the senate's order, he resolved to take such leave of them as he thought they deserved ; and observing how they had reared their tents, and drawn their booty and equipage along the shore, he made towards them with his whole force ; and, whilst he kept firing against their tents, ordered some well manned galliots and brigantines among their shipping, who attacked them with such bravery, that, without any great loss, they towed out their sixteen gallies, with all their cannon, stores, arms, &c.

Capello de-
feats the Al-
gerine ad-
miral, and is
recalled.

DURING this rencounter, a shot from one of the *Venetian* galleasses chanced to strike at a *Turkish* mosque, which still more aggravated the action ; insomuch, that though some warm spirits commended it as a brave exploit, yet the more grave part of the senate condemned it, both as an insult on the Soltan, and as a breach of their command ; to palliate which, as well as they could, they sent him orders to sink all the *Algerine* ships, except the admiral, which was to be conducted to *Venice*, and laid up as a trophy. *Capello* came off with a severe reprimand ; but the republic was glad to buy their peace with the *Porte*, at the expence of 500,000 ducats. This was the end of that expedition, the fruits of which were lost by the too greedy avarice of the admiral. To compensate which the Grand Signor offered to fit out ten gallies for them at his own charge, upon condition they should continue in his service till the end of the ensuing summer. But *Pechinin*, who well knew how little the *Algerine* state cared to have any such g

¹ Continuation of MARIAN. MORGAN'S Algiers, ubi sup.

² MORGAN, TASSY, & al. sup.

- a obligations to him, civilly declined the offer, and set two galleys on the stocks upon his own account^w. In the interim, the news of this defeat and loss filled *Algiers* with inexpressible grief and confusion; there being scarcely a subject that did not, in some measure, feel the loss *Algiers in* of so many ships, men, and plunder. The whole city was just upon the point of a general insur-^{great grief at}rection; when the Basha and Douwan, foreseeing the danger, issued out a proclamation, ex-^{the news.}pressly forbidding, not only complaints and outcries, under the severest penalties, without exception, but likewise all persons whatsoever to take their thumbs from within their girdles, whilst they were deliberating on that important point. This precaution had so far the desired effect, that it prevented the general discontent from breaking out into an open revolt; but, as it was no less proper to assuage their grief, or make amends for their losses, both the Basha
- b and Douwan were moved to apply to the *Porte* for an order, that the *Venetians*, settled in the *Levant*, should make up that great loss to them. But the Grand Signor, who had already received 500,000 ducats from them on that score, and was, perhaps, not a little affronted at the refusal which the *Algerine* admiral had made to his late offer, refused to comply; and left them to repair their losses, and build themselves new ships, as well as they could. However, it was not long before they had the comfort to see one of their corsairs land, with a fresh supply of 600 slaves of both sexes, which he had brought quite from the coasts of *Iceland* (B). They *The Algerines* did not continue long in that low and defenceless state; neither would the united preparations ^{rebuild a new} of the Christian states against them, permit them to do so; and we find them, accordingly, so ^{fleet.}unanimously bent upon the repairing their navy, during the two following years, that they were
- c able, at the end of them, to appear at sea with a stronger and more numerous fleet than ever they had done; and which, according to a *Spanish* author, then a slave at *Algiers**, amounted to no less than sixty-five sail, besides other galleys and inferior vessels, which they probably had in port; so that it is rightly supposed to have been the æra in which they arrived to the zenith of their glory. Among other exploits this huge fleet performed, on several parts of the *Mediterranean*, which it would be tedious to enter into a detail of, seeing it was their custom to divide themselves into squadrons, greater or smaller, according to the nature of their respective courses, one rencounter we read of, which befel *Hali Pichinin*, that we think well worth relating.

- d We took notice that that admiral, after his sad disaster at *Valona*, had caused four galliots *The adventure* to be built at his own charge; and these he had brought to *Algiers*, together with such officers, ^{of their admiral} mariners, and other equipage, as had been saved from the fire and fury of the *Venetian* *Pichinin*. Some time after his arrival at that metropolis, came in likewise the Chiayah of the Basha of *Tripoli*, to treat about the buying of 250 *Spanish* and *Italian* slaves, for the use, and by the express order of the Grand Signor. This officer, who was come in an elegant galley, finely set out with streamers, standards, and other ornaments, and extremely well manned with *Turks* and renegadoes, finding that his negotiation was like to detain him longer than he expected; and being unwilling to be so long idle, proposed to *Pichinin* the going out with him on some cruize; to which he readily agreed. They had been scarcely four days out at sea, before they met with a stout *English* merchantman of 40 guns, whom *Pichinin* was
- e eager to have engaged, but was hindered by his captains; who, it seems, by no means liked the *Englishman's* aspect. They afterwards ranged several days, without meeting with any thing considerable; at which they began to be very uneasy, and out of humour; upon which *Pichinin* sharply told them, that had they wanted a rich prize, they would not have let the *Englishman* go; which stinging rebuke nettled them to such a degree, that they all swore they would set upon the first Christian ship that came in their way, at which the admiral was not a little pleased.

^w *Iidem* *ibid.*^{*} *Vid.* D'ARANDU. ap. MORGAN, ubi sup.

(B) This extraordinary, and scarce credible excursion, so far beyond what any other *Barbary* corsair had ever ventured, was owing to a miscreant native of that northern island, who had been taken captive in a *Danish* ship, by an *Algerine*. This traitor, whose master had roved the *Mediterranean* all that season without any success, and was ashamed to return home empty handed, with some difficulty persuaded him to sail to that island, where he would not fail of a considerable booty in slaves, though he would hardly meet with any thing else there worth carrying off. Those poor islanders, who had hardly ever had any other enemies to encounter than cold and misery, were so wholly unprepared to make

head against such strange visitors, that they were easily dragged away from their frozen climate into the torrid one of *Barbary*. But how to accustom them to it, so as to make them serviceable, or even how they could keep them alive, under such a multiplicity of changes, or whether many, or any, long groaned under this new kind of misery, we are not told. But, base and detestable as this action of the islander's was, it is no more than what we find was practised by captives of much more polite nations, as *Italians*, *Spaniards*, *French*, &c. of which we have given some instances in the course of this history (2).

(2) See Morgan's *Hist. of Algiers*, vol. ii. c. ult.

ACCORDINGLY, two days after they had come to that resolution, they met with a *Dutch* a merchantman of 28 guns, and 40 men; which, by reason of the calm, could make no rid-
dance with her sails. Being got within gun-shot of him, *Pichinin* dispatched a brigantine to
acquaint the master, that he was the commander of that squadron, and that he would engage
to set him and his crew on Christian land, if he quietly delivered up his ship and cargo; but
that, if he refused, he must take what followed. To this message the *Dutch* master sent him
word, that he had known him formerly at *Algiers*; but had now a cargo under his care,
which belonged to other owners; but, added he, if he hath such a mind to it, let him come
on board, and I will try what can be done to satisfy him. This answer failed not to exasperate
the admiral; who thereupon drew up his five galleys and two brigantines in form of an half-
moon, in order to discharge his whole artillery at once against his poop. But, before he could b
well do it, the *Dutchman*, by the help of a lucky breeze, turning his ship the quite contrary
way, put his galleys into such a confusion, that, instead of keeping in their due order, they
ran foul of each other. Upon which *Pichinin*, steering his galley close by the *Dutchman's*
side, threw about 70 of his soldiers into it; who, with their drawn swords, took possession of
the upper deck, where some of them began to slash the rigging, whilst others plied the
hatches with hand-granadoes, but were quickly diverted from it by the *Dutchmen*; who,
having secured themselves within their close quarters, began to pepper them with small shot
from two cannon, which they had planted against them. The admiral made several efforts
to rescue his men, whilst the other galleys tried to surround the ship; but they all found their c
stations too hot for them, by reason that the ship, being heavy laden, lay so deep in water,
that every shot made terrible execution amongst them, and obliged them to remove farther
from him. At length the *Dutchman*, being ready to take his leave of them, caused his guns
to be loaded with cartouches, and gave them such a volley at parting, as killed 200 of their
men, besides the wounded, and sent them back to *Algiers* in a most dismal plight; to the
no small grief and mortification of the proud *Algerines*, as well as of the four corsairs^y. The
Tripolitan Chiayah died soon after of his wounds, and the renowned *Pichinin* was forced to
own, that he had met with a tartar in that brave and experienced *Dutch* captain.

BUT whilst this small squadron had the mortification to return to *Algiers* thus shattered and
foiled, the town had quickly after the pleasure to see others come in, fraught with rich spoils d
of the Christians, and with great numbers of slaves; insomuch, that they quickly became
more powerful and formidable than ever to the *European* powers, and made *England*, *France*,
and *Holland*, buckle to them. As for *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Italy*, &c. they absolutely determined
never to make any peace or alliance with them, as being sworn enemies to the *Mohammedan*
religion, and consequently the properest to carry on a perpetual war against; seeing that was
the chief support and strength of the *Algerine* state, as hath been elsewhere observed^z. When
they were once got to this height of power and grandeur, that they could make *English*, *French*,
and *Dutch*, glad to purchase their friendship at any rate, and the rest of *Europe* stand in dread
of them, it was natural for that proud and turbulent nation to make one bold push more, to
rid themselves of the only check they had left to their aspiring views, their dependence upon e
the *Porte*. We lately took notice of some bold steps they had already made towards it, and
what disregard they had shewed, not only to its alliances with some Christian princes,
but likewise to the authority of its viceroys, which was now dwindled into a mere compli-
ance with whatever the Deys, and their *Douwan*, were pleased to ordain, without which they
must have been exposed to continual mortifications and insults from that quarter. On the
other hand, the *Porte*, ever watchful and jealous of its own power and interest, could hardly
brook so sensible a diminution of them, which still decreased in proportion to their success,
and increase in wealth and strength; which obliged it frequently to exchange those mercenary
and inactive *Bashas*, for others more strenuous, active, and intrepid, who might watch all
opportunities of recovering their pristine authority. Their commissions were not only made f
more extensive, but some of them even impowered to dethrone and put to death any of those
Deys that opposed the Soltan's will, and to nominate others to that dignity^a. Such violent
proceedings, we may easily imagine, could hardly be carried on, without throwing the whole
realm into the most desperate convulsions, that were seldom, if ever appeased, but by the
expulsion or massacre of those bloody ministers, and all their adherents. This mutual contest
between the *Turkish* viceroys, and the *Algerine* Deys, makes the most considerable part of
their domestic history, till the beginning of the following century, when the latter found
means to persuade the *Porte* to unite those two dignities into one; and to consent, that who-
soever was chosen Dey by the *Algerine* *Douwan*, should be likewise invested with the title and
dignity of viceroy, or *Basha*; as we shall see in its proper place. But, not to dwell any g
longer on those intestine and less interesting broils, let us now proceed to that part of their
history which most concerns us.

He attacks a
flout Dutch-
man;

is defeated
with great
loss by him.

The *Basha's*
power cur-
tailed.

^y MORGAN, ubi sup.
lib. 1. n.

^z See before, p. 258, & seq. & alib. pass.

^a TASSY, Hist. de Alger, cap. 1.

- a We may remember how much the *Algerine* state resented the ill advised, as well as unsuccessful attempt, which our admiral *Mansel* had made on their capital and navy; from which time they hardly ever ceased annoying us at sea, and wreaking their revenge on as many of our vessels as fell into their hands, in spite of all the friendly and generous means our nation had taken to regain their friendship. It was not till towards the latter end of the reign of king *Charles II.* that we obtained from them that lasting alliance, which, with some renewals, additions, and alterations, hath subsisted between us ever since; and for the further particulars of which, we shall refer our readers to what shall be said of it in our English history^b. What is worth our notice here is, that the readiness they shewed on this occasion to come into such friendly terms with us, was principally owing to the distress they were then in, and the great need they stood in of our assistance and friendship; when we might, perhaps, at any other juncture, have prayed to and bribed them in vain. The occasion of this was as follows:

*The Algerines
make a treaty
with England.
1682.*

- b THEY had, for some time, committed such grievous outrages on the coasts of *Provence* and *Languedoc*, that *Lewis XIV.* had ordered a considerable fleet to be fitted out, on the year before this treaty was concluded, in order to suppress and crush them, and revive the commerce, which their depredations at sea, in conjunction with the corsairs of *Tripoli*, had in a great measure destroyed. The marquis *Du Quesne*, vice-admiral of *France*, whose name was already become formidable to all the piratic crew, was at the head of this expedition, and began it with the chase of several *Tripolitan* galleys, who had the good fortune to out row him, and shelter themselves in the island of *Scio*, which belonged to the *Turks*; yet this did not prevent
- c him pursuing them thither, and making such terrible fire upon them, as quickly shattered and sunk fourteen of their vessels, besides battering the walls, and other works of the castle.

- It seems, by his falling thus furiously on these, that he only wanted to deter, and not fall out with, the *Algerines*; but when he found that they still continued their outrages on the *French* coasts, he sailed to their capital in the month of *August* of the following year, and tell immediately cannonading and bombarding it with such fury, that the whole town was in flames in a very little time. The great mosque was battered down, and the greatest part of the houses reduced into a heap of ruins; insomuch, that the affrighted inhabitants were upon the point of abandoning the place; when on a sudden the wind chopped about, and obliged him to return to *Toulon*. As soon as the storm was over, the *Douwan* assembled themselves in a
- d tumultuous manner, and forthwith ordered as many of their galleys and galliots as could be got ready, in spite of the roughness of the sea, to sail forthwith for the coasts of *Provence*; where they committed the most dreadful ravages, killing, burning, and destroying all that came in their way, and brought off a vast number of captives. As soon as the news of this fresh insult arrived at the *French* court, a new armament was ordered to be got ready with all expedition, at *Toulon* and *Marseilles*, against the next year; of which the *Algerines* having got timely notice, the *Douwan* immediately ordered the walls of the town, and other fortifications, to be repaired, and the mole and haven to be put into the best state of defence that the shortness of the time would allow.

*Du Quesne
bombards and
cannonades
Algiers.*

- e IN *May* following the *French* squadron cast anchor before *Algiers*; where the vice-admiral *Du Quesne* was joined by the marquis *D'Affranville*, at the head of five other stout vessels; upon whose arrival, a council being called, they resolved to bombard the town next morning; which was accordingly done, and a hundred bombs were thrown into it on that day, which made terrible execution, whilst the besieged made some hundred discharges of their cannon against them, without doing them any considerable damage. On the following night the bombs were thrown into it again in such number, that the *Dey's* palace, and other great edifices, were almost destroyed; some of their batteries were dismounted, and several vessels sunk in the port. This swift and dreadful havock quickly determined *Hassan*, the then *Dey*, and the whole soldiery, as well as the *Turkish* *Basha*, to sue for peace; upon which father *Facher*, who then acted at *Algiers* in the quality of *French* consul, was immediately dispatched
- f to the *French* admiral, and with him a *Turkish* delegate, with the latter of whom the admiral readily treated, but refused to admit the former. In this conference the marquis insisted before all things upon an immediate surrender of all Christian captives that had been taken fighting under the *French* flag; which being readily granted, 142 of them were brought to him on the next day, with a promise of sending him the remainder, as soon as they could be got together from the different parts of the country, whither they were dispersed: which being accordingly done, he consented to treat with them about a peace. Accordingly he sent a few days after the commissary-general of his squadron, and one of his engineers, into the town; but with express orders to insist upon the delivery of all the rest of their *French* captives, none excepted, and of the effects they had taken from the *French*, and upon their sending the famed *Mezomorto*, their then admiral, and *Hali Rais*, one of their captains, as hostages to him.

*Algiers set in
flames by the
French bombs.
1683.*

^b MORGAN, Algier, Append. p. 1, & seq.

THIS last demand failed not to embarrass the Dey; who thereupon assembled the Douwan, and acquainted them with it. Whereupon *Mezomorto* fell into a violent passion, and told that assembly, that the cowardice of those that sat at the helm had occasioned the ruin of *Algiers*; but that, for his part, he never would consent to deliver up any thing that had been taken from the *French*. He went immediately from thence to the soldiery, whom he acquainted with what had passed, and so exasperated them against the Dey, that they unanimously resolved to murder him; which they accordingly did that very night, as he was going his round. On the next day *Mezomorto* caused himself to be elected Dey by the soldiery and people; immediately after which he cancelled all the articles of peace that had been agreed on, and ordered the bloody standard to be displayed on the city walls. The hostilities were thereupon renewed with greater fury than ever on both sides; and the *French* admiral kept pouring in such volleys of bombs, that in less than three days the greatest part of the city was reduced to ashes, and the fire burnt with such vehemence, that the sea was enlightened with it above the length of two leagues. *Mezomorto*, unmoved at all these disasters, and the vast number of the slain, whose blood ran in rivulets along the streets, or rather grown furious and desperate by them, sought only how to wreak his revenge on the enemy; and, not content to have caused all the *French* that were in the city to be cruelly butchered, ordered their consul to be tied hand and foot, and fastened alive to the mouth of a mortar, and thence shot away against their navy, instead of a bomb.

The French
almost destroy
the town.

THIS unheard of piece of inhumanity so exasperated the *French* admiral, that the winds proving still favourable to him, he did not leave *Algiers*, till he had utterly destroyed all their shipping, fortifications, buildings, and in one word, almost all the lower part, and above two thirds of the upper part of the city. He was no sooner sailed away, than the *Algerines* began to think seriously on the most effectual means for procuring a peace with *France*. This motion was quite disrelished by *Mezomorto*, who, to avoid his predecessor's fate, disappeared on a sudden; whilst the rest of the Douwan unanimously agreed to send an embassy to *Paris*, to excuse and beg pardon, among other things, for the murder of the consul, which they all disavowed, and to persuade the *French* court, that the populace alone were the authors of that atrocious deed, being enraged at the prodigious damage their admiral had done to their city, by the vast number of bombs he had caused to be thrown into it. Of which commission their envoy *Hagi Giaffer Aga Effendi* acquitted himself in the best manner he could, as the reader may see by the speech he made to that monarch on his last audience, and which, being a curious piece in its kind, we have given him a literal version of in the margin (C). The result of which was, the ratification of the said peace at *Paris* on the fol-

An embassy
sent into
France to sue
for peace;

(C) " Most high, most excellent, most powerful,
" magnanimous, and invincible, *Lewis XIV.* emperor of the *French*, whom God preserve, and
" make thy reign happy.
" I prostrate myself at the foot of thy sublime imperial throne, as the messenger of the joy with which our
" republic, and the Dey my master, have concluded a
" peace with thy lieutenant; and of their impatient
" desire, that thy sublime majesty will be pleased to
" put thy ratifying seal to it. The force of thy ever
" victorious arms, and the strength of thy sword, have
" made them sensible of the fault which *Baba Hassan*
" committed, in declaring war against thy subjects.
" I am deputed hither to beg thy pardon for it, and
" to assure thee, in the sincerest terms, that henceforth
" our conduct shall be such, as may deserve the friendship
" of the greatest emperor of the disciples of
" *Jesus*, and the only one we stand in dread of.
" The atrocious violence committed against the person
" of thy consul is such, as, we should judge, would
" prove an invincible obstacle to a peace, if thy light,
" which, like that of the sun, penetrates all things, did
" not easily conceive how far an enraged and ungovernable
" populace can carry their furious resentment, in the midst
" of multitudes of their fellow citizens crushed in pieces
" by thy bombs; of which number they beheld their
" parents, brethren, and children, deprived either of
" life, effects, or liberty, and the privilege of being
" exchanged.
" But whatever their motives were, the violence of
" which we are far from excusing or extenuating, I
" come to beg of thee to turn for ever away thy sacred
" eyes, from beholding a deed detested by all good

" men among us, especially those in power; who cannot
" therefore be justly charged with it.
" We hope, mighty emperor, great as *Genshid*,
" opulent as *Kraour*, magnificent as *Soleyman*, and
" magnanimous as *Akemptas*, that thy clemency reject not
" these our earnest prayers; and the high opinion we
" have of thy unparalleled generosity, gives us a kind
" of assurance, that thou wilt order all our brethren,
" who wear thy chains, to be set at liberty, as we
" ourselves have done, not only to thy subjects, but
" likewise to those who were under the shadow of thy
" august name; that the joy for this peace may become
" equal and universal; and that a much greater number
" of mouths may be thereby opened, to celebrate thy
" praises. That, when thy subjects return to their
" country, they may thankfully come and throw themselves
" at thy feet, while our own proclaim thy praise
" throughout the vast countries of *Africa*, and imprint
" in their children a veneration for thy incomparable
" virtues, and a due regard for the *French* nation.
" This will prove the happy foundation of an eternal
" peace; of which we do promise an exact and religious
" observance on our part, in all its articles, not
" doubting but thy subjects, from whom thy authority
" claims an unlimited obedience, will be equally
" friendly and equitable observers of it.
" May the almighty and gracious Creator give a
" blessing upon this peace, and maintain a perpetual
" union, between the most high, most excellent, and
" most magnanimous Emperor of the *French*, and the
" most illustrious and magnificent *Basha*, Dey, Douwan,
" and the victorious armies of the republic of
" *Algiers* (3). "

(3) *Hist. of Algiers*, 1750, p. 259, & seq. *Boulet, Hist. des Cherifs*, p. 176, & seq.

lowing

a lowing year ; after which, the next care of the Dey, and his Douwan, was to repair, as fast as they could, the dreadful dilapidations which the *French* cannon and bombs had made in that metropolis ^{which is con-} ^{cluded.} 1684.

THE joy which reigned through *Algiers* at the conclusion of this peace with *France* was so much the greater, because, till that was obtained, the Grand Signor, who was at peace with *France*, was obliged, at least outwardly, to resent the outrages they had committed upon their coasts, and could not give them any assistance towards the repairing of their city and navy, without offending that monarch. But, being now at full liberty to do as he pleased with them, it was his interest to send them what succour they needed, not only on account of the service they could do him against other Christian powers, but likewise, as that gave him a fair opportunity of binding them more strictly to their obedience to him, than they had been of late, and to raise the authority of his *Bashas* to its pristine height ; which, as we observed a little higher, ^{The Turkish} ^{Bashas grow} was dwindled into a mere servility to their Deys and Douwan. For which reason it is more ^{insolent.} than probable, that he was far from being displeased at the severe method which *France* had taken to humble them thus far.

HOWEVER that be, the *Porte* took care from that time to send them such strenuous viceroys, and with such extensive powers, as should make them deserve the supplies they received from them. Whilst, on their side, the *Algerines* failed not to express the most submissive regard to them, till they found themselves so well recovered from their late disasters, as to be able to resume their old course. We need not therefore wonder at their unusual readiness to enter into ^{Algerines} an alliance with us, at such a crisis as this ; nor at our *English* admirals obtaining such advantageous terms from them, at a juncture when our friendship and assistance was become at least ^{conclude a} ^{treaty of} as necessary and beneficial to them, as theirs could be to us. This treaty, which hath been ^{peace with} ^{England.} the ground-work of all those that have been since made with them, was renewed four years after, *mutatis mutandis*, in the 2d year of king *James* the second's reign, by Sir *William Soam*, in his way to *Constantinople*, whither he was sent ambassador by our court. It bears date *April* the 5th, and without any alteration than that of names, and of some literals. The same may be said of that, which was renewed between *Chaaban Chojiah* the then Dey of *Algiers*, and Sir *Thomas Baker*, five years after, in the 2d year of king *William*'s reign. But all this while we must not suppose that the *Algerines*, especially the Rais, or captains of their corsairs, were such strict observers of those treaties, as to let any of our ships escape them, whenever they could conveniently make a prize ; for which they never wanted an excuse or pretence, whenever a complaint was made to the regency. Nor was it easy to obtain a restitution or redress from the Deys or Douwan, whose interest it was to encourage those piratic practices, upon so many accounts ; so that the only remedy was making reprisals upon them ; and it was upon some such infringement of it, that captain *Beach*, about nine years after the last conclusion of that treaty, fell foul on seven of their frigates, which he drove on shore and burnt. The result of which was a fresh revival of it with that republic, by captain *Munden*, and ^{Capt. Beach} ^{destroys seven} ^{of their ships.} *Robert Cole*, Esq ; with the addition of three articles, which will explain the occasion of it. They are 1700.

e 1. That the peace concluded in 1682 be confirmed ; and more particularly the eighth article ; wherein it is expressed, that no ship belonging to *Algiers* shall cruize in sight of any port or place belonging to *Great Britain*, or in any way disturb the peace or commerce of the same ; nor shall any *Algerine* vessel enter the *English* chanel.

2. No passes shall be required from an *English* ship, till the last day of *September* 1701. But after that time, if any *English* ship shall be seized, not having a pass, the goods of such ship shall be prize ; but the master, men, and ship, shall be restored, and the freight immediately paid to the master.

3. Whereas captain *Munden* hath complained, that he was affronted some years past by some rude soldiers at the mole, it is promised, that, at all times hereafter, when any *British* man of war shall come to *Algiers*, order shall be given to an officer to attend at the mole, during their stay, to prevent any such disorder ; and if any such shall happen, the offender shall be punished with the utmost severity.

THIS treaty, which bears date *August* 20, 1700, is thus prefaced, *We the most excellent and most illustrious lords, Mustapha Dey, Hali Basba, and Mustapha Aga, governors of the most famous and most warlike city and kingdom of Algiers, do, by these presents, renew and confirm the peace we so happily enjoy, with William king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, defender of the Christian faith, and his subjects, in the year of Jesus, &c.* by which most pompous titles we may reasonably conclude, that the *Algerines* had, by this time, that is, in about 17 years since the dreadful bombardment lately mentioned, regained in a great measure their pristine strength and grandeur, as well as their native pride and insolence, seeing, they have added the title of most excellent to that of illustrious, with regard to themselves ; and that of most

^e BOULET, Hist. des Cherifs. p. 168, & seq. History of Algiers, p. 259, & seq. TASSY, ibid. p. 321, & seq.
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warlike to that of most famous, with respect to their city and kingdom, which were not in that of 1682 ; and which would, at that time, have been very unsuitable to their forlorn and ruined state. We may farther observe, from the *Turkish* Bascha or viceroy being named in it as the second person in that government, they had regained their privilege of assisting and opining, if not of voting, in the Douwan, since their late disaster, of which they had been deprived some years before, when the *Algerine* state was in its most flourishing condition. And what most confirms this observation is, that, in less than ten years from this present date, they were grown up to such an height of insolence and tyranny again, as to obstruct the Dey's election, with such strenuous opposition, as occasioned the total suppression of that dignity, as we shall see in the sequel.

Mustapha grants Eng-land two more articles.

As for *Mustapha*, the present Dey, he continued still a friend to the *English* nation ; and renewed the old treaty with Sir *George Byng*, afterwards lord *Torrington*, being queen *Anne's* admiral, with the addition of the two following articles ; viz.

1. " That whereas by those of the old treaties it was agreed, that subjects of *England* should pay ten *per cent.* custom for the goods they should sell at *Algiers*, or in the dominions thereof, for the better settling and maintaining a good commerce between the subjects of those two nations, the *English* should from henceforth pay no more than five *per cent.* custom for such goods ; and that such as were found to be contraband, should not pay any custom, as had been before concluded.

2. " That all prizes taken by any of the subjects of the said queen of *Great Britain*, and all the ships and vessels built or fitted out in any of her majesty's plantations in *America*, that have not been in *England*, shall not be molested on account of their not being furnished with passes ; but that a certificate in writing, under the hands of the commanding officers, who shall take any prizes, and a certificate under the hands of the governors or chiefs of such *American* colonies or places where such ships were built or fitted out, shall be sufficient passes for either of them. And our faith shall be our faith, and our word our word. Signed at *Algiers*, October 28, in the year of *Jesus* 1703, &c. which was the second year of queen *Anne's* reign."

Taking Gibraltar and Mahon a check to Algiers.

BUT it was not till after the taking of *Gibraltar* and *Port Mahon* by Sir *George Rooke*, that we could have a sufficient check upon them to oblige them to the observance of those articles ; and if we have since had a greater influence and awe upon them, than ever we had before, it is plainly owing, as we have elsewhere observed, to the neighbourhood of those two places that we are beholden for it, else the frequent chicaneries, which we have been obliged to have with them, and the late infringement of some of those articles by their scoundrel *Rais*, who are most of them, as well as great part of their crews, renegadoes of the vilest character, and which our government hath, for wise reasons doubtless, thought fit to put up with, sufficiently shew, of what a small advantage the most friendly and solemn treaties would be to us, if we had nothing else but their faith and honesty to depend upon for the observance of them.

1708.

FOUR or five years elapsed since the ratification of the articles above-mentioned, during which nothing material happened, excepting their usual excursions abroad, and hard struggles between the regency and *Turkish* viceroys at home. But the sixth proved a very remarkable one, for their retaking the famed city of *Warran*, or *Awran*, from the *Spaniards*, which proved a considerable loss to them, on account of vast numbers of slaves, and quantities of grain, oil, leather, and other commodities, which they yearly drew from thence, as well as of the singular advantage of its convenient and spacious harbour ; the strength and importance of that fortress, which not only kept the *Algerines* in awe, but stood excellently well situated for the execution of any design against them. And of such importance hath it been reckoned by these ever since, that they immediately made it the residence of the western Bey, or governor of the western circuit, which till then used to be at *Tremecen* ; and who, besides a stout garrison, keeps up a little army of 2,000 *Cologlies*, or *Coulolies*, at his own charge, and a guard of 1,500 *Moors*, to accompany him in his circuit^a. Notwithstanding all which precautions, as well as the several fortifications they added to it, in order to keep it in their hands, the *Spaniards* retook it from them with great difficulty, in the year 1737. We have elsewhere given a description of that famed fortress, its harbour, and various fortifications^b ; the greatest part of which had been added to it by the *Spaniards*, after their becoming masters of it, *an.* 1505^c. Since which time they had kept possession of it, in spite of the several efforts of the Deys to regain it. However, though the reduction of it by the *Algerines* be ascribed, by most Christian writers, to the treachery and cowardice of the governor, as well as to the grievous war which *Philip V.* had then upon his hands, which would not permit him to send a sufficient succour to it^d, rather than to the martial skill and bravery of the enemy's troops, as great rejoicings were made at *Algiers*, as if it had been won by dint of strength and valour ; and the remainder of that year,

^a See before, p. 229.

^b Ibid. p. 228.

^c See *ibid.* p. 229.

^d Ibid.

a and the greater part of the next, were chiefly employed, either in repairing the old, and making new fortifications to it, or in the conveying into it a vast quantity of artillery, and all other war-like stores, in order to secure it, as much as possible, against all future attempts, either from *Spain* or any other Christian power.

THE next year was still more remarkable and prosperous to *Algiers*, upon several accounts; *This proves a* as 1st, of the assassination of their worthless Dey *Ibraim*, surnamed the madman; 2. of the ele- *memorable* ction of the brave *Hali* to the throne; and 3dly, the expulsion of the *Turkish* Basba, and *year to Algiers.* excision of that dignity, by the courage and address of the new Dey. 1710.

As to the first of these transactions, it is of such a nature as to deserve to be related with all its principal circumstances; since it will afford our readers a lively notion of the dangers and dif- b asters which such an uncontrouled authority is apt to bring, both upon the possessor, and those that are under him. *Ibraim* had some noble qualities, though not such as were very agreeable to his subjects. He was a severe punisher of all kinds of knavery, theft, frauds, and other such pilfering rogueries; which, as hath been elsewhere observed, are so common all over these parts. *Ibraim chosen Dey; his cha- racter.* He had, moreover, a special knack at discovering them, and would spare no pains to find out the authors of them (D), and the truth of a fact: But was given so wholly to women, that he *His excessive* would procure them by the most illegal means, and such as are, even among them, reckoned *lust.* unpardonable. His custom was, as soon as his panders had informed him of any extraordinary beauty, to take his time, when their husbands were at sea, or absent, to come and visit them at unreasonable hours, and either by threats or bribery to introduce himself to them; and by the c same means to work them into a compliance to his wishes. Among the rest, the wife of one *Mahmut* Rais, having been attempted by him, in one of his nocturnal rambles (her door-keeper, a deformed eunuch, having let him in during his master's absence) instead of giving him the reception he expected, either from his caresses or menaces, repulsed him with the utmost indignation and stinging reproaches, and obliged him to go off, which he with some reluctance did, though without any apprehensions of her further resentment.

Her husband arriving soon after, she failed not to acquaint him with the insult that had been offered to her; but finding him very fearful to encounter the Dey on so tender an occasion, and rather willing to conceal the attempt than to revenge it, she told him, in a violent passion, that she found she had been married only to some patient Christian, and not, as she thought, to a brave d *Mussulman*, and would not be long before she got herself divorced from him. Her next step was to communicate the matter to several Rais, or sea captains; and by representing to them the danger they were in of being made the slaves of *Ibraim's* lust, who had ventured to give such early tokens of disregard to all religion, and to the honour of their sex, easily animated them to engage their husbands in the common quarrel. These soon after persuaded *Mahmut* to listen to his wife's counsel, and promised to assist him to rid the country of that worthless monarch; at which she was exceedingly pleased, and advised her husband to order the deformed Negroe, who had introduced him to her apartment, to give him the first mortal stroke. The whole junto soon after agreed to assassinate him upon the first opportunity; *A conspiracy* and accordingly, as he was one day coming from the mole, the Negroe, whom they had *formed against* e posted at the water-gate, discharged his piece at him, but in the hurry and fear missed him; *him;* at which the Dey turned pale, but kept on his pace, without daring to ask any question about the matter, not knowing who to trust on such an occasion; neither did his attendance

(D) The reader will not perhaps be displeased, if we give one instance, among many, by way of specimen. A retailer of grocery having been represented to him, as using sundry knavish practices to his customers, *Ibraim*, resolved to know the truth, disguises himself in the habit of a slave, and, taking another with him, goes one morning to his shop, and tells the man, that he and his companion were sent to their country work, but wanted to buy some rice and raisins of him, to make a dish after their country fashion, before they set out; but desired him not to speak a word of it to their surly master, lest he should severely punish them for loitering so long in town. The shop-keeper promised secrecy; but, at the same time, took care to sell them the rice and raisins at a dearer rate than had been settled by authority, not dreaming of any ill consequence from two despicable slaves.

Ibraim, being returned to his palace, and dressed in his usual habit, caused the grocer to be brought before him, and his companion to lay the accusation against him; which the other boldly denied, alleging,

that the rogue of a slave only used this stratagem to get his money again, after he had bought his goods. Upon which *Ibraim*, without taking notice to him of his being a party concerned in the sale, ordered him to remain; and caused a proclamation to be made, that if any *Turk, Moor, Jew, or Christian*, had any complaint against such a grocer, they should immediately repair to the Dey's palace for redress, provided they came before the hour of prayer. It was not long before several persons appeared, and convicted him of fraud and extortion. The consequence of which was, that he condemned him to receive 500 bastinadoes on the soles of his feet, and to pay 500 piasters into the public treasury, as a present punishment, for having dared to assert a falsehood in the Dey's presence, and till a more adequate sentence should be pronounced against him. Which last sentence, when debated by the plurality of votes, was, that he should be forthwith hanged, as being the first prevaricator that had been detected since *Ibraim's* election to the Deylick (7).

(7) *Taffy's Hist. Algiers, lib. ii. c. 26. Hist. of Algiers, 1750, p. 99, & seq.*

offer to stir in his defence, for fear of incurring the same. They had scarce reached the *Battistan*, or slave market, before the Negroe, who had newly charged his piece, and taken a shorter way, fired upon him, and missed him a second time; which made him hasten to his palace with all the speed he could; whilst the conspirators, who had intermixed themselves with his retinue, followed him, crying aloud *Char-alla*, justice for God's sake. These were quickly joined by the populace, some of which cried out, that he should be dethroned, and others, that he might be dispatched.

THE affrighted Dey, had, however, the good fortune to reach his apartment, and barricade himself in his chamber, with two Christian slaves, his pages. The place being adorned with variety of fire-arms, which had been presented by Christian princes, he ordered those pages to take them down, and fire among the assailants at every breach they made in the door, by which several of them were killed and wounded; so that, finding the attack too hot at the door, they ran up to the terrass, over his chamber; and having made a large aperture in it, kept pouring hand grenades into it, till they had quite dispatched him, after he had reigned a little above a month. Such was the fatal end of *Ibrahim* Dey, as we have it related by Mr. *De Tassy*, who was then residing at *Algiers*^a; and such is the precarious and hazardous state of that elective dignity, and arbitrary government. The next reign will give us another pregnant instance of its malignancy with regard to the subjects.

Baba Hali
chosen Dey.

THE Douwan, after the murder of *Ibrahim*, immediately proceeded to the election of a successor, and *Baba Hali* was the person, who, without any great opposition or bloodshed, was raised to that dignity; yet, though a person of known valour and merit, had not been long seated on his throne, before he discovered that a most powerful faction, consisting chiefly of the friends and partizans of the late Dey, was forming against him; so that, to keep himself steady in it, he was obliged to put to death above 1,700 of them, on the very first month of his reign. This extreme severity, as it was thought by the rest of his subjects, rather aggravated, than suppressed, the public murmuring and discontent, and proved the source of several other conspiracies against him, which yet his good fortune and vigilance, joined to an intrepid bravery and artful conduct, enabled him to nip in the bud. Among other popular acts, which he did in order to appease the resentment of *Ibrahim's* relations and friends, he caused the body of that unfortunate prince, dragged and mangled as it had been by the insulting populace, to be taken up, and honourably buried; and ordered a stately mausoleum to be erected over his grave.

BUT the most politic, as well as popular act of his reign, and which hath most endeared that æra, as well as his memory, was the delivering that state from the tyrannical check of the *Turkish* Bashas, or viceroys. The person, who then resided in that quality at *Algiers*, whose name is not mentioned by our author, had, it seems, been very busy and intermeddling in matters of state, which were to be wholly out of his province. He had particularly had a great influence in the election of the late Dey, as well as ventured to oppose that of the present. This insolence, which had hitherto been indulged to them by the government, could hardly escape the resentment of *Hali* Dey, who made no scruple to get him arrested soon after his election, and ordered him to be embarked in a trading vessel that was bound to *Tunis*, with a severe threatening, that he would surely put him to death, if ever he dared set his foot in *Algiers*, to raise any fresh commotions.

Hali's embassy
to the Porte.

THE next step our politic Dey took, was to send an embassy to the *Porte*, with rich presents for the Vazier, the Soltanesses, and chief officers of the court, with a detail of complaints against the Bascha, and represented to the Grand Vazier, that, though his turbulent misconducts were risen to such a height that they deserved death, nevertheless, out of his deep regard to the Grand Signor and him, he had only contented himself with banishing him. He added, that the *Turkish* militia was so exasperated against those Bashas, that, if any for the future should give them the same cause of discontent, they would not fail of massacring them, which would be a great insult, and an irreparable affront to the sublime *Porte*. He closed his representation with observing, how much more it would be for the honour and interest of the Soltan, since those Bashas were so useless, obnoxious, and chargeable, not to send any more of them to *Algiers*, but to confer that dignity on the Deys for the time being. This proposal was so well relished at the *Constantinopolitan* court, that it was immediately agreed to^f; and from that time *Hali*, and his successors, have looked upon themselves as sovereigns, and acted with a plenary power, and the title of Bashas, or viceroys, of the *Ottoman* *Porte*, excepting only that, upon some particular occasions, this last sends his Capigi Bashas, or envoys extraordinary, to *Algiers*, to transact or settle matters with the Douwan; yet do they there meet with but a cold reception, not only on account of their being maintained at the public charge, but much more so for their haughty deportment, which is the more odious to the soldiery, as it is a kind of reproach on their meanness, and their dependance on the *Porte*; for which

The Bashaship
conferred on
the Algerine
Deys.

^a Hist. D'Algiers, lib. ii. c. vi. p. 215, & seq.

^f See before, p. 278. & seq. & alib. pass.

reason

a reason they make all the dispatch they can to dismiss them, and with as little ceremony as common decency and policy will admit of.

In the 4th year of *Hali's* reign happened another remarkable occurrence, which well deserves a place here. Mr. *Thomas Thomson*, our *English* consul at *Algiers*, as he was going to the hall, where the captains of ships usually meet, was insulted by a young Moor, supposed to have been in liquor, by jostling him on the mole, which is very narrow, instead of giving him the way; and, upon his being asked, whether he intended to shove him over it, and whether he was not an odd spark to dispute the way with him, answered him, with great insolence, that no dog of a Christian was above him, and gave him a box on the ear; and throwing him upon his back, clapped his knee furiously on his breast. The captain of the port, happening to be in sight, called out to him; upon which he left him and fled, whilst he helped the consul up, and led him to the assembly of the sea officers. The admiral being there apprised of what had happened, expressed his utmost concern at the insult, and went forthwith and complained of it to the Dey in the strongest terms; but, having a regard for the young offender, whose father was a noted merchant, endeavoured to extenuate the fault, and begged that he might not be punished with death. The Dey, though he promised to spare him so far, yet insisted that some punishment should be laid on him, for the satisfaction of the consul and the determent of others.

A *BASTINADO* being agreed on between them, Mr. *Thomson* was sent for to see justice done on the offender; and the young Moor was brought in by the Grand Provost, to whom the Dey sternly said, *Thou villain, what hast thou done?* To whom the young fellow, with little or no concern, answered, *What have I done! I have only beaten a Christian dog for taking the wall of me, and giving me abusive language.* The Dey, in a passion, asked him, *Whether it was true that he had treated the English consul in the shameful manner complained of?* which he as impudently acknowledged; and asked him, *Whether that was all he was brought before him for?* At which the Dey was so exasperated, that he condemned him to receive two thousand two hundred bastinadoes, which were accordingly given him before the consul.

THE first thousand strokes, which were given him on the soles of his feet, brought them so far off, that they only hanged by a small ligament: but as a greater number would soon have dispatched him out of his misery, the Dey, to make as severe and deterring an example of him as possible, ordered him back to prison to recover himself; and, on the morrow, by nine of the clock, the remaining twelve hundred strokes were given him on his posteriors; upon which he lost his speech and senses: but, as he was not quite dead, he was remanded back to prison, there to be left, without any relief, to expire in the most dreadful agonies for his drunken folly^a, as a determent against such future insults.

IT was also in this same year that admiral *Baker*, being sent by his *Britannic* majesty, king *George I.* to renew the treaties with *Tunis*, *Tripoli*, and *Algiers*, visited the two former kingdoms in person; but deputed captain *Coningsby Norbury*, commander of the *Argyle*, and captain *Nicholas Eaton*, commander of the *Chester*, in conjunction with Mr. *Thomas Thomson*, who, in the absence of his brother *Samuel*, acted as consul, to ratify all the former treaties with the *Algerine* republic, and to add to them the four following articles, viz.

1. THAT, if any demand or pretensions shall be now left depending between the subjects, or others, of either party, they shall be amicably redressed, and full satisfaction made to each other, according to the truth and justice of their claim; nor shall any of the same be cancelled, or made void by this treaty.

2. THAT, as the island of *Minorca*, in the *Mediterranean* sea, and the city of *Gibraltar*, in *Spain*, have been yielded and annexed to the crown of *Great Britain*, as well by the king of *Spain* as by the several powers in *Europe* engaged in the late war, it is now hereby agreed, and fully concluded, that, from this time forward for ever, the said island of *Minorca* and the city of *Gibraltar* shall be esteemed, in every respect, by the government and people of *Algiers*, to be part of his *Britannic* majesty's dominions, and the inhabitants thereof be looked upon as his majesty's natural subjects, in the same manner as if they had been born in any part of the *British* territories. And they, with their ships and vessels, wearing *British* colours, and being furnished with proper passes, shall be permitted freely to trade and traffick in any part of the dominions of *Algiers*, without any molestation whatsoever; and shall have the same liberties and privileges that are stipulated in this, and have been made in any other treaties, in behalf of the *British* nation and subjects; and, therefore, none of the cruizers shall, at any time, cruise within sight of the said island of *Minorca* and city of *Gibraltar*.

^a *Ibid.* l. i. c. 8. p. 104, & seq.

3. THAT, if an *English* ship shall receive on board any passengers or goods belonging to *Algiers*, the *English* shall defend them both as far as lieth in their power, &c. and to prevent any fraudulent demands being made on the crown of *Great Britain*, &c. all goods, &c. stipulated by the subjects of *Algiers* on *British* vessels, shall be first registered in the office of *Cancellaria* before the *British* consul, together with their weight, value, &c. before it depart.

4. THAT, if any *Algerine* cruizers shall meet with any *British* ships provided with scollop passes, of either ships or gallies, that shall fit with those delivered to them by the *British* consul, they shall pass free and unmolested. Given at *Algiers*, October 29, 1716.

Hali Dey dies,
greatly re-
gretted.

THUS far the additional articles, concluded with *Baba Hali Dey*, who had the good fortune to die quietly in his bed, after a reign of almost eight years. He was raised from the dignity of *Basha*, or Grand Provost, to that of *Dey*, in June, 1710; and died April 13, 1718, highly esteemed and regretted, and was interred with great pomp, as is usually done to those *Deys* that die a natural death. However, to prevent all tumults and bloodshed about the choice of a successor, the officers of his household, in conjunction with those of the *Douwan*, took care, as soon as his physicians had given him over, to agree upon one privately amongst themselves, namely, *Mehemed*, who was then *Cazenar*, or high treasurer. So that as soon as the breath was gone out of *Hali's* body, he was immediately invested with the *Castan*, or royal robes; and, as soon as day-light appeared, was proclaimed by the firing of the artillery, and other usual ceremonies^h; and with this period we shall conclude the *Algerine* history.

^h TASSY, ubi sup. MORGAN'S Append. Hist. of Algiers, 1750, page 179, & al.

C H A P. IV.

The history of Tunis, or Tunes.

- ^a **T**HIS kingdom hath its name from its famed metropolis, one of the antientest cities in *Africa*, and once the second in rank next to *Carthage*, as may be seen by the description *Tunis*, which we have given of it, and its various changes, in our *Antient history*^a. Both the city and kingdom hath undergone a much greater number since the expulsion of the *Romans* out of *Africa*; an account of which will be seen in the sequel: at present we shall content ourselves with observing, that, in its more modern state, that is, before *Barbarossa* stripped it of some of its provinces, it was of a much larger extent than it hath ever been since its being established in its new form of government by *Sinan Pasha*, though still a very powerful and opulent city under its new set of monarchs; and, we may add, more civilized than any on the *African* coasts; insomuch that, from being once as famed for its corsairs as that of *Algiers* last spoken of, its inhabitants have, of late years, given themselves wholly to traffick, and cease to be a terror to the fair trader on those seas.

^a Vol. vi. p. 665, & seq.

S E C T. I.

A geographical description of the kingdom of Tunis.

- ^c **T**HIS kingdom did once comprehend the provinces of *Constantina*, *Bujeyah*, or *Bugia*, *Tunis*, *Tripoli*, and *Zaab*, vulgarly *Ezzab*. At present the two former belong to *Al-giers*, the third, viz. *Tripoli*, forms a republic of itself, and *Zaab* is become dependant on it; so that only *Tunis Proper* is all that is left of it to its present Beys. Its boundaries, therefore, are now the *Mediterranean* on the north and east, the kingdom of *Algiers* on the west, and *Tripoli*, with part of *Biledulgerid*, on the south. The length of it, from north to south, or from Cape *Serra*, in lat. $37^{\circ} 12'$, to the island of *Jerba*, in lat. $33^{\circ} 30'$, is 220 miles; and its breadth, from west to east, or from the city of *Sbekka*, the most advanced towards the west, and lying in east long. $8^{\circ} 0'$, to that of *Clybea*, the farthest towards the east, under $11^{\circ} 20'$ east longitude, about 170^a (A).
- ^d THE kingdom of *Tunis* hath been variously divided; viz. 1. into seven provinces; four of which, *Carthage*, *Goletta*, al. *Guletta*, *Bizerta*, *Susa*, and *Almedea*, or *Africa*, were stiled maritime; and the other three *Kayr wan*, *Urbs*, and *Beggia*, together with a tract of land, one half in *Numidia*, and the other in *Libya*, were called inland. Again: into the eight following districts or governments; viz. 1. *Tunis Proper*; 2. *Byrsa*, or *Carthage*, and *Goletta*, which are now joined to the first; 3. *El-Medea*, or *Africa*; 4. *Susa*, or *Sousa*; 5. *Kayr-wan*, or *Cairvan*; 6. *Hamamet*, al. *Mabometta*; 7. *Bizerta*; 8. *Porto Farino*; all which take their names from their respective capitals. At present the whole kingdom is divided into two circuits; viz. the summer and winter, which the Bey takes in person through his dominions at those two seasons, as will be seen in the sequel. We shall, however, for order's sake, follow the second division in our subsequent account of those capitals and their districts; each of which
- ^e had, moreover, a number of cities and towns; the greatest part of which have been since destroyed by the *Arabians*, who are here very numerous and powerful, and who will not suffer them to be rebuilt, that they may have the greater freedom to range the country with their vast

^a SHAW'S Travels, p. 139, & seq.

(A) We have here followed one of the latest and most accurate writers (1), whose observations, if right, plainly shew, how greatly some modern geographers have erred, particularly *Sanfon*, who places Cape *Bona* in lat. $34^{\circ} 15'$, and Cape *Gabs* in 30° north; that is, above three degrees too far southward. *Moll* likewise brings it a few minutes only too far north, but extends it to the southward beyond the parallel of *Tripoli*. *De-lisse* hath done almost the same in his royal map of

Africa; whereas, as our author observes, there is a remarkable chain of mountains in the same parallel with the island of *Jerba*, which forms the boundaries of *Tunis* and *Tripoli*. So that, of all the other modern geographers, *Luyts* seems to have been the best acquainted with the extent of this kingdom in general, who allows it three degrees of longitude, and four of latitude (2).

(1) Shaw's Travels, p. 139.

(2) *Intrat. ad Geogr. sect. iv. c. 19, p. 673. Shaw, ubi sup. p. 140.*

The Bey's annual circuits through the kingdom.

herds, and enjoy the pleasures and product of that fertile country in greater ease and plenty. a So that the inland part is now hardly any other than a vast spacious champaign country, most of the cities being situate along the coast ; and these not above fourteen in number, and but few of them either large or populous. Those in the inland parts are still fewer, and in a worse condition, being but eight in all ; that is, seven in *Tunis*, and one in *Biledulgerid* ^b. However, as the division of this kingdom into provinces, hath been set aside long since, and the whole is under the immediate government and inspection of the Bey, who collects the tribute and whole revenue in person, we shall content ourselves with giving their names in the margin (B), and follow the present established division of the kingdom, which is into the two circuits that the Bey takes through the principal part of it with his flying camp ; the one in summer through the fertile country, in the neighbourhood of *Keff* and *Baijab* ; the other in the winter, through the several districts between *Kayr-wan* and the *Jereede*, or *Elgereid*, that is, the dry country ; which part of the *Sabara*, or desert, we have had occasion to speak already in the history of *Algiers* *. By this means we shall have an opportunity of describing such of those cities as have any thing worth notice, without troubling our reader with the rest ; as likewise the capes, principal islands, rivers, mountains, and other particulars, as they occur in each circuit ; and this division of the kingdom into those two circuits will appear the more convenient, as it corresponds as much as possible to that of the antients into *Zeugitana* and *Byzacium*, spoken of in the *Antient History* ^c ; according to which, the former or summer circuit will include that part which spreads itself northward of the parallel of *Hamamet*, or *Hamam-el* ; and the winter one, answering to the old *Byzacium*, or *Libyphœnice*, will contain all that lieth south of that parallel ^d.

THE summer circuit, or northern district, is by far the most pleasant, fertile, and populous, and hath a much greater number of cities, villages, Dowars, or Adowars, and carries the fairest appearance of plenty, prosperity, and chearfulness of the two ; which is, doubtless, owing to the mildness of its government, and its being freer from tyranny and oppression than that of *Algiers* last spoken of. And, as it is bounded by the river *Tusca*, now called *Zaine*, tho' by others *Guadil-Barbar*, which divides it from the *Algerine* province of *Constantina*, may be properly looked upon as the *Africa Propria Minor* and *Carthaginensis*, and the *Provincia Vetus* of the antients, and the *Proconsularis* of the *Notitia* ^e. Its most fertile parts are about the *Keff* and *Bai-jab*, and *Dackbut*, which abound with arable and pasture grounds. The rest are much inferior to them in fertility ; and are interspersed with plains, hills, and marshes, which scarce admit of any cultivation or improvement ^f ; altho' the inhabitants here are more industrious, and have better encouragement for it, than they have under the other *Turkish* governments. d

Principal rivers.

THE principal rivers of this circuit are, 1. The *Zaine*, which, we observed in the last chapter, divides the *Tunesian* kingdom from that of *Algiers* *. 2. The *Guadil-Barbar*, which several authors make the boundary between those two kingdoms ; to which they add, that it hath its spring as far southward as the city of *Urbs*, or *Jerbus* ; whence, running in a winding course north-west, it empties itself into the *Mediterranean*, near the port of *Tabarka*. This river, we are told, winds itself along in so many meanders, that those who go from *Tunis* to *Bona* are obliged to ford it above twenty times, there being neither bridges e nor ferry-boats to carry one over it ^g (C). 3. The *Me-jerda*, vulgarly *Mejerada* and *Maggiordecca*, the famed *Bagrada* of the antients, on the banks of which *Regulus* is said to have killed a monstrous serpent ^h. The description of it is in our *Antient History* ; to which we shall only add, that it hath often changed its chanel, and hath left in many places, where it formerly ran, evident marks of its overflows ; and that an open creek, into

The Mejerda ; its chanel changed.

^b LEO AFRIC. l. v. MARMOL, l. vi. c. i. & seq. GRAMMAY, lib. viii. c. 3. & seq. DAPPER, DAVITY'S Afric. Tunes. SHAW, ubi sup. Vid. & LUYT's Intr. ad Geograph. sect. iv. & c. * See before, p. 204. ^c Vol. vi. p. 665, & 668, & seq. ^d SHAW, ubi sup. ^e LEO AFRIC. ubi sup. GRAMMAY, MARMOL, & al. sup. citat. ^f SHAW, ubi sup. p. 141, & seq. ^g See before, p. 204, & seq. ^h LEO AFRIC. l. iii. p. 287. MARMOL, DAPPER, & al. ⁱ Vol. iv. p. 663, vi. p. 671.

(B) The cities along the coast run in the following order, from east to west ; viz. 1. *Tabarka* ; 2. *Bizerta* ; 3. *Porto Farino* ; 4. *Goletta* ; 5. *Tunis*, from north to south ; 6. *Hamamet* ; 7. *Herkla*, al. *Herguela* ; 8. *Susa* ; 9. *Monaster* ; 10. *Africa*, now ruined ; 11. *Carpouda*, or *Caboudia* ; 12. *Esfakes* ; 13. *El Hama*, al. *Ellamait* ; 14. *Gabb*, al. *Gabcs*.

(C) Doctor *Shaw*, the latest writer on this subject, denies there being any river of the name of *Guadil-Barbar*, or of its springing so far from the sea ; and allows of none but the *Zaine* to divide *Tunes* from *Algiers*. This last, he tells us, hath its fountain no farther off than some of the adjacent mountains, and falls into the sea near *Thabraca*, now *Tabarka* ; the ruins of which are spread over the western banks of it ; among which is a

fort, and a *Tunesian* garrison ; together with some broken cisterns and other antiquities (5).

It is strange so great a number of authors should have given us the name, spring, various meanders, and other particulars, of a river which is not in being ; or, if it is, that so accurate an observer should not have found it out. We can determine nothing about it, till some new traveller brings us a clearer account of it ; but that the *Zaine* abovementioned is the boundary of the *Tunesian* state, on the *Algerine* coast, is hardly to be questioned ; and that the description we meet with of this river, doth in no ways answer to that which those authors give us of the *Guadil-Barbar*, any more than it doth in name, is no less apparent (6).

(5) *Shaw*, ubi sup. p. 99.

(6) See *Leo Afric. lib. iii. Marmol, lib. viii. Davity, Dapper.*

- a which it discharged itself, little more than a century ago, is now circumscribed by the mud; and become a large pond, or a kind of anti-harbour to *Porto Farino*¹. The cause of which is supposed to be the height of the shore, from the port last named to *Carthage*, above the level of the sea; which, being exposed to the east and north-east winds, may have choaked up the mouth of it, as hath happened to many other rivers: so that there is reason to apprehend, that the chanel will, in a few years, return again to the southward; the pond formed by it being every day more and more choaked with mud; and the mouth, or bar of the river, which, till lately, admitted vessels of the greatest burden, being become now too shallow to receive a cruizer of thirty guns, unless it be first discharged of its lading^k.
4. The *Miliana*, supposed to be the *Catada* of the antients^l, and a branch of the *Guadil-Barbar*; about a mile from which is the noted hot bath, called *Hammam Leef*, much resorted to by the citizens of *Tunis*^m. It is remarkable only for forming the bay of *Tunis*, and having that metropolis situate on the mouth of it. 5. The *Gabbs*, or *Caps*, or *Capes*, supposed to be the *Triton* of the antients, hath its source three or four leagues only to the south-south-west of the city of its name, and falls into the sea to the northward of the old city, forming the ground, on which it was built, into a kind of peninsula. This last, more properly, belongs to the winter circuit; though the gulph, to which it gives its name, be in the summer one. We have given an account of it, and the lake which is formed by it, in our *Antient History*ⁿ; and shall only add, that the waters of the *Gabbs* are said to be so hot, that they cannot be drank till an hour after they have been taken out of it; and that those of the lake are likewise affirmed, when drank, to be a remedy against the leprosy^o. Thus much may serve for the *Tunesian* rivers. To which we shall only add that of *Me-jerda*, or *Old Bagra*, which is the most considerable of the whole kingdom, and divides itself into two, almost from east to west, and receives the greatest number of rivers into its streams: and that of *Zaine* hath a small island lying over-against the mouth of it, which is now possessed by the *Genoese*, who pay a yearly rent for it to the Bey, on account of the pearl fishery; but the little advantage they have made of it of late, will, in all likelihood, oblige them to abandon that settlement in a little time, though they have a pretty good fort in it, capable of defending them either against any surprize from the *Zenati*, and other *Arabs* on the continent, or from the insults of any of the *Algerine* or *Tripolitan* cruizers^p. The Genoese island.
- d *Porto Negro*.

THE most considerable islands belonging to this state are, 1. *Cape Negro*, five miles to the north-east of *Tabarka*, which hath a settlement of the *French African* company, who pay a considerable sum of money to *Tunis* for the liberty they enjoy at *La Calle* (D), and for keeping up a fort here to protect them from the insults of the neighbouring *Mogodri*, and other *Arabians*^q.

2. *JALTA*, the *Galata*, or *Calatbe*, of the antients, is a high rocky island, six miles north of *Cape Negro*, and ten to the north-east of *Tabarka*. There is a very dangerous shoal, unknown to our sea charts, lying about five leagues from it to the west-south-west^r. The *Cani*, which are two little flat contiguous islands, where the *Italian* row-boats lie frequently in wait for the *Tunesians*. These islands are about four leagues to the north-north-west of the *Cape Pil-loe*, and very nearly in the middle way to *Cape Blanco*. The capes of note are, *Cape Sierra*, five leagues north-east of *Cape Negro*, and the most advanced to *Africa* towards the north; four leagues beyond which, northward, are the *Tres Fratres*, or three brothers, which are three rocky islands near the continent, about half way to *Cape Blanco*.
- e

THIS cape is supposed, from its whiteness, to be the *Promontorium Candidum* of *Pliny*, and *Promontorium Pulchrum* of *Livy*, where *Scipio* made his first descent into *Africa*; it being of a chalky substance, and from thence called by the *Moors* the *White Cape*.

- CAPE Zibeeb*, so called from the great quantities of raisins that are made upon it, is likewise remarkable for the whiteness of some of its cliffs on the eastern side, and for having what they call *Pil-loe*, a high pointed rock, in the shape of that favourite dish of theirs, situate just below it. That *Cape Zibeeb* is the *Promontorium Apollinis* we have formerly shewn^s. The reader may see some farther proofs of it in *Dr. Shaw's Travels*^t.
- f

THE last cape of note is that of *Bon*, called by the *Moors* *Ras Addar*; and is the *Herculean Promontory* of the antients. It stands eleven leagues east-south-east of that of *Zibeeb*; and is of such a height, that one can see the *Sicilian* mountains from the summit of it.

¹ SHAW, ubi sup. p. 242

^k Ibid. 143.

^l Antient Hist. vol. vi. p. 671.

^m Id. ibid. SHAW,

p. 157. LEO AFRIC. lib. v. p. 225, & seq.

ⁿ Vol. vi. p. 671.

^o LEO AFRIC. lib. ix. DAPPER, & al.

^p SHAW, ubi sup. p. 142.

^q Id. ibid. Vid. & TASSY, p. 132.

^r SHAW, ibid.

^s See Antient Hist. vol.

vi. p. 663.

^t Pag. 146.

(D) This place, though under the *Algerine* government, the *French* pay a kind of tribute, also to that of *Tunis*, for the quiet possession of it. We have given an account of their removing from the *French* bastion hither, on account of the unwholesomeness of the air (7).

(7) See before, p. 225, & alib.

Gulph of Bizerta.

THE principal gulphs are, 1. That of *Bizerta*, the *Sinus Hipponensis* of the antients^a; a very large one it is, and hath its name from the town of *Bizerta*, or as the *Africans* call it, *Ben-sberdt* (E), situated upon the western banks of it. This gulph, having a communication with the lake of the same name on the south, and with the sea on the north, forms a kind of canal between them; through which a constant stream is alternately discharging itself from the one to the other, in the same manner as the *Atlantic Ocean* is observed to do in the *Mediterranean*, and back again^w; so that what the lake loses by exhalations, is again recruited by the sea; which, at such times, runs very briskly into it in hot seasons, to keep up an equilibrium. This gulph is formed by the Capes *Blanco* and *Zibeeb*, lately mentioned, and is a beautiful sandy inlet, near four leagues wide, and once admitted the largest vessels into the great pier of *Hippo*; of which there are still some traces remaining, projecting out into the sea, to break off the north-east wind; so that it appears to have been one of the beautifullest and safest havens upon those coasts. The misfortune is, that the *Turks*, always averse to repairs, have let it go so to ruin, that it will receive none now but small vessels, and is in danger to be in a little time totally destroyed.

Gulph of Tunis.

THE other gulph of note is that of *Tunis*, situate between the Capes *Zibeeb* and *Bon*; the former making the western, and the latter, at eleven leagues distance, the eastern point of it. *Zowa Moore*, the *Egimurus* of the antients, and the *Zimboa* of our sea charts, lies between these promontories, but nearer that of *Bon*, in the very mouth of the gulph. The island of *Gamelora* lies a little way eastward of Cape *Zibeeb*; and, four miles to the west, within the cape, stands *Porto Farino*, called from an antient salt-work hard by it *Gar-el-meliab*, or the *Cave of Salt*, by the inhabitants of it^v. Other particulars, relating to this *Tunesian* gulph, will be better seen when we come to speak of the metropolis situate upon it.

Chief mountains.

THE chief mountain of this kingdom, worth notice, is the *Zozwaan*, al. *Zagwan*, or *Zagoan*, a very high and famed one; from whose summit one hath a prospect of the greatest part of the kingdom; and from which *Agathocles* is thought to have been entertained with a view both of the country of the *Adrumetines* and *Carthaginians*. It is likewise remarkable for a town of its name, situate at the foot of it, in great repute for dying of scarlet caps, and for bleaching of linen; vast quantities of both being daily brought thither from all parts of the kingdom. The stream, which serves for that purpose, and runs from the top of the mountain, was formerly carried by a noble conduit to *Carthage*. Over the fountain was built a temple; the ruins of which are still to be seen. It hath likewise, both on the declivity, and about the foot of it, several *Roman* antiquities; such as towns, castles, forts, &c. with inscriptions cut in marble^z. It stands about a league and a half south-south-east of *Tunis*; and is mostly barren and desert, except a few spots, which bear here and there some barley; but there are, almost all over it, proper places where they shelter vast quantity of bee-hives. The rest of the territory round about it is almost a continued champaign country; thro' which mount *Atlas* opens a spacious way from that of *Zaab* into *Numidia*. Other mountains of this country are, the *Gueslet*, *Beni-tesren*, and *Nufusa*; the former, about three leagues from *Kayrwan*, hath likewise several *Roman* antiquities; the two last, one about seven miles from *Zerbi* and *Asfacus*, have little worth notice, except the poverty of the inhabitants, who yet maintain their liberty, by means of the ruggedness of their abodes. But, as many of them are forced to go to *Tunis*, and other parts, to get a livelihood, they run great risk of being ill treated by the *Tunesian* Alfaquis, or doctors; because they alone, of all the people of this kingdom, are of the sect of *Ali*, which is here detested; so that they are forced to conceal that part of their religion from them, as well as they can^a, wherever they go. The lakes of this kingdom, having been described in our *Antient History*^b, we shall refer our readers to it, to avoid needless repetitions. We need only add here, that that of *Tunis*, which was formerly deep, and capacious enough to contain a large fleet, is, since then, especially as it hath been in the possession of the *Turks*, become so shallow, particularly in the summer-time, by receiving all the common sinks of the city, that the middle of its chanel is hardly above six or seven feet deep of water; whilst the rest of it, for the space of a mile or more, within its banks, is become both dry and nauseous; though, in other respects, its prospect receives no small beauty from the numerous flocks of *Flamants* that frequent it; and is no less famous for the number and largeness of its

Roman antiquities.

^a See Antient Hist. vol. vi. p. 667. ^w Philosophical Transactions, apud SHAW, p. 144. ^y MARMOL, DAPPER, SHAW, & al. ^z See Antient Hist. vol. vi. p. 800, & seq. MARMOL, l. vi. c. 35. DAPPER, p. 189. SHAW, p. 184, & seq. ^a LEO AFRIC. lib. v. ad fin. MARMOL, lib. vi. cap. 57, DAPPER, &c. ^b Vol. vi. p. 670.

(E) Which they derive from their situation, *Beni Sherdt* signifying the offspring of the canal, which etymon is not only natural and ingenious, and bids as fair at least for being the true one as that substituted for it by others, who will have *Bizerta* to be a corruption of the *Hippo Diarrhatus*, or *Zarytus*, of the ancient Greeks, which *Pliny* translates, *Aquarum Irrigua* (S). *Bochart* thinks the *Hippo* there to be only a corruption of the Phœnician *Ubbo*, which signifies a gulph (9).

(8) See Antient Hist. vol. vi. p. 657. (9) Bochart de Cælen Phœni. lib. i. c. 24. See also Shaw's Travels, p. 154.

a mullets, esteemed the sweetest upon the coast of *Barbary*; the roe of which, being afterwards dried and pressed, is reckoned a great dainty, and known by the name of *Bolargo*^c. Let us now take a view of the principal cities of this summer circuit.

WE begin with the metropolis, whose origin, antiquity, situation, and former splendor, *Tunis the capital*; have been already taken notice of in our *Antient History**; but which is now become still

more considerable, by being the capital of a powerful kingdom. *Diodorus* gave it the epithet of *Λευκον*, *white*, probably on account of the white chalky cliffs which seem to surround it, when viewed from the sea; and between which it spreads itself upwards, from the western banks of the chanel, lately mentioned, of *Goletta* (F), in form of an oblong square, about a mile in length. The whole town, suburbs included, extends no farther

b than three miles^d; though some authors have given it a much larger circuit, without any foundation; its walls having still the same compass, though its suburbs are very much lessened to what they were, *an. 1520*, when they were computed to contain 1600 houses, mostly inhabited by tradesmen of all sorts, besides those within the walls, which, in *Grammay's* time, amounted to 10,000 more. But at present it is far enough from being so populous as *Algiers*, though living under a milder government; neither are the buildings so lofty and magnificent. The fine prospect likewise that it yielded towards the sea, comes also far short of what it did, the forts, castles, and other works on the adjacent hills, which added much to it, having been demolished by the *Turks* almost as soon as they became masters of it^e.

c *TUNIS* labours under three very great inconveniencies; *viz.* 1. It is so much commanded by those hills, that, excepting its walls, which are about forty cubits high, and flanked at proper distances with small towers, the whole strength of it seems chiefly to consist in the number of its inhabitants; the greatest part of whom are tradesmen. 2. The lakes and marshes around it render its situation much less healthy, notwithstanding the inhabitants endeavour to remedy it, by the great quantity of mastic, myrtle, rosemary, and other aromatick herbs, with which they daily heat their ovens, bagnios, &c. which of course communicate a corrective fragrancy to the air. The third, and worst of all is the scarcity of water, there being no springs or rivers near it; their wells are mostly brackish, and their cisterns but few; so that they are forced to fetch the greatest part of what they drink from

d *Bardo*, and other places at a mile distance. There is, indeed, one well in the city, whose water is barely drinkable; yet, even this is carefully reserved for the use of the Bey and his household. We are moreover told, that there is another well in the city, whose water is quite salt; and is, nevertheless, so far preferred to that of their cisterns, that they suffer it to be fetched and sold about for their common drinking, or, more probably, for their *pil-law*, and other cookery, unless we suppose the preference to be owing to its saltness, as being more palatable to them than the insipid rain-water of their cisterns. We might add a fourth inconvenience still; *viz.* the dryness of the territory round about, which requires continual watering; so that there is hardly a corn field but what hath a well dug in some corner for that purpose, which makes it very inconvenient (G), and often raises the price of

e grain to an excessive height; add to this, their harvest being exposed to the incursions of the *Arabians* in harvest-time, which obliges the citizens to sow their wheat, barley, and rye, in or near the suburbs, and even to inclose those fields with stout walls^f: but, excepting these inconveniencies, no place enjoys a greater plenty of all necessaries of life; for, besides that ships are continually bringing new supplies of provisions, their gardens abound with variety of fruit trees; such as palms, figs, dates, citrons, lemons, olives, &c. and this last grows in such abundance, about a league's distance round the city, that they supply the inhabitants, as well as strangers, with oil, and even with charcoal, that being the only wood they have to make it with: This scarcity of grain is one cause why the inhabitants are, for the most part, poor, and are forced to live very meanly. They have, indeed, very good wheat, chiefly from *Urbs*, *Bujeiab*, and other neighbouring places; and this they grind with a hand-mill, and sift through a fine sieve, and make a kind of fine cakes, and a flat kind of vermicelli: but this is only in use among the wealthy; the poorer sort being forced to take up with barley meal, which they make into a kind of dumplings, and eat,

^c SHAW, ubi sup. pag. 154, & seq. * Vol. vi. p. 665, & seq. ^d GRAMMAY'S *Afric. Illust.* lib. viii. ch. I. ^e DAPPER'S *Afric.* p. 190. ^f SHAW, p. 156. ^g Ibid. ^h Ibid.

(F) So called from the *Arabic*, *Halck-el-aved*, or *throat of the river*; which name the inhabitants give it, by reason of its being a chanel of communication between the lake of *Tunis* and the sea, as we observed a little above. The *Italians* first gave it that name of *Goletta*; which, in their language, answers to that. The *Tunians* have a castle on each side of it, tolerably strong, for the security of that narrow passage, as well as of the road east and south-east (9).

(9) *Marmol*, l. vi. c. 16. See also *Shaw's Travels*, p. 154. (11) See *Leo Afr. lib. v. p. 217.* & seq. *Grammay*, lib. viii. c. 2. *Marmol*, lib. vi. c. 16, *Dapper*, *Library*, & a.

dipped into oil or butter, mixed with vinegar, or the juice of lemons if they can afford it; a whilst the still poorer sort will only stir it in water and eat it raw, and without any sauce. They have a market in this city, where there is nothing sold but barley; of which they make that poor kind of food. However, they have plenty of honey, and fruits of all sorts, and pretty cheap, to mend their other fare; and, on some particular feast days, will afford themselves a little flesh, especially lamb. Their main streets are large, and crossed by narrow lanes, at proper distances; and the houses mostly built with stone, but meaner than those of *Algiers*, and but one story high, and flat at the top. There are very few buildings of any grandeur, except the great mosk, the Bey's palace, and some few others belonging to persons of rank; though they had heretofore a number of mosks, and other public edifices; such as colleges, hospitals, baths, prisons for slaves, &c. The gates of the city are five in number; viz. that of *Vasouk*, of *Carthage*, of *El-boar*, *Affeyr*, and *Elmenar*; none of them very stately: without the walls, round the city, are the *Turkish* sepulchres, adorned with marble tombs, oratories, flower-plats, and other embellishments^b.

Bey's palace;

THE Bey's palace is by far the most magnificent edifice in all the town. It hath four stately gates, one at each front; and high turrets at each end. The courts are spacious, the galleries rich and lofty; the gardens large, but not elegant; the halls and apartments are likewise very sumptuous, particularly that called the treasury; in which, among other valuable things, is kept the book of their law, written by their celebrated doctor *Al Mohadian*; from whom the Beys boast themselves to be descended; and, in virtue of that descent, set up for the sole judges of all controversies about religion. The rest of that sumptuous edifice, being much after the manner of the *Algerine* Deys, of which we have given a description in the last chapter, we shall refer our reader to it. Next unto it is the chief mosk, lately mentioned, and built likewise after the *Turkish* taste; so that it hath nothing remarkable or peculiar, except its bigness and stately tower; which, next to that of *Fez*, is allowed the highest in all *Africa* (H).

great mosk.

NEAR the heart of the city is a piazza of vast extent, which heretofore contained no less than 3000 woollen and linen drapers shops; all handsomely built, and furnished with great variety of those two commodities; besides a great number of others belonging to other trades and manufactures, and to dealers in all sorts of druggistery goods. The two chief manufactures of this city are the linen and woollen; both which it hath been ever famous for, above all others in *Barbary*, on account of the peculiar way their women had of spinning their thread; they letting down their spindles from the top of their houses quite to the ground; the weight of which makes it both finer and smoother^a. Here are several colleges and schools, and in them a good number of learned men, and doctors of their law; part of whom are maintained at the public charge, and part by the mendicant trade; all of them in high esteem, though not in so high veneration as their real or counterfeit ideots and madmen, who wander about bare-headed and bare-footed, and are accounted by the people the greatest favourites of heaven, and maintained as such at the public charge. The *Janissaries* have their barracks very handsome, like those of *Algiers*; and their Aga, or chief, a palace or court, whither they repair for orders, and other affairs relating to them. The merchants and tradesmen have their public exchange; and the custom-house officers a large

Madmen in great veneration.

^a Ibid. ^b Vid. LEO, GRAMMAY, MARMOL, & al. ub. sup.

(H) This mosk, we are told, was founded by *Zecchariah*, king of *Tunis*, in honour of one of their great saints, named *Emethben-aros*, in great repute amongst them. It stands on an eminence, at some small distance from the castle, and was formerly a sanctuary for criminals. On the top of its high tower are three balls of gilt copper, like that of the city of *Morocco*; of which we have given an account in a former chapter*. But of this of *Tunis*, their *Alfakis*, or doctors, give the following fabulous account; which, nevertheless, passes for current among all the *Tunefians*.

Jaacob Almanzor, king of *Morocco*, having taken a resolution to wander about the world *incognito*, one of his wives, who loved him above the rest, set out in quest of him, with a female child in her arms; and, having gone through great part of *Africa*, found him at length at *Alexandria*, where she lived with him, unknown to any one, till his death; and then set upon her journey back to *Morocco*. When she came to *Tunis*, the king's son became enamoured with her daughter, and pressed her so hard to obtain her, that she was forced to go and complain of it to his father; who, in a surprise, asked her, where could she better dispose of her daughter than to his son? To this she answered, that she was ready to consent to his desire, provided the prince en-

gaged to marry her, and give her the same dowry that she herself had received from her late father; to which she added, that she would soon convince him that she was better born than his son. The *Moorish* king agreed to the conditions; upon which she produced her marriage contract, and told him farther, that all the dowry, which *Almanzor* had bestowed upon her, she laid out in the three golden apples, or balls, which she had caused to be put on the top of the tower of the great mosk at *Morocco*. The king of *Tunis*, willing to satisfy her, promised to do the same there; but not having a quantity of gold sufficient for the purpose, contented himself with putting up these three of copper gilt. Thus far the story, which one would rather think had been invented by some *Morocco* fabulist, in contempt of the *Tunefians*. Our author adds, that the *Alexandrians* have still the anniversary of *Almanzor*'s death in great veneration; though he tells us he has seen that prince's tomb in the city of *Menzala*, in the kingdom of *Fez*; but is not sure whether this last might not belong to another prince of that name, of the race of the *Benimerini*, equally famed for his valour; or, whether the relics of the former might not have been translated from *Alexandria* thither (11).

* See before, p. 160, & seq. (11) De hoc vid. sup. f. 135, & seq. Vid. & Marmol's Afr. l. vi. c. 16.

- a custom-house. The last public building we need mention is the arsenal and dock, seated upon the banks of the canal; and in which they have materials enough in store to build several galleys. On the opposite side is the fort of *Goletta*, lately mentioned; about two leagues distance from which, and one-half from the city, is another castle, built on a small island in the lake. But, as there is no likelihood of the town being attacked from that side, that fortification hath been long since neglected. The chief fortification belonging to this city is the castle, situate on an eminence, which commands it all over, and makes a very good appearance at a distance, and hath some cannon mounted before the gate. But the jealousy of the government here is such, that it is very dangerous, for a Christian especially, to view it too attentively; and the safest way is to pass by as fast as one can; and it is common to give a stranger notice of it at his coming *.
- b At some small distance from the castle is the *Bazar* for woollen-drapers, which is a long wide street, with shops on both sides, the front supported by four pillars. In other respects the place answers exactly to the condition which it was in in *Abu'lfeda's* time, who tells us, that there was an island in the lake, on which the *Tunefians* used to take their recreation; but that every side of it was no other than the common sink of all the filth of the city ¹.

- THE *Tunefians* in general, and more particularly the inhabitants of this metropolis, are like those of *Algiers*, a mixture of *Turks*, *Moors*, *Arabians*, *Jews*, and Christian merchants and slaves, only with this singular difference, that they are here more polite and civilized, and wholly free from that haughtiness, insolence, and cruelty, for which the rest of the people in *Barbary*, and above all others the *Algerines*, are so justly branded. They are much more kind and humane to their slaves in general; though they treat the knights of *Malta*, who are reduced to that condition, with greater severity, chiefly to oblige them to buy their freedom at a dearer price: for these, besides the iron shackle which all are obliged to wear about their ancles, have a huge heavy chain fastened to it, which commonly weighs about twenty-five pounds, and which they must either twist about their leg, though it is very troublesome to walk or work with, or hang it to their girdle by a hook, which causes a great pain in the side, or else toss it over their shoulder. They did moreover put them to the hardest labours; such as carrying of sand, stone, and mortar to builders; so that they were obliged to write to *Malta* for their ransom as soon as they could. The *Maltese*, on the other hand, were no sooner acquainted with their ill treatment, than they ordered all their *Turkish* slaves to be cruelly bastinadoed by way of return. The consequence of which was, that these were obliged to send to acquaint the *Tunefians*, that if they continued to make their *Maltese* slaves work at *Tunis*, they would be cudgelled to death at *Malta*; and this at length put an end to the additional hardship *.
- c
- d

- IN other respects, the *Tunefians* are very courteous to strangers; and all affairs with the regency are transacted in a very friendly manner: the consuls that reside here are treated with greater affability and condescension, justice and dispatch, than in any other court on these *African* coasts. In a word, this nation hath for many years been more intent upon trade, and the improvement of their manufactures, than upon plundering and cruising; upon which account it hath justly obtained the character, not of living like their neighbours in open war, and perpetual enmity with the Christian powers, but of cultivating their friendship, and coming readily into their alliances *.

- THE dress of the *Tunefians* of both sexes is likewise more polite and fine, though much of the same fashion with that of the *Algerines*. The women are handsome, neat, and more familiar: they go, indeed, veiled out of doors, but are allowed to be seen and converse with strangers, their husbands not being tainted with jealousy to the degree that other *Africans* are. Those that are wealthy are very fond of rich ornament and perfumes, and are constant in their visits to the public baths belonging to their sex; so that the druggists and apothecaries shops are seldom shut up before midnight, that being their chief time for bathing: in which they use a good deal of odoriferous drugs, and fine perfumes. The baths of this city, both those that belong to the men and women, are in great number; and, though inferior in largeness and beauty to those of *Fez* and *Algiers* ¹, yet persons are here more handsomely treated and better accommodated, notwithstanding the city is destitute of running water. But these are chiefly furnished with that element from the cisterns on the top of their houses, which receive the rain water, and let down a certain quantity from every house by a common pipe into one or two public reservoirs; from which this, and other exigencies of the city, are supplied, though not in such a quantity as to be able to bestow any part of it towards the watering or cleansing of their streets, which, on that account, are always either dirty or dusty: so that it is very unpleasant to walk in them, especially as
- f

* THEVENOT'S Voyag. part i. ch. 91. & al. sup. citat.

¹ ABU'LF. Geogr. ex traduit GAGNIER.

Vid. & SHAW, ubi sup. p. 154.

* THEVENOT'S Voyage, part i. LEO, MARMOL, & al. sup. citat.

* Ibid. Vid. SHAW, ubi sup. p. 156, & seq.

¹ See before, p. 234, & seq.

their houses have no windows in the front, which makes it look like walking between two a dead walls.

THE men, as well as the women, resort much to these baths, their religion obliging them to frequent washings, particularly before the hours of public prayers, after every trifling defilement, and more especially after the matrimonial intercourse. The merchants, officers, doctors, and scholars, affect to appear neatly dressed when they go abroad, but with such sedate gravity and good manners, that, though their streets are much crowded with people, one may go from one end of the city to the other, without fear of being insulted by the *Turks*, as one is sure to be at *Algiers*. One thing is, that tho' the *Tunefians* do not allow of many such public taverns to be kept by some of their slaves, as is done at *Algiers*, yet those houses are much better regulated here, insomuch that those very slaves have power to b chastise or drub even a *Turk*, if he drinks too much, or behaves insolently, or even to pull off and keep their turbans, till they have paid their reckoning. They sell none but white wine, which is produced in great plenty in the country about, and is very cheap and good; but they most commonly mix quick-lime with it, to make it more intoxicating. It is likewise the custom in these houses, if one calls for a quart of it, to set before him three or four dishes of meat or fish, with salad and other sauces; and when he goes away he pays only for the wine at the common price *. In other respects likewise one is sure here to meet with good usage, and to be free from any such insults from the *Turks* that one is exposed to at *Algiers*. However, though many of the *Tunefians* allow themselves the use of wine, yet very few drink it to excess; but there are some still so strict as to refrain from it wholly; c and, instead of that pernicious liquor, as they stile it, make use of a compound drug, which they call *Harix*, or, according to others, *Laisis*; an ounce of which will inspire them with a surprising gaiety and intrepidity, that nothing can ruffle their mirth, or create in them either fear or discontent. This composition they pretend to have learned from the *Turks*; and, from its effects, seems to be much of the nature of their opium, if it is not the same with it.

THE Christian merchants, however, to avoid quarrels and contests with the rest of the inhabitants, have a suburb allotted to them for the convenience of trade. It stands without the gate that leads to the sea side, and about a musket-shot from the city walls; and here they have their magazines, warehouses, and dwelling-houses; some of them very large and d handsome; the rest of the suburb consists of about two or three hundred small houses, inhabited mostly by persons employed by them in such servile works as packing, fetching, carrying, and some other necessary handicraftsmen.

The religion, manners, &c. almost the same with those of *Algiers*.

THE religion, customs, manners, language, &c. of the *Tunefians*, being in all other respects much the same with those of the *Algerines*, we shall refer our reader to what hath been said upon those heads in the preceding chapter, and go on now with a short review of the other cities and remarkable places belonging to this summer circuit.

WE have already said something of the fortress of *Goletta* and its two castles; the one of which, since neglected, was built by the emperor *Charles V.* and the other, still standing, by *Achmet*, Bey of *Tunis*, to protect his capital from the *Maltese* vessels, which could ride e along the gulph without being annoyed by the cannon of the former. Upon which account this last is built on a lower ground, and almost level with the sea, and of a round figure on that side, having about eight wide embrasures, two or three feet above water, where the cannon are planted. Some further out-works and improvements have been added to it since by other Beys, together with a good number of handsome houses, which makes the place look more like a little town than a citadel. *Tunis* stands in lat. $36^{\circ} 45'$, east long. $10^{\circ} 26'$ m.

OTHER places of note, in the province of *Tunis Proper*, according to the old division, are,

Nabel or antient Neapolis.

I. NABEL, or *Nebel Nabis*, the *Colonia Neapolis* of *Ptolemy*, and now called by the *Ita-* f *lians Neapolis de Barbaria*, stands in a low ground, a mile and a half off the sea shore, and about a furlong westward from the antient *Neapolis*, and about three leagues east of *Tunis*. It is still a thriving town, we are told, and hath been long since famed for its potteries; the rest of its inhabitants are either husbandmen or farmers. As for the ruins of the antient city, they are either so defaced or covered with mortar and rubbish, that they are not legible; and, on the other bank of the little rivulet that runs through it, is a wolf cut in basso relievo on a marble block, curiously carved n. *Marsa*, or rather *El-Mersa*, which, in the *Arabic*, signifies the port, stands where that of antient *Carthage* did, and is affirmed to have been built by *Mehedi*, the Khalif of *Kayrwan*, but was almost destroyed during the civil wars in *Barbary*, and some time after rebuilt by some husbandmen and fishermen: since which time g

* THEVENOT's Voyag. part. i. ch. 91. viii. c. i. SHAW, p. 154, & seq.

m MARMOL, LEO AFR. DAPPER, DAVITY, GRAMMAY, lib. a Idem ibid. SHAW, ubi sup. p. 161.

- a it is become a populous and handsome city, being computed to have about 800 houses, besides a large college and a stately mosk, built by *Muley Mahmed*, the father of *Muley Hafs*; besides which, it hath some other noble buildings and houses of pleasure, where the Beys and persons of the better sort go to take their diversion, the air here being reckoned very healthy on account of the alternate sea and land breezes. The territory about it is likewise fertile in corn, fruit, and sugar canes^o. Here once stood the famed city of *Carthage*, *Rome's* constant rival; which, after three long and bloody wars, was reduced to ashes, *Carthage*. the ruins of. and levelled with the ground, by order of the *Roman* senate. The reader will find a description of that once opulent city in our *Antient History*; of whose antique magnificence there remains little else, except the noble aqueduct which supplied it with water, and a heap of
- b melancholy ruins, to be seen^p.

NEAR those ruins, and about three leagues north from *Tunis*, stands *Kommart*, a walled and populous town, but inhabited chiefly by husbandmen and gardeners, who send the product of their fertile territory to the capital, particularly their sugar canes, which grow here in great plenty, and are there made into sugar. This place, we are told by an *African* author, was formerly called *Valachia*^q.

ARIANA, formerly *Abderana*, is inhabited likewise by poor gardeners, who supply *Tunis* with fruit and herbs; it being but three miles distant from it (I).

- ARRADEZ, the last town in this district worth naming, on account of its fine springs and baths, stands on the east side of the *Golettan* gulph, and on the road between that and
- c *Tunis*. It was once a *Roman* colony, which the *Turks* dismantled great part of upon their abandoning it. The Beys of *Tunis* afterwards repaired it and the castle; since which it hath gradually recovered itself, though still short of what it formerly was^r. And thus much may suffice at present for the cities and towns of *Tunis Proper*. We shall have in the sequel occasion to speak of some other remarkable places in this and the other provinces, under the article of natural and artificial curiosities, and valuable antiquities, that the reader may have them all at one view.

- THE next capital of the province of its name is *El Media*, according to others *Media* and *Mehedia*, called also *Africa*, and is situated on a small peninsula on the eastern coast of the kingdom. It appears to have been heretofore a place of considerable strength, though not
- d above 230 paces in breadth towards the land side, but widening still more as it comes nearer the sea. The port, with an area of about one hundred paces square, lieth within the very walls of the city, with the mouth of it opening towards the south; but is now so shallow that it can hardly receive the smallest vessels; and, in *Thuanus's* time, it was with great difficulty that a common galley could enter it^s. It was a very strong place, surrounded with stout walls, high towers, arches, and other antient fortifications; which, together with the town, were all destroyed by the *Turks*, and continued in ruinous heaps till the reign of *Mehedi*, the first Khalif of *Kayrwan*, who caused it to be rebuilt, and its fortifications repaired and much improved, and made it his chief residence; after which it became very populous and considerable. The walls which surrounded the place were strong and lofty,
- e and flanked with six stately towers, besides others of a smaller size; two of which, that were bathed by the sea, were of a round, and the other four of a square form; all of them very strong and high, and had little gates plated with iron; and so low, that a man could not go in or out of them without stooping; and every one was a kind of separate fortress.

- BUT of all the six, the second, which faced the east, and was the only one on the land
- f side, was built with surprising strength, having a vaulted arch seventy feet long under it, guarded by six strong gates one within another; some covered with plated iron, and others made all of cross iron bars, fastened together by thick nails, and without any wood, with their retreats and portculiffes all of the same metal and make; all which, added to the length and darkness of the place, made the passage through it appear dreadful to a stranger, and may give our readers an idea of those kinds of *Arabian* fortresses^t.

THAT prince took no less pains to beautify the place within with noble buildings, if they were really his; but a late judicious traveller tells us, that there is something too polite and

^o *Iidem* *ibid*.

vi. ch. 17.

^p Vol. vi, p. 661, & seq. SHAW, *ubi sup*.

^q EBN RASH. MARMOL, lib.

^r MARMOL, *ubi sup*.

^s THUAN. Hist. lib. vii. Vid. & MARMOL, lib. vi. ch. 28.

^t MARMOL, DAPPER, SHAW, *ubi sup*.

(I) This place, whose antient walls are still standing, was built, we are told by a *French* author, by the *Goths*, and had its name of *Ariana*, from the famed arch heretic *Arius*, and was a suffragan bishoprick to that of *Carthage* (12). But *Marmol* will have it to have been built by the *Romans*, and to have been surrounded with those

very walls which still encompass it (13); and it is not difficult to distinguish whether they are of the *Roman* or *Gothic* fabricature. However, the former may still be so far in the right, in his own opinion, that it took its name from the heretic, instead of its old one of *Abdirama*.

(12) *Baudran's Dict. sub. voc.*

(13) *Marmol, ubi sup. l. vi. c. 19.*

regular in the several capitals, entablatures, and other pieces of antient masonry, defaced as they now are, to suspect the founder of them to have been an *Arabian*^a. However that be, the city, thus rebuilt, adorned, and re-peopled, is thought to have changed its antient name for that of *Mebedia*, in honour of that prince, if he did not himself cause it to be called by it. However, it hath since then undergone so many changes and revolutions, that there is little left of its former splendor, except the walls, and some other edifices run to decay. As for its other name of *Africa*, it was given to it, we are told, by some *Sicilian* corsairs, who had made themselves masters of it^w. Doctor *Shaw* is of opinion, that either this place or *Seleto*, the *Subleli* or *Subleto* of the middle age, and five miles south and by west of it, is the *turris* or country seat of *Hannibal*, from which he is said to have embarked after his flight from *Carthage*. This last shews still the ruins of a very strong castle, not inferior in extent to the *Tower of London*, supposed to have been erected to guard the small creek or port that lieth below it^x. *El Medea* is supposed by *Tkuanus* to have been the *Adrumetum* of the antients; but the last quoted author hath shewn, that *Herkla*, situate on the gulph of *Hamamel*, above half a degree more to the north-west, bids fairer for being both the old *Adrumetum*, and the *Heraclea* of the lower empire. We shall refer our reader to this book^y, for what he offers in defence of his opinion,

Media not the
antient Adru-
metum.

Soufa.

SOUSA, or *Sufa*, another provincial capital, is situate on the same coast, about five leagues south-east of *Herkla*, and about 30 north-west of *El Media*, and is one of the most considerable cities in this kingdom. It is the chief mart of it for oil, and drives a flourishing trade in linen, of which a great deal is manufactured in it. It trades likewise in wax, honey, sundry sorts of pickled fish, especially that called tunny, which is here caught and salted, and in great request. The town stands upon an high rock, or, as an old historian hath described it, on the northern extremity of a long range of eminences, reaching as far as *Surseff*, the antient *Sarsura*^z. Behind the city is the prospect of an extensive plain. The ground about *Soufa* is fertile in barley, and hath some good pasturage, olives, figs, and other fruits. It was once a strong, populous, and wealthy city. It is still the residence of the *Turkish* *Bashas*, whose stately palace, and some fine mosks, and other edifices, were all standing in *Leo's* time, who was obliged to keep himself concealed four days in this place^b; and adds, that it was by that time greatly decayed, and thinly inhabited, and had not above six or seven shops left. It hath recovered itself, however, since then, in both respects. The inhabitants, who are mostly seamen and cruizers, are courteous and civil to strangers; but, besides those, here are a good many merchants, tradesmen in the woollen way, who trade into *Turkey* and other parts of the *Levant*. The lower class are either potters, herdsmen, or husbandmen. It is still the residence of the governor of the province, to whom it pays a yearly tax of 12,000 ducats. It stands about 100 leagues distant from *Tunis*, and is divided into the upper and lower city. The port is commodious and safe, and here the *Tunefian* corsairs come to anchor^c. This place is likewise remarkable for the defeat of prince *Philibert* of *Savoy*, and the loss of a great number of knights of *Malta*, who attempted to take it from the *Turks*, *an.* 1619, as we shall see in the sequel of this chapter. The other two places of note in this province are,

Monasteer.

MONASTEER, an antient city, of *Roman* or *Carthaginian* extraction, but since called by that modern name, from a monastery of *Augustine* friars in the neighbourhood of it. It is now a neat thriving city, situate on the extremity of a cape, and surrounded with stout walls, according to our latest account of it^d; by which one may suppose, that it hath mended itself much since *Leo*, *Marmol*, and other travellers, wrote of it, who represent it, excepting its walls and handsome houses, as a very beggarly place, whose inhabitants are coarsely clad, and forced to live upon barley bread, or meal mixed with a little oil, and to wear, instead of shoes, a sort of slippers made of sea rushes^e. And no wonder they should then be in no better condition, considering how often they have been bombarded and plundered by the *Turks* and *Moors*, as well as by Christian cruizers. 2. *Heraclea*, an antient *Roman* city upon the sea coast, but since destroyed by the *Arabians*; and erroneously supposed the *Aspis* of *Ptolemy*, as we shall see in the sequel^f. In this city *Codrus*, the famous king of *Athens*, is said to have died; and that they shew at *Azarica*, a town not far from it, and near the sea, the sepulchres and epitaphs of that worthy prince, of *Ixion*, king of *Corinth*, and of *Phido* the philosopher^g.

Heraclea de-
stroyed.

Thapsus.
Bay of Lempta.

ABOUT 20 miles south of *Monasteer* are the cape and vast ruins of *Demas*, the *Thapsus* of the antients; so that these two capes formed the antient and spacious bay of *Lempta*, which must then have afforded variety of ports; for an island runs parallel with the northern shore

^a SHAW, *ibid.* ^w MARMOL, *ubi sup.* & al. ^x *Iidem ibid.* ^y *Ubi sup.* p. 186. ^z HIRTIUS
de bell. Afr. vid. DAPPER, MARMOL, & al. *sup. citat.* ^b LEO AFR. l. v. ^c GRAMMAY, l. viii. c. 6.
MARMOL, DAPPER, DAVITY, SHAW, &c. *ubi sup.* ^d SHAW, *ubi sup.* p. 140. ^e GRAMMAY, *ibid.*
MARMOL, l. vi. c. 26. ^f DAVITY, DAPPER, & al. ^g MARMOL, DAPPER, &c. ^h TENET
ap. GRAMMAY, l. viii. c. 6.

- a from *Demas* almost to *Tobulba*, and another reaches from *Monajteer*, almost half way to *Lempta*; whilst those called *Jouries* and *Tarachia* lie just over against *Lempta* and *Tobulba*, and were thought considerable enough by *Julius Cæsar* to have stationary vessels appointed to secure them^b.

- THE next district hath its name of *Kayrwan* from its capital, vulgarly called *Caravan* *Kayrwan*, *by whom built*, and *Carvan*, and supposed the *Vico Augusto* of the itinerary, which was once the famed seat of the *Fatemite* dynasty, and is still one of the chiefest places in the kingdom, both for trade, and the number of its inhabitants; though situated in a most barren plain, destitute of rivers or springs, and furnished with provisions, brought thither in carts, from the neighbouring towns, all of which are at least five or six leagues distant from it. It stands about
 b eight leagues west of *Soufa*, and as many south-west from *Herkla*, and hath a capacious cistern and pond about half a furlong distance, for the reception of rain-water, the former for the use of the inhabitants, and the latter for their cattle; but this last is frequently dried up about the middle of summer, or is apt to putrify, which occasions agues, and a variety of other distempersⁱ. This city was rebuilt, we are told^k, by *Hukba*, al. *Occuba Ben Nafic*, generalissimo of *Ottman*, or *Hatmen's* forces, which last was the successor of *Mohammed*, the third Khalif of *Damascus*, *an. 652*, and had sent him from *Arabia* into these parts, to make what conquests he could in them. *Hukba*, having landed his forces in some of the neighbouring ports, made choice of this barren and desolate spot for the place of their rendezvous, and of the ruined city for his retreat, which he accordingly caused to be surrounded with
 c lofty and strong brick walls, flanked with stately towers; and among other noble edifices, built a most magnificent mosk, supported by an incredible number of stately columns of the finest granate, two of which were of so exquisite and lively a red, bespangled all over with little white spots like the porphyry, that their price was reckoned inestimable (K), and the whole structure the most magnificent in all *Africa*. It hath likewise a very considerable revenue and endowments, and the title and privilege of a head metropolis, as being the first *Mohammedan* mosk built in this part of the world; upon which account likewise it is become the burying place of the *Tunesian* monarchs, and not only they, but all the grandees and wealthy men of the kingdom, are ambitious of having their remains deposited in it, from
 d a superstitious notion, that the prayers of the head pontif, and successor of *Mohammed*, will procure them a plenary pardon of their sins, and send them by the nearest way into Paradise. The very city itself is held so sacred among them, that those great personages usually pull off their shoes before they enter it, and cause some stately chapels and oratories to be erected over the graves of their dead relations, and settle a yearly sum upon them, not only to keep them in repair, but likewise to retain a certain number of idle priests and monks to resort thither at proper times^l. It is, most probably, upon the account of this superstitious concourse, and vast donatives, that this city is still so thriving, notwithstanding the dearth and scarcity of provisions, which is, in a great measure, increased by the *Arabs* resorting thither in shoals during the summer season (L), though they bring abundance of flesh and dates to it. In other respects the inhabitants are here, for the most part, employed
 e in dressing all sorts of leather, which they send into *Biledulgerid*, and other parts of *Numidia*,

The burial place of the Tunesian kings, &c.

^b Vid. SHAW, p. 191, & seq.
 LEO AFRIC. l. v p. 223.

ⁱ SHAW, *ibid.* p. 200, & al. sup. citat.
 DAPPER, DAVITY, MARMOL, lib. vi. c. 34

^k GRAMMAY, l. viii. c. 8.
^l *Idem* *ibid.*

(K) The number of these marble pillars, if one may credit the inhabitants, amounts to no less than five hundred; for Christians are not permitted to go into their mosks; and what is equally surprising is, that, among all that variety of columns and other ornaments, there is not one single inscription; and, if any are to be found in other parts of the city, they are either filled with cement, or defaced by the chissel; so that one can meet with nothing, among all those antiquities, by which one might guess at its antient name; and it is merely from its situation and distance from other places, and from the river *Mergaleel*, the *Aquæ Regiæ* of the antients, that our author conjectures it to be the *Vico Augusto* above mentioned (14).

(L) And this may more probably account for its name *Kayrwan*, which is, in their language, the same as what we pronounce caravan, and signifies a concourse, than the conjecture of those, who derive it from the *Kairo*, or *Cabiro*, of *Egypt*, which signifies victory, and seems as lame as far fetched (15). As to the mo-

tive that induced that general to make choice of so barren and sandy a spot for his residence, some authors have conjectured, that he did it the better to conceal and secure the treasure and plunder which he gained in *Afric*. But why he chose a sandy barren plain, accessible on all sides, rather than some rocky eminence, well fortified by nature as well as art, and better provided with all necessaries by the happiness of its situation, is not easy to account for; unless it be, perhaps, by way of imitating *Mohammed*, their famed lawgiver, concerning whom they have a received tradition, that, being in full march to *Damascus*, the capital of *Syria*, and beholding its excellent situation, fine buildings, orchards, and other of its captivating allurements, was so taken with it, that, to the great surprize of his retinue, he immediately turned his horse about, and never could be persuaded to set foot into it, alleging, that, as there was but one paradise assigned for every man, he chose to have his in the next world, rather than in that delightful city (16).

(14) *Shaw's Travels*, p. 200.

(15) *Leo, Marmol, Shaw, &c.*

(16) *Life of Mohammed.*

which cannot otherwise come at the *European* draps; and upon this commerce they might a live tolerably well, if they were not so heavily laden with taxes by the government^m.

Tobulba now
ruined.

OTHER places in this district are *Tolbulba*, once a *Roman* colony, and in latter times, that is, under prince *El Agleb*, who was then governor of it, it grew so very populous, that the inhabitants built a new city near it, which they called *Reſirta*; where *El Agleb*, and others of his court, erected some stately palaces for their residence. It hath been, however, so severely treated since, that it is now no better than a poor village, and hath only a few ruins left, as the sorrowful witnesses of its former grandeurⁿ.

Gabbs gone to
decay.

THE same may be said of *Gabbs*, or *Capes*, supposed to be the *Epichus*, and *Takape*, of the antients, but now a vast heap of noble ruins, particularly large square pillars of the finest granate, such as are hardly to be met with in any other part of *Africa*. The territory about it hath several large plantations of palm trees, whose fruit is much inferior to those of *Jireed*, or *Biledulgerid*, both in bigness and delicacy. But the chief branch of trade for which this emporium, as *Strabo* styles it, was, and is still so famed, is the great number of *Albena* plants that are here cultivated in their gardens, whose leaves, being dried and powdered, are dispersed through all the markets of the kingdom to a good advantage; and as this tree, as well as the palm, requires a deal of watering, the *Triton*, which runs at some small distance, is cantoned into a number of artificial chanel, as it seems to have been in *Pliny's* time^o. *Leo* mentions likewise a kind of fruit, which the *Arabs* call *Hab-basis*, or *Halb baziz*, and cultivated in great quantities in this territory. It is of the bigness of a bean, and hath the taste of an almond, and is in great request all over *Barbary*^p.

Jerba island.

About four leagues south of *Capes*, or *Gabbs*, and three from *Tobulba*, is the small island of *Jerba*, or *Gerba*, the *Lotophagitis* of the antients, so called from its famed inhabitants, and they from the *Lotus* on which they chiefly lived^q, and is now the most southern boundary of this summer circuit. The three remaining provinces of it, which must lie north and west of those we have gone through, are called *Hamamel*, *Bizerta*, and *Porto Farino*, from their respective capitals.

Hamamel.

Hamamel, corruptly *Mabometa*, and supposed the *Siagul*, and not the *Adrumetum*, of the antients, as hath been conjectured by several writers, is a small but wealthy city, compactly built upon a low promontory, close to the sea, and fenced with such rugged hills towards the land, that an army would find it difficult to attack it on that side (M). It is thought to have its name from the *Arabic Hamam*, which signifies a wild pigeon, of which species there are vast multitudes bred in the cliffs of the adjacent rocks. *Leo* tells us, that it was in his time reduced to a miserable condition, though surrounded with good walls, and other works, by the *Tunefians*; the inhabitants, colliers, and fishermen, are reduced to the lowest degree of poverty, through the cruel exactions of the government^r; those who have seen it since give us the same account of it, till the late Dr. *Shaw*, who calls it a small, but opulent city, and adds, that the flourishing state it now enjoys is of no longer date than the latter end of the last century^s. It stands about 17 leagues distant from *Tunis* by land, but above 60 by sea, and on a large gulph, to which it gives its name. A few miles westward of *Hamamel* are the ruins of a port, formerly belonging to *Faradeese*, an old *Roman* city, which, from the affinity of its name to *Aphrodisium*, is probably the same with it. However that be, we are told, that the *Faradesians*, about a century ago, were the greatest cruizers, and most expert mariners, of this country; but that by the increase of trade, and greater conveniencies for navigation, at *Hamamel*, the greatest part of them were since drawn thither^t; and this might be a farther cause of the improvement it hath so happily felt of late years of its wealth and commerce.

Bizerta.

BIZERTA, by the *Africans* called *Ben Sart*, that is, the son of the lake, from the lake which is formed near it by the sea, of which we have given an account formerly^u. *Bizerta* stands upon the canal that is made between them, about eight miles south and by west from Cape *Blanco*, and about ten north of *Tunis* (N). It hath been formerly very considerable; and, though its compass be not above a mile about, is affirmed to have

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^m Idem ibid. ⁿ Idem ibid. ^o SHAW, ubi sup. p. 196, & seq. ^p Afric. lib. v. p. 225. GRAMMAY, lib. viii. c. 9. ^q De hoc, vid. Anc. Hist. vol. i. p. 183. vol. vii. p. 175, & seq. ^r LEO, lib. v. MARMOL, lib. vi. c. 22. DAVITY, DAPPER, & al. ^s SHAW, ubi sup. p. 161, & seq. ^t SHAW, p. 164. ^u Anc. Hist. vol. vi. p. 668.

(M) Hence arises the improbability of its being the ancient *Adrumetum*, seeing it would have been of the greatest difficulty and danger to have approached it on that side, and much more so still to have been carried round about it, as *Cæsar* is said to have been round that. Neither doth that supposition agree with the description of the prospect which that yielded, either of the road before it, or of the coasts of *Clybea*, nor with

the distance which the Itinerary gives it from *Carthage*; viz. 85 *Roman* miles; and from *Neapolis*; viz. 440 furlongs. Whereas, if *Adrumetum* be placed at *Hamamel*, *Neapolis* will be 50 miles too near it in the one case, and *Carthage* will be 30 miles, that is, more than one third of the given distance in the other (17).

(N) Several writers have taken *Bizerta* to be the ancient *Utica*, famed for the residence and tragical end of

(17) See *Shaw's travels*, p. 161.

- a contained 6,000 houses; whereas both it, and the villages under its district, scarcely contain that number of inhabitants; so much are these once famed places subject to run to decay, both by the exactions of the government, and by the wars which have raged in those parts. It has still, however, some strong castles and batteries to defend it, especially towards the sea, besides two very capacious prisons for their slaves, a large magazine, or warehouse, for their merchandizes, and two towers, with some other outworks, to defend the mouth of the haven, which hath been already described*. The city, though so near the sea, is well supplied with fresh water from springs that surround it on every side towards the land. It is likewise well furnished with variety of fish from the adjacent lake, most of its inhabitants, and those that live on both sides of the canal, being chiefly employed in the fishing trade, which begins about the latter end of *October*, and ends about the beginning of *May*; for the rains then sweetening the waters of the chanel, make the fish come into it in vast quantities during that season, after which they either disappear, or grow lean, dry, and unfit to eat. The people here are extremely poor, and yet remarkably proud, ill-natured, and faithless; insomuch that *Muley Hascen* Bey used to say, that none of his subjects deserved his resentment so much as they; because neither fear nor love could keep them faithful; and indeed they were the very first that felt the effect of it, when he had recovered the town and castle from *Hayradin*, *Barbarossa's* brother, then king of *Algiers*, in whose favour they had revolted three times, and had murdered their governor, and received a *Turkish* garrison^y.
- b BIZERTA hath no cities under its government, but about eight villages, a large plain called *Matter*, or *Mater*, and the territory of *Choros*, the *Clypea*, or *Corebis*, of the antients which is of a great extent, and very fertile, or at least would be so, were it not so exposed to the incursions of the wild *Arabs*. The people of this tract are very poor, live very meanly, and go worse clad. Their choicest dainty being their cousscou, that is, a sort of cake, made of flour, eggs, and salt, which they dry and keep the whole year round. Their dress is nothing else than a coarse sort of cloth wrapped about their bodies, and another about their heads, instead of a turban, and most of them go barefoot and bare legged. The poorer sort have nothing but a few skins laid on the floor to sleep upon, but the rest have narrow couches fixed against the wall, about five or six feet high, to which they mount by a ladder. They are very expert horsemen, as most in these countries are, and ride mostly without saddle or bridle, and they never shoe their horses. They are still more miserable from the neighbourhood of those *Arabs*, who live it seems altogether upon plunder, robbery, and murder, and oppress the poor inhabitants with their frequent inroads, and cruel exactions. The *Bisertines*, both of the city and country, are the most superstitious people of all *Barbary*, and neither go to war, nor scarcely any where, without hanging a quantity of amulets about their own, and, if they ride, about their horses necks likewise. These amulets are only scraps of parchment or paper, with some strange characters written upon them, which they sow in a piece of leather, silk, or other stuff, and wear about them, as preservatives against all accidents^z.
- c PORTO FARINO is the last district mentioned in the above-given division, and is called so from its capital, whose port we have already described*. This city, as well as *Bizerta*, hath been taken by some authors for the antient *Utica*^b, whereas it appears much rather to have been the port to which the *Carthaginians* retired the night before they engaged *Scipio*, near that of *Utica*. *Livy* gives it the *African* name of *Ruscinona*, a word of *Phœnician* extract, and answers, in all likelihood, the import of it, the former part to its situation, as a cape, and the latter to the great quantities of corn that were shipped off from it; for it was formerly a very considerable city on that and other accounts, though it hath lain since under great discouragements, being only now remarkable for its beautiful cothon, where the *Tunesians* keep their navy, and where they ride safe in all accidents of weather, and opens into a large navigable pond, formed by the river *Mejerda*, which now discharges itself by this way into the sea^c. The town stands between the two famed capes of *Bizerta* and *Carthage*, and at pretty near equal distance from both, and upon that called *Rasb Libeeb*, or promontory of *Apollo*. The natives call it *Gar el Mailab*, or cave of salt, from an antient salt-work hard by it; and here it was, that the *French* king *St. Lewis* died in
- d
- e
- f

Villages about
it oppressed by
the Arabs.

Porto Farino
not the old
Utica, but
probably the
Ruscinona.

* See Antient Hist. ibid. y LEO, lib. v. GRAMMAY, lib. viii. c. 3. MARMOL, lib. vi. c. 7. DAPPER, DAVITY, &c. z Idem ibid. a See before, p. 298. b MARMOL, DAVITY, Afric. & al. c See SHAW, p. 146.

the great *Cato* (18). We have already shewn from Dr. *Shaw*, that it is more likely to be the old *Hippo-Zarytus*, and that the etymon of *Ben Sart* is frivolous (19); so that *Utica* must be sought for somewhere else, and at some distance from it. But, to avoid repetitions, we

shall refer our reader to what hath been said, with relation to the most probable conjecture about its true situation, in our Antient History (20), having nothing more probable to offer upon that head.

(18) *Grammay*, lib. viii. ch. 3. *Marmol*, lib. vi. ch. 7. *Davity*, *Tun.* p. 234. *Dapper*, *ibid.* p. 196. *Ancient Hist.* ub. sup. (20) *Vol.* vi. p. 665.

(19) See
his

his expedition to the *Holy Land*, and the emperor *Charles V.* landed his forces designed a against *Tunis*^d.

Bayjah al-Begia, a great mart for corn.

To these we shall add one or two more, which, though not capitals, are nevertheless worth notice; viz. *Bayjah*, vulgarly *Baja*, and *Begia*, supposed the antient *Vacca* of *Sallust*, and *Oppidum Vaggense* of *Pliny*, formerly, as well as at this day, a town of great trade, and the chief mart of the kingdom for corn, of which the adjacent territories, particularly the plain of *Busdera*, situate along the banks of the *Mejerda*, produce such an abundance, that they can furnish more than the whole kingdom with it; insomuch that the *Tunefians* have a saying, that, if there was such another town in it as this for plenty of corn, it would become as plentiful and cheap as sand^e. They have likewise here a great fair every summer, to which the most distant *Arabian* tribes resort with their families and flocks. Notwithstanding which the inhabitants are very poor, and a great part of the ground about it remains uncultivated, through the cruel exactions of the government, and the frequent incursions of the *Arabs*, who are very numerous and powerful in those parts^f.

BAYJAH stands on the declivity of a hill in the road to *Constantina*, about 10 leagues from the northern coast, and 36 west-south-west from *Tunis*, and hath the conveniency of being well watered^g. On the highest part of it is a citadel that commands the whole place, but is now of no great strength (O). The walls, which are raised out of the materials of the old *Roman Vacca*, are still intire, and have some antient inscriptions.

Tuburbo, vulgarly Urbs.

THE next place of note is the city of *Tuburbo*, vulgarly *Urbs* and *Torbus*, supposed the *Tuburbum Minus*, or *Turridis*, of the antients; it is pleasantly situated, in a healthy and fertile plain, which produces grain, fruit, &c. about 60 leagues south of *Tunis*, towards *Libya* and *Numidia*. It was formerly destroyed by the *African Vandals*, but rebuilt since more like a large village than a city. It is at present chiefly inhabited by *Andalusian Moors*, and still preserves abundance of indices of its former splendor; such as statues, niches, inscriptions, &c. It has likewise a castle with some cannon, and a garrison, the inhabitants being no less oppressed with taxes, and apt to revolt, than those of *Bayjah*. Out of the ruins of a stately *Roman* amphitheatre, *Maham Bey* caused a large maffy bridge or dam to be made, with proper sluices and flood-gates, to raise the water of the *Mejerda* to a convenient height, to water a favourite plantation of his own peculiar ordering, consisting of citrons, lemons, oranges, pomegranates, nectarines, peaches, apricots, dates, figs, and a great variety of fruit-trees, in which every kind was set to grow by themselves, and without the least intermixture of any otherⁱ. There ran also between the castle, and the two parts of the town which were the best inhabited, a fresh stream, through an alabaster conduit, whose water turned several mills in its way, and the spring of which was about a stonecast from the town, if it was not part of the same work^k. But these were of too laudable a nature to subsist long in *Barbary*, and are now intirely gone to ruin^l. The inhabitants, both of *Bayjah* and *Urbs*, are, for the most part, husbandmen or weavers, but are so sadly oppressed by the government, and harrassed by the *Arabs*, that they are very poor, indolent, and ever uneasy under their yoke.

Casba and Ain Sammin.

EACH of them hath a town under its jurisdiction; viz. *Casba* and *Ain Sammin*, al. *Ain Zammet*. The former was once a *Roman* colony, built in a large fertile plain, about 25 or 30 miles south of *Tunis*, and hath its walls still standing, though almost destitute of inhabitants, ever since it was destroyed by the *Turks*. *Ain Zammin* is a new town, lately built by the *Tunefian* Beys, about 12 leagues south of *Tunis*, and 20 from *Bayjah*. It stands on a fertile ground, pitched upon in order to be better cultivated, but the *Arabs* would not suffer it to continue, and *Mulcy Mohammed* was obliged to abandon it to their mercy, to prevent an insurrection. The walls are still standing, and the houses want nothing but the covering, which is gone to decay. But the *Arabs*, who are numerous and powerful in this canton, will not suffer it to be inhabited^m.

WE have, by this time, gone through the principal places of the two circuits, and might have added a number of others, which, by the ruins they lie in, appear to have been very considerable; but, as these would be foreign to our modern plan, we shall refer our curious readers to what has been said of the most considerable of them in our antient historyⁿ, and for the remained to the learned traveller so often quoted in this chapter^o, and take notice now of their natural and artificial curiosities, among the latter of which we shall include such remnants of antiquity as are still extant, and worthy our notice.

^d MARMOL, lib. vi. c. 14. DAVITY, vol. v. p. 234. DAPPER, p. 196. ^e LEO, lib. v. MARMOL, lib. vi. c. 31. DAVITY, GRAMMAY, & al. ^f Idem ibid. ^g See SHAW, p. 166. ^h SHAW, ibid. p. 167. ⁱ GRAMMAY, MARMOL, DAVITY, & al. sup. citat. ^j Idem ibid. SHAW, ibid. ^k Idem ibid. ^l Vol. vi. p. 664, & seq. ^m SHAW's travels, p. 141, & seq.

(O) *Marmol* adds, that *Amida*, Bey of *Tunis*, had caused another to be built over against it, in which he had placed 14 pieces of brass cannon, and a good garrison, with a governor over it, to keep the inhabitants in awe, who, tho' poor, are proud, and fond of change of

government, and ready to revolt upon every opportunity that offers. If so, it is a wonder that so curious an observer as *Dr. Shaw* should have overlooked this new fortress (21).

(21) *Conf. Marmol, lib. 6. ch. 31. & Shaw's travels, p. 166.*

- a AMONG the former we may be well allowed to rank the lesser *Syrtis* (P), so famed among *The Syrtis* the antients, as well as the moderns, for its dangerous sand bank, so fatal to mariners that sail along that coast. The greater, mentioned in the margin, will be spoken of in its proper place, it lying on the gulph of *Sidra* on the coast of *Tripoli*. The lesser, which belongs to the *Tunesian* coasts, between the island of *Jerba* and the promontory of *Capoudea*, that is, from latitude $33^{\circ} 40'$ to 35° . The antients, indeed, reckoned it to reach no farther northward than the islands of *Querkeynesi*; but since we find, that there is a long succession of flat islands, banks of sand, and oozy bottoms (Q), extending themselves from the island of *Jerba* to the cape of *Capoudea* above-mentioned. We need not question, but the *Syrtis* extends itself quite from the one end to the other of that huge and dangerous gulph. It is unnecessary here to inform our readers, that hydrographers give the the name of *Syrtis* to any place, where the waters run at some times very high, and at others very low, and sometimes retire so far from it, as to leave the sand quite naked and dry. Our author adds, that, when he sailed along the coasts of this lesser *Syrtis*, the east winds were too violent to permit him to observe the flux and reflux, but was credibly informed, that the sea, about the island of *Jerba*, frequently rose twice a day a fathom or more above its usual height ^p.

- THE next natural curiosity of this kingdom is its hot baths, and sulphureous springs, of which it hath a great variety. Some of these are so intensely hot, that they are quite unfit for bathing; particularly those of *Meskouteen* and *Mereega*, the former of which will boil a large piece of mutton very tender in a quarter of an hour. Others again, as those of *Seedi Ebli* and *Elelma el Hammah*, are just of a proper heat for baths; and a third sort, as the *Ain Houte*, and most of the springs of the *Fereed*, *Cassa*, and *Zozar*, are little more than lukewarm, and nourish a number of fishes of the perch and mussel kind. Most of those of this latter sort, when cold, are clear, transparent, and fit to drink, and as soft to the palate as rain water; whence we may safely conclude, either that their sulphureous effluvia do quickly evaporate, or else that the virtues, ascribed to the bathing in them, consist chiefly in their genial heat.

- AGAIN it is observed, that these intense ones of *Hammah* and *Meskouteen*, above-mentioned, do, in some measure, dissolve, or rather calcine, the rock through which they run, to the distance sometimes of an hundred feet. So that the substance of the rocks being become soft and uniform, the water, by making equal impressions, leaves them in the shape of cones or hemispheres, of the height and diameter of about six feet, more or less; and these the superstitious *Arabs* believe to be the tents of their ancestors petrified. In like manner, when the substance of the rocks contain some larger layers of harder matter, which resist the force of the water, their imagination immediately transforms them into sheep, oxen, horses, nay men, women, and children, whom they suppose to have undergone the same fate with their tents. There is still another singularity observed, with relation to those hot springs; viz. that the ground beneath them sounds and feels so hollow, that one is apt to fear sinking every moment through it; whence it may be reasonably concluded, that the air, which is pent up in those cavities, must form a great variety of sounds, more or less shrill and loud, according to the directions of the wind, and the motion of the ambient air, as it makes its way out along with the water of those hot springs; for, if any of them is either stopped or dried up in one place, it will soon after make its way through at another; which doth likewise account for the variety of cones and other traces which we observed to be caused by the hot waters. These sounds the *Arabs*, however, believe to be the music of the *Jenoune*, or fairies, which they suppose to make their abode in these kinds of places, and to be the agents in all these extraordinary phænomena [†].

- BUT to return to the other baths. We have already mentioned those in the neighbourhood of *Tunis* ^a; as likewise the river *Gabbs*, and its hot waters ^r. Other baths of the same hot nature there are, which, having nothing singular, we pass by, and only take notice of those called *El Hammah*, resorted unto from all parts of the kingdom, and situate about four leagues westward of *Gabbs*, which place is called *El Hammah Gabbs* from them, to

^p Ibidem ibid.

[†] SHAW, ubi sup. p. 231.

^a See before, p. 301.

^r Ibid. p. 297, & seq.

(P) There are two of that name, distinguished by the antients by the epithets of *magna* and *parva*, the greater and the lesser *Syrtis*. This last is derived from the Greek, word *συρῆν*, to draw, because the vessels, that come within their verge, seem to be attracted by the waves; or, as others will have it, from the vast quantities of sand and mud which their violence drags after them, both in coming and going (22). This maritime tract, however, was on that account called *Regio Syr-*

tica, as the reader will see in the description formerly given of it (23).

(Q) It is on these kinds of shallows, that the inhabitants, from antient times to this very day, were wont to catch great quantities of fish, by wading a mile or two from the shore, and fixing, in various windings and directions as they went along, hurdles made of reeds, in which they seldom failed of inclosing a good number (24).

(22) Vid. *Ensat. Cluver*, & al. ap. Shaw, ubi sup. p. 194, sub not. & seq.

(23) Strab. apud Shaw, ubi sup. p. 194, & exercit. p. 8.

(24) Ant. Hist. vol. vii. p. 174.

distinguish it from another *Gabbs*. These baths are sheltered, however, from the weather, ^a by nothing better than a miserable thatched hovel built over them. The basins are about 12 feet square, and four feet deep, and have, at a convenient distance from the surface of the water, some massy benches of stone for the bathers to sit upon *. One of them is called the *Bath of the Lepers*, and is much frequented by persons labouring under that, and other the like diseases, and below it the waters stagnating and forming a kind of pond, it is not improbable, that it may be that which *Lco* styles the leper's gate, who tells us, that the water that forms it runs through the town of *El Hamina*, as he corruptly calls *El Hammah*, and adds, from his own experience, that the water is so impregnated with sulphur, that it will by no means quench one's thirst †. Of the same nature are the natural stews of *Brazza*, the antient *Bruzo*, about eight leagues westward of *Kayrwan*. The natives stile them *Hammam*, or baths, though they are no more than so many vaulted rooms, perpetually full of sulphureous steams, like the grottos of *Trifoli*, and some others in *Italy*, and are chiefly frequented by the *Arabs* for the benefit of sweating. ^b

ANOTHER kind of natural curiosity of this kingdom is their salt lakes, some of whose waters are not inferior to sea-water in their saltness; particularly that called *Shibkab-el-Loto-Deab*, or *Lake of marks*, so called from a great number of trunks of palm-trees, placed at proper distances, to direct the caravans in their march over it †. We have given an account of all other particulars, excepting this of its saltness, in our Antient History, to which our readers may recur ‡. But besides this, and other lakes and marshes, and oozy grounds, in which the salts either incrustate on the top, or settle like a pavement at the bottom, there ^c is, at a small distance eastward from the *Marks lake* above-mentioned, a famed mountain of salt, named *Jibbel Haddeffa*, which is, to all appearance, different from that of the other *Salinæ*. It is hard and solid like a stone, of a reddish or purple colour, and bitter to the taste; but, being washed down the precipices by the dews, becomes soft and white as snow, and loses all its bitterness. There are indeed other such mountains, whose salt is of a blueish colour, and, without undergoing such accidental purifications, are not only very palatable, but in great request, particularly that of *Lwotajah*, which, we are told, is sold in *Algiers* for a penny an ounce §.

Artificial rarities.

THE artificial rarities found in this country, worth mentioning, are mostly of *Roman* extract. One of the most curious of that kind is the threefold mosaic pavement, each part ^d contiguous to the other, near the place called *Seedy Doude*, or sanctuary of *David* (R), and each of them wrought with symmetry and exactness. Besides the general contrast and design, which is executed with all the artful wreathings, and variety of colours imaginable, there are figures of horses, birds, fishes, and trees, so beautifully intermixed and curiously inlaid, that they appear more lively and gay than so many tolerable good paintings. The horse, the *Carthaginian insignia*, is displayed in the bold open posture it is observed to be in upon the *African* medals. The birds are the hawk and partridge; the fishes the gilt-head, called by the *Africans* *Feraba*, and mullet; and the trees are the palm and olive. The contriver of which is supposed; by that choice, to have designed to point out the strength, diversions, fishery, and plenty of dates and olives, for which this country is still as remarkable ^e as ever.

THE amphitheatre of *Jemme* is another noble piece of *Roman* antiquity, consisting originally of sixty-four arches, and four orders of columns. The upper order, supposed to be no more than an *Attic*, hath suffered greatly from the *Arabs*, and four of the arches were blown up from top to bottom by the Bey *Mohammed*, which the *Arabs*, then in a revolt, had made use of as a fortress; otherwise, as to the outside, nothing can appear more intire and beautiful, and within, the platform of the seats, and the galleries leading to them, are still standing, the arena is nearly circular, and in the center of it is a deep well of hewn stone, where the pillar that supported the *Velum*, or *Awning*, may be supposed to have been fixed. ^f

BESIDES that noble structure, there are still to be seen a multitude of other antiquities; such as altars with defaced inscriptions, variety of stately columns, trunks of marble statues, one of them of the coloss kind in armour, and another, a naked *Venus*, in the attitude and dimensions of the *Medecian*, both by good masters, but without heads †.

The triumphal arches of Spaitla.

NOT inferior to this are the triumphal arches of *Spaitla*, or *Sufetula* of the antients, which is of the *Corinthian* order, and consists of one large arch, with a lesser one on each side.

^s SHAW, p. 213, & seq. vi. p. 670.

^t Afr. l. v. p. 225, & seq.

^{*} SHAW, p. 229.

^x Ibid. p. 206.

^u SHAW, p. 191, 212, & alib.

^w Vol.

(R) So called from *Doude*, so they pronounce *David*, likelihood, no other than a fragment of some *Roman* *Moorish* saint of these parts, whose sepulchre, as they pretend to shew it, is two yards long, but is, in all *Prætorium*, as our author conjectures, from the fine mosaic pavements above-mentioned (25).

(25) Shaw, *ubi sup.* p. 157.

a From this quite to the city, that is about a furlong off, there runs a pavement of black stone, guarded on each side with a parapet wall, for the convenience, as may be supposed, of the triumpher's entrance into the city. At a little distance from the end of the pavement one passes through another arch, or portico, like the former, which leads into a spacious court, in which are seen the ruins of three contiguous temples, whose roofs, porticos, and façades, are broken down; but the walls, with their proper pediments, entablatures, &c. are still standing and entire^r.

THE *Menara* upon the coast, about two leagues west by south of *Hammamel*, is a mausoleum, built in the form of a cylindrical pedestal, near 60 feet in diameter, and with a vault underneath. On the top of it, just above the cornice, are placed several small altars, which b the *Moors* think to have been designed for so many lamps for the direction of mariners (S). These altars had all of them inscriptions, three of which now remain legible. The first hath these words; L. ÆMILIO AFRICANO AVUNCULO; the second, C. SUELLIO PONTIANO PATRUELI; and the third, VITELLIO QUARTO PATR.² There are also a variety of these mausolea at *Hydra*, some of a round, others of an octogon figure; others again square, with a nich on one of the façades, or else a wide open place like a balcony on the top; all of them supported by four, six, or eight, columns, and well preserved, only the inscriptions belonging to them are either defaced by time, or by the malice of the *Arabs*².

THE last we shall mention of this kind, and that chiefly on account of the lasting nature of its materials, by which the reader may infer the true reason why so many others of the c same kind have escaped hitherto, is the cothon, or pier of *Demafs*, or antient *Thapsus*, which being built in frames, like the walls of *Tremecen*, and other cities, mosks, castles, &c. of a composition made of mortar and pebbles, appear to this day so strong and well cemented, that the very solid rock cannot be more hard and durable; whence it is, that this great piece of antiquity is still remaining, in defiance of time, the sea, and the insults of the *Arabs*^b.

THIS kingdom, as well as that of *Algiers*, and others along the *Barbary* coasts, are very Tunis subject subject to great earthquakes, which is easily accounted for, from what we lately observed of to earthquakes. the great number of hot springs and sulphureous caverns; for we may reasonably suppose, that, besides the vast quantities of those effluvia which are continually discharged by those d springs, there must remain an almost inexhaustible store of sulphur, nitre, and other inflammable bodies behind, sufficient to cause those frequent and violent concussions, some of which we have given an account of in the last chapter^c; and these, without all doubt, have helped to increase the number of those devastations, which time, raging wars, and the malice of the *Turks* and *Arabs*, have made in all these parts. These earthquakes commonly happen after some great rains, at the end of the summer, or in autumn, and will extend themselves a good way into the sea, and be felt at a great distance from any land, and where the depth of water hath been above 200 fathom^d.

IN other respects the country is for the most part healthy and fertile as any under the e same climate, excepting, that in the southern parts are many sandy and barren deserts, and Its climate and temperature. the heat excessive. But the northern ones, which lie mostly between 34 and 37 degrees of latitude, and are the best cultivated, enjoy a wholesome temperature, neither too hot in summer, nor too cold and sharp in winter; insomuch, that no part of the kingdom hath been visited with the plague these 70 years, though so frequent and destructive in most parts of *Barbary* and the *Levant*; to which we may add, that, according to the observations which were made by the ingenious Dr. *Shaw*, during his twelve years residence at *Algiers*, which is almost in the same parallel, all the revolutions of the weather throughout the year made no greater change in the barometer than one inch $\frac{3}{10}$, that is, from 29 $\frac{1}{10}$ to 30 $\frac{4}{10}$ ^e. The winds are mostly from the sea, and consequently are very refreshing; but those that blow from the southern sandy deserts are quite suffocating, especially as they mostly blow f in *July* and *August*, and will continue five, six, or more days, in the same corner; so that the inhabitants are obliged to water the flooring of their houses to cool them. This wind is likewise apt to blow after the winter solstice, and then, if the snows be ever so deep on the ground, they quickly thaw and disappear, but this seldom happens. The sea winds, that blow west-north-west and north, bring dry weather in summer, and rain in winter; but the

^r Ibid. p. 201. ² Ibid. p. 163. ² Ibid. p. 169, & seq. ^b Ibid. p. 191. ^c See before, p. 235, & seq. ^d SHAW, p. 234. See also LEO, GRAMMAY, MARMOL, & al. ^e SHAW, p. 217, & seq.

(S) The *Tunefians* have several of these kinds of have nothing worth notice, except the use they are of watch towers along the coasts, particularly on the pro- in directing the vessels that sail along those dangerous memories of *Capoudia*, *Insilla*, *Stax*, and others; but coasts (26).

(26) *Leo, Marmol, Dapper, & al. sup. citat. vid. & Shaw, p. 193.*

easterly;

easterly, as well as the southerly, are for the most part dry, though attended with a thick a cloudy atmosphere in most seasons. Their first rains commonly fall in *September*, and sometimes in *October*; presently after which the *Arabians* break the ground, sow their corn, and plant their beans, barley, lentils, and garvancos (T) about three weeks after. If they have any rains in *April*, as they commonly have, they reckon their crop secure. Their harvest usually begins in *May*, or the beginning of *June*, according to the quality of the preceding season. Their ploughed lands are generally of so loose a texture, that a pair of oxen may easily plough an acre, and a quantity of seed, whether of wheat or barley, is about two bushels and an half *per acre*, which, *communibus annis*, will yield about ten-fold, more or less, and some districts much more ^f. In other respects the product of this country, whether above or under-ground, being much the same all over *Barbary*, we shall refer our readers b to our account of it in the foregoing chapter^e, and conclude this section with observing, that the *Tunefians* are much more addicted to agriculture than their neighbours the *Algerines*, and are for making the most of every inch of their ground; so that one must expect no regularity, much less elegance, even in their gardens; fine walks, parterres, flower beds, and other such ornaments, would be looked upon as a waste of so much useful ground; and regularity in planting or sowing, or any other improvement, as a shameful deviation from the practice of their ancestors, which they therefore religiously adhere to, holding it trouble enough to sow and plant, without aiming any farther. Yet both *Turks* and *Moors* will readily lend their seats to Christians, on account of the great improvements they commonly make to them, and, with that view, will grant them the liberty of hunting, fowling, c &c. without any limitation, provided they take a *Moor* in their company. Whereas in those gardens and orchards that are left to their own culture and management, one sees nothing but a confused mixture of trees, shrubs, and bushes, above, with cabbages, turneps, beans, pease, &c. growing beneath, and sometimes barley and wheat intermixed amongst them. As for mines of metals, minerals, and other subterraneous productions, they are still more negligent of them ^h; and the story, which they tell of Bey *Mohammed's* plow-shares, is applicable to both these branches of their natural philosophy. This prince, having been dethroned by his subjects, applied himself to *Ibrahim Hojah*, Dey of *Algiers*, who engaged to restore him to his throne, on condition that he discovered to him the grand secret of the *kymia*, or philosopher's stone, which he had the reputation of being master of, and, d on his promise to comply, re-inthroned him accordingly. The method he took to perform it was, by sending to the Dey, with great pomp and ceremony, a great number of plow-shares and mattocks, intimating thereby to the *Algerine* prince, that the wealth of his kingdom was to arise from a diligent attendance on the cultivating of the ground; and that the only philosopher's stone he could acquaint him with, was the turning of a good crop into gold ⁱ.

Agriculture
their only phi-
losopher's stone.

S E C T. II.

Of the government, laws, language, and commerce of the Tunefians.

The Beylik be-
comes despotic
and hereditary,
though not con-
fined to primo-
geniture.

THE government of *Tunis* at present, like that of *Algiers*, is altogether despotic, but e with this difference, that it is elective in that; and here not only hereditary, but the Bey hath power to name which of his sons he pleases for his successors, without regard to eldership; or, in case he doth not think him worthy, he may raise a brother or a nephew to the throne after him. In all other cases likewise they are equally absolute and independant either on the *Porte* or the *Dowan*. They were once, indeed, under the protection of the

^f *Iidem* *ibid.* SHAW, p. 219, & seq.
DAVITY, & SHAW, *ubi sup.*

^g See before, p. 205, & seq.

^h See LEO, GRAMMAY,

ⁱ See SHAW, *ubi sup.* p. 237.

(T) This kind is the *Acer* of the antients, and what we call *Chickpea*, and differs from the rest, in that it doth not soften into a pulp like other pulse by boiling, and therefore is never served up alone, but is strewed over their pillaw and cuscaſaw; but they are most commonly eaten parched, and are then reckoned a delicacy by persons of all ages and distinction. Accordingly most places in *Barbary*, and other eastern cities, have pans or ovens for that purpose in every street, and, when thus parched, exchange their old name for that of

leb-lebby. Some of the learned have conjectured, that this pulse is the same which the holy scripture calls קלי *Cali*, and ours, and other versions, render parched corn (27). But we have formerly shewed it more probable, from the likeness of their shape, that this kind was the חיריונים *chirjonim*, or, as we render it, dove's dung, mentioned in another place, and cannot therefore be the same with the *Cali*, whatever be the true meaning of this last (28).

(27) 2 Sam. xvii. 28. *vid.* SHAW, p. 223, & *in al. loc.*

(28) See *Ant. Hist.* vol. i. p. 815, note (M).

former:

- a former; and, after that, the rapacious extortions and tyranny of its *Bashas* had, in some measure, obliged them to shake off their yoke, and form a government of their own, they settled it in such a manner that their *Deys*, as they were then called, could do nothing without the advice and consent of the *Douwan*. But they have found means in time to rid themselves of this uneasy clog also, though they yet retain a kind of form or shadow of both. The *Porte* hath still a *Basha* residing here, but his power and influence is a meer cypher, and serves only to remind the *Tunefians* that they were once subject to the *Turkish* Soltans, or at most to prevent the regency doing any thing prejudicial to their interest: and as to the *Douwan*, it being chiefly composed of friends and creatures of the *Beys*, they are rather assembled to give a forced approbation to their resolutions, than to consult them about the justice or expediency of them.
- b At the first settling of this new form of government, the Deyship was the supreme dignity, as it is still at *Algiers*; and that of *Bey* was the next in rank, but wholly subordinate to it. However, having since built their power upon the ruins of the *Deys*, they have by degrees raised it to the despotic height, and independency that we see it now in; and, by making it hereditary, have prevented, as much as possible, those frequent depositions, rebellions, and massacres, which are the almost constant concomitants of the regal authority, wherever it is made elective, as we have shewn it to be at *Algiers*^a. We say as much as possible, though far enough from doing it effectually, so as to prevent jealousies and cabals, or sons from rebelling even against their fathers, much more against such of their brothers as are nominated to the succession by them: so that, in spite of all
- c their precautions, the dignity of *son* falls to the share of that son who has been able by his address to form the strongest party, than to him who hath been appointed to it by the father, or to him that is most worthy or best qualified for it. Hence it is, that when ever the throne becomes vacant, whether in the course of nature, or by open treason and rebellion, which is often the case, it is seldom filled up again without a great deal of bloodshed, rapine, and violence, in proportion to the number of competitors.

- How, when, and by whom, this new form of government was first settled in this kingdom, and by what methods the *Beys* gained this despotick superiority over the Deyship, will be best seen in the history of it; which we shall give in the last section of this chapter. At present this last dignity is dwindled to such a degree, that it hath scarcely half the share in
- d the government that the *Beys* enjoyed when they held the next rank under it: for these then were commonly appointed governors of the provinces, where they lived in great state and grandeur, and gained immense riches by the oppression of, and vast exactions on, the subjects, as well as by sinking some considerable part of the revenue into their own coffers; whereas, now the *Beys*, by dividing the kingdom into the two circuits formerly mentioned, taking the whole inspection of them into their own hands, and collecting the revenue in person, at the head of their flying camp, have at once stripped them of the greatest branch of their wealth, grandeur, and authority, and left them only a meer dependence on the favour of the *Beys*, for such places and employments as might help them to keep up some shadow of their former state. Both they and the *Douwan* took great umbrage
- e at this excess of power and arbitrary proceedings; and much more so at their entailing the royal dignity on their descendants, and making it still more sure to them by the alliances which they contracted with the *Arabian* princes, their neighbours. And the noble and united struggles which they made to shake off that new and irksome yoke, make no inconsiderable part of the *Tunefian* history; though, instead of meeting with the success they deserved, they have rather helped to render it more heavy and durable.

- It must be owned, however, that, with all this excess of power, they come vastly short of the wealth and magnificence of the former kings of *Tunis*; we mean those of the *Lassis*, the first who assumed the name of kings, and made that city the metropolis of their kingdom. These kept, indeed, a very numerous and splendid court in it, established the first
- f officers of state, and committed the most important affairs to their inspection. Their *Douwan*, or grand council, consisted of 300 persons of birth, probity, and experience; their guard of 150 men, mostly renegadoes; and their force of about 40,000 men, with a revenue answerable to all that grandeur. This, however, ended with *Muley Isfem*, whom *Barbareffa* dethroned, and made himself master of that capital, and great part of the kingdom; and, though restored to it by the emperor *Charles V.* yet his becoming thereby tributary to him, would not permit him to restore it to that pristine lustre in which his predecessors had maintained it, during the space of near 300 years. It went still more into decay during the time of their being under the protection of the *Porte*, or, more properly, rather under the tyranny and oppression of its *Bashas*. The *Deys* that succeeded
- g them never were in a condition to raise it again; and the *Beys*, which afterwards supplanted them, whether through want of power or inclination, have still shewed a greater indiffe-

^a See before, p. 210, & seq.

rency towards state grandeur than any of the rest, so they can but secure to themselves, and a their descendants, the privilege of reigning with an uncontrouled sway^c.

The Beys in
danger from
the Arabs and
Algerines;

THEY have, indeed, some cogent motives to take off their thoughts from aiming at making such a high figure, as would rather create envy and jealousy, than awe and regard, either from their uneasy and oppressed subjects at home, especially the *Moors* and *Arabs*, or from their neighbours on every side, but more particularly from the *Algerine* Deys on their left, and the *Tripolitans* on the right; not that the latter have any great power to hurt them, unless it be by joining with the former, or assisting some of the Christian maritime powers, as the *English* and *French*; with whom, therefore, the *Tunefians* must endeavour to cultivate a fair correspondence, by reason of the neighbourhood of their fleets.

rebellions fo-
mented by the
Algerine Deys.

Beys keep a
great number
of renagadoes
in pay;

BUT over the *Algerines* they are obliged to keep a more watchful eye; for these, being more addicted to the piratical trade than to that of merchandize, have gained a vast superiority over them ever since they left off the corsair employment, for the more peaceful one of trade and commerce; insomuch, that an *Algerine* Rais will suffer his crew to commit the foulest disorders without controul, even in a *Tunefian* road or harbour; whilst these, afraid of bringing upon themselves a most savage militia, who they know would wish nothing more than a pretence of marching into a country so much better than their own, are forced to put up with every insult and abuse from that haughty quarter. Hence it is, that they are never better pleased than when they see that state embroiled, either with domestic feuds or some foreign war; though, in this latter case, the Bey of *Tunis* seldom fails sending them some ambassy, with offers of his assistance; which, nevertheless, if accepted, is sure to be delayed under some pretence or other; instances of which we have given in the last chapter^d. The truth is, the *Algerines* are no less superior to them at land than they are at sea, not only in wealth and strength, but their soldiery and sailors are more warlike, stout, and desperate; and, by their insolent behaviour, have, in a great measure, so intimidated them, that they content themselves with keeping a watchful eye over all their measures, without daring to take any steps that might give them any real umbrage, much less furnish so savage, rapacious, and formidable a neighbour, with a pretext for invading them afresh. For it is but too plain, from what we have seen in the latter part of their history, that it hath been one constant piece of their policy to foment divisions, revolutions, influencing new elections, and sometimes even deposing some of their Beys, and setting up new ones in their stead. And, on the other hand, whenever they have thought fit to come to an open rupture with them, whether justly or not, they never failed sending their hungry troops to ravage their territories, carry off their most valuable effects, and destroy what they could not take with them. Upon these accounts, it is the interest of the *Tunefian* Beys, first, to entertain a sufficient number of renagadoes in their pay, whose fortune, depending wholly on them, will of course be both more faithful to them, and more vigilant in preventing the *Arabian* Cheyks from carrying on any secret correspondence, or entering into any combination with the *Algerines*. 2. To keep a good understanding with the Bey of *Constantina*; and, indeed, it is their mutual interest so to do; for no longer than they are true to each other, and behave with spirit, can they ever be a match for *Algiers*. 3. We have likewise hinted, that *Tunis* ought to cultivate the friendship of the *English* and *French*; and that, not only for the sake of their advantageous commerce with them, but much more so, as without that it would be out of their power either to carry it on with any other nation, or to gain any advantage against the *Spaniards*, *Corficans*, *Sardinians*, *Venetians*, and *Ecclesiastical State*, with whom they are always at war. So that upon the whole, as long as they attend to those three important points, they might have little to fear from their rapacious neighbours, could they but as easily put an effectual stop to that corruption and violence which commonly over-rules all their elections; but whilst such a destructive practice is suffered to reign amongst them, they will hardly ever be out of danger of some fresh attack from that quarter; and that, perhaps, whilst their own swords are drawn against one another^e.

their revenue
uncertain;

WHAT the revenues and land forces of the *Tunefian* Beys are is not easy to guess; the former, consisting chiefly in the tribute which the *Arabs* and *Moors* pay to him, and in the customs arising from imports and exports, are in a constant fluctuation; because, on the one hand, both *Arabs* and *Moors* often find means to elude the payment of it, by concealing the product of their land (for they generally pay in kind) in large repositories, either under ground or in caves, such as their mountains abound in, and removing with their families and cattle into some inaccessible places against the time of the Bey's circuit, and returning again as soon as he is retired with his flying camp; they being so poor, and so heavily loaded with taxes, that, without such frequent escapes, it would be impossible

^c LEO AFRIC. GRAMMAY, MARMOL, DAPPER, DAVITY, & al. sup. citat. pass. ^e Hist. of Tunis, ch. v. p. 303, & seq.

^d See before, p. 238, & alib.

a for them to subsist, even in their miserable way of living. And as for the imports and exports, they are settled upon so sure a footing that it would be, if not impossible, at least very difficult, as well as hazardous, to defraud him in them, as we shall shew under a subsequent head. Their forces mostly consist of renegadoes, and a few militia: for they have no *Janissaries* in pay, as they have at *Algiers*; and this militia is chiefly kept in their garrisons and sea-ports; but is neither so well paid nor disciplined as the *Algerine*. The renegado soldiers, who chiefly compose the Bey's guard, and the garrison of his capital, are, indeed, better maintained and clothed; but without those singular privileges which are allowed to the *Algerine Janissaries*^f. So that, upon the whole, one would wonder at the paucity of their forces in time of peace, and how their Beys dare to trust their government and vast territories to so weak and inconsiderable a guard: they can, indeed, under all emergencies, command a powerful army of *Moors* and *Arabians*, both horse and foot, but have but small dependence on their fidelity, seeing the hatred between their nations, heightened by the exactions under which they groan, gives the tyrannical masters but little reason to expect any other than a forced and reluctant service from them.

THEIR shipping is likewise much inferior to what might be expected from such a maritime trading nation, except what is employed in this latter branch; those that belong to the government are no more than four, and all of them but poorly rigged; the largest not carrying above forty guns: they had, it seems, one of seventy guns; but which, through some defect in her building, could never be fit for service; besides about thirty galliots, carrying from 20 to 120 men; which are commonly commanded by a renegado, and manned partly with some of the same sort, and partly by *Turks* and *Czuleglies*, or sons of married soldiers^g. The Christian slaves work the ship, and the *Turks* are only concerned in the fighting part. The four great ships that set out on the cruize twice a year are supplied with oil, butter, vinegar, and biscuit by the Bey; but as those provisions are not sufficient, their captains, for two piafters more from every *Turk*, enlarge the allowance to a certain rate for forty or fifty days at most. Other galliots are likewise fitted out by private owners, who at their own expence, carry on their cruize, pay the ship's crew, and defray other charges, and are allowed the sole property of the prizes they take, except such perquisites as the Bey reserves for himself, much after the same manner as we have seen at *Algiers*^h. To these we may add a great number and variety of other mercantile vessels; of whose shape, rigging, and use, as well as of the four ships of the government, the reader may find the best account we can give him of them in the margin (A), as far as relates to their present state. For it is plain, from those authors who have formerly wrote of it, that it made a much greater figure at sea before the end of the last century, than they have in thisⁱ.

WHEN any of the government's ships brings in a prize, the hull of the vessel, and half the cargo, after the ship's expence hath been deducted, belongs to the Bey, and the other half is divided between the Rais, or captain, and the company. The Rais hath six shares, the under Rais four, the pilot four, the gunner four, the clerk three, the quarter-master two, the cockswain two, and each private man half a share. As to the slaves, the Bey, besides his half, has the privilege of buying the rest at 100 piaftres *per* head, which he seldom fails of selling for 300 or 400, only every tenth head belongs to the Douwan.

WHEN a Christian merchantman comes into the road of *Tunis*, he hoists his colours, and salutes the castle of *Goletta* with three guns; after which, the master comes on shore to inform the Aga whence he comes. But when a man of war, belonging to a Christian state, comes in, he anchors at some farther distance from the castle than the merchantmen, and is first saluted from it according to his rate, which he returns with the same number of guns. All the time of his stay the flag is hoisted at the consul's house belonging to his nation; and all the merchantmen of the same nation keep their colours flying. Upon the arrival of any such men of war, their consul is obliged to give notice of it to the Bey, who immediately orders all the slaves to be shut up in their respective bagnios, lest any of them should find means to get on board of her; in which case there would be no reclaiming

^f See before, p. 210, & seq. ^g See before, p. 218. ^h Ibid. p. 216, & seq. ⁱ GRAMMAY, MARMOL, DAVITY, & al. sup. citat.

(A) The *Tunisian* vessels may be divided into ships, patachas, polachas, ketches, barks, pinks, tartans, and canocs; all which have their respective uses and advantages, and are differently rigged and worked. The ships have four masts, the main, the fore, the mizen, and the bow-sprit; the patachas differ only from the ships in having no mizen-mast; the polacha hath a square sail to her main-mast, a smack sail to her fore-mast, and a very small mizen-mast; the ketch

hath several smack sails forward, her main-mast is higher than that of other vessels, but her mizen and bow-sprit of the usual length; all the difference between the bark and the pink consists only in their head, which in the former is full, and in the latter sharp; both have a main, fore, and mizen-mast, rigged with smack sails: most of the tartans and canoes have but one mast, neither is there much difference in their sails (1).

(1) See *Hist. of Tunis*, 1750, p. 306.

Customs on im-
ports and ex-
ports;

duty called con-
sulship.

Imports and
exports.

Foreign con-
suls respected;

Arabic much
corrupted.

Jews very nu-
merous in
Tunis.

them. At their departure the Bey commonly sends the captain the usual present of oxen, a sheep, poultry, and other refreshments. All trading vessels, which load or unload in this kingdom, are obliged to pay four duties; viz. anchorage, which amounts to seventeen one-half piasters for loading, and as many for unloading. The average on ships loading, being part of the public revenue, rises and falls according to the exigencies of the state. This duty, which ran high in the year 1733, amounted to twenty piasters for every ship, whether loading or unloading; that of the patachas, polachas, ketches, and canoes, to eighteen; pinks and barks to fourteen, and tartans ten; and double the sum, if they both loaded and unloaded. To these we may add the duty of two *per cent.* called the consulship, on every cargo taken on board at *Tunis*; and is for the salary of the consul and other officers. The passports granted to *French* captains are, at the desire of their own crown, limited to three years; at the end of which they are to appear before some admiralty court in *France* before they renew it, under severe penalties. But those granted to the *English* extend to fourteen years, without being confined to the obligation above mentioned^a.

TUNIS exports to *France* corn, oil, beans, lentils, wax, wool, hides, and *Morocco* skins; and receives in exchange *Spanish* wool, *Languedoc* cloths, vermillion, sugar, pepper, cloves, wine, brandy, paper, hard-ware, iron, and steel. The *Italian* trade is wholly carried on by the *Jews*, who send the same commodities to *France*, and import from thence *Spanish* cloths, damasks, several sorts of silk and woollen stuffs, gold and silver tissue, &c. The *French* pay three *per cent.* for all the goods they bring from, or into, *France*; and the *Jews* ten *per cent.* on their imports from *Italy*. The *Turks* and *Moors* export to the *Levant* woollen stuffs, lead, gold dust, and chequins, and a vast number of bales of caps; and bring in return silks, calicoes, iron, alum, and vermillion. They send much the same kind of commodities into *Egypt*; but the oil that is carried thither must be put up in jars, and not in casks, because the greatest part of it is designed for the lamps of *Mecca* and *Medina*; and the *Arabians* would think it polluted, as the casks might have formerly contained wine. They import in exchange from thence linen, coffee, rice, flax, and cotton. The number of *French* ships freighted at *Tunis*, by *Turks*, *Moors*, and *Jews*, amount yearly, we are told, to no less than 150 to the *Levant*, and 50 for *France* and *Italy*: as for those of the *English* their number is uncertain^b. One considerable branch of the *Tunisian* commerce is that of the caravan vessels, which trade to the *Levant*, not only on account of the half average they pay to the state, but of the vast concourse of people they occasion, and the tax on passports: but the most considerable of all the caravans are those from *Sallee* and the *Cadenfis*; the first of which arrives about three weeks before the *Ramadan*, and enriches the *Tunisiens* with gold dust and chequins, to the value of 100,000 pounds sterling. The *Cadenfisian*, which comes in twice a year, likewise brings plenty of gold dust, besides a considerable number of negroes, which they exchange for cloths, paper, *Venice* glasses, wire, coral, and other toys^c. In most other respects the commerce of the *Tunisiens* is carried on much after the same manner as we have seen at *Algiers*; and with this advantage, that foreigners, whether of Christian, or any other nation, are used here with greater humanity and equity than there. The *English*, *French*, *Imperialists*, *Dutch*, and *Genoese*, have their consuls, who are likewise treated with greater regard and esteem. They have not only their fine houses in the metropolis, but handsome villas, or country seats in the neighbourhood of it; in both which they live in a splendid manner. We have already hinted, that theirs and their officers salaries arise from the duty of two *per cent.* on all vessels that take their cargo on board at *Tunis*. This duty is collected by a merchant of the greatest repute, who passes his account every year before the consul, chancellor, and four other merchants^d.

ALL public conventions and instruments are written in the *Arabic* tongue; which, by the introduction of the *Turkish* religion into all *Barbary*, and the intercourse with the *Moors*, is much corrupted from its antient energy and elegance. As for the public commerce, it is commonly carried on by the help of the *Lingua Franca*. The great number of renegadoes from *France*, *Italy*, and *Spain*, which are here greatly encouraged, on account of their abilities, usefulness, and professed hatred to all Christians, have likewise rendered their own languages so familiar in those parts, especially in *Tunis*, that it would be dangerous to talk of matters of state in any of them, before *Turks* or *Moors*. Many of those renegadoes find means to raise themselves to the most considerable employments, and to gain immense riches; and the *Turks*, though haughty towards the rest of mankind, yet pay a singular regard to these wretches, and shew them all possible marks of esteem to all outward appearance; but, in their hearts, envy, hate, and despise them. The *Jews* likewise swarm in this kingdom, on account of their usefulness in commerce; and, tho' no less despised in all other respects, are yet suffered to trade and flourish, and to live after their own manner in their separate quarters. They are reckoned to be nine or ten thousand in the city of *Tunis*^e; many of whom carry

^a Hist. of Tunis. ch. vi. p. 306, & seq. ch. iv. p. 302.

^b Id. ibid.

^c Id. ibid.

^d Id. ibid. p. 309.

^e Id. ibid.

a on a very considerable commerce; and, as they are much given to cheat in their weights and measures, making of fraudulent bankruptcies, adulterating of gold dust, and other commodities, they are commonly punished or fined more severely than any other foreigners, especially if they are caught in lessening or counterfeiting the coin, which is much the same here as is current at *Algiers* ^p.

THE punishments are here also much the same as there, and are executed with the same partiality, with respect to the *Turks*, in both ^a; only here they are most severe against those renegadoes that turn Christians again: for these they either wrap up in a cloth dipped in pitch and set on fire, or else put them to a more painful and lingering death, by walling them up close all but their heads, and rubbing their heads and faces with honey, which b exposes them to the bite and stings of wasps and other insects; by which they are tortured several days and nights before they expire. They are no less severe on their slaves who attempt to run away, but especially such as kill their masters, if *Turks*; for which last offence they break the offender's arms and legs, tie him to a horse's tail, and drag him through all the streets; after which they strangle him, and give his body to the *Franks* to be buried. But it most commonly happens, that the boys (than which our author tells us ^c there are none more wicked in the world) snatch the dead body out of the executioner's hands, in spite of the *Mezoar*, or sub-basha; and, having dragged it about some time longer, will roast it with straw, and, after many other indignities, throw him at last into some ditch; out of which the *Franks* must fetch him, in order to be buried.

S E C T. III.

The history of Tunis, from its foundation by Sinan Basha.

c THIS country had hardly seen an end of its subjection to the two foreign yokes under which it so long groaned, viz. that of the *Romans*, and that of the northern *Vandals* and *Goths*, but it saw itself involved with the rest of *Barbary*, under that of the *Saracens*, which was governed by viceroys, with the title of *Emirs* ^a, who first established that form of government; under which it continued afterwards by different families during the space of near five hundred years. We have already shewn, in a former chapter, what a desperate expedient the Khalif of *Kayrwan* took to be revenged on his treacherous viceroy, *Abul-Hagax*, who had seized on his *African* dominions, and got himself confirmed king of them by the Khalif of *Babylon*, whilst he was busy to take possession of his new conquest of *Egypt*; and in order to recover them from him. The traitor, *Abul-Hagax*, being defeated and killed d by those plundering swarms of *Arabians*, which he had invited into *Africa* to his assistance, his two sons, to avoid their father's fate, fled for refuge, the one to *Tunis*, and the other to *Bujeyah*, where they were received as princes, and took the sovereign power of those two principalities upon them; but were quickly after forced to submit to *Techisien*, al. *Texesien*, of the tribe of the *Almoravides*, who then reigned in the west of *Barbary*, who on their submission left them in possession of their respective new dominions ^b, which they quietly enjoyed, until that tribe was dispossessed of their sovereignty by that of the *Almoravides*; who, upon a general revolt, obtained the same sovereign power, drove these two princes out of their dominions, and took upon them the same honours and titles that were given to the Khalifs ^c. These resided at *Morocco*, and governed *Tunis* by their viceroys, till towards e the decline of the *Almohedish* tribe; when the *Arabs* at *Tunis* raised a revolt against them, and besieged the king of *Morocco's* governor. This last soon received a reinforcement from him of a small army, and twenty vessels, under the command of *Abuledi*, or *Abdul Hedi*, an officer of *Seville*, of the tribe of *Maçamuda*; who, landing at *Tunis*, found the city almost ruined by the *Arabs*; but soon thought of means, by his address and conduct, to bring matters to an accommodation; and, upon certain conditions, obliged them to leave both the city and villages in peace. He governed that kingdom with the title and full power of a viceroy; and at his death, left the government of it to his son *Abu Zechariah*, a person in no wise inferior in prudence and conduct to his father; and who, to keep all things under him in quiet, built a citadel on the highest part of the city: after this, he extended his con- f quests as far as *Tripoli*, raised large contributions in *Libya*, *Numidia*, and as far as the land of the negroes ^d; and left an immense treasure, at his death, to his son and successor *Abu Ferez*, after having held his government steady and prosperous during the troubles that reigned most of that time between the *Benimerini* and *Almohedes*.

^p See before, p. 128, & seq.

^a Ibid. p. 215, & seq.

^c THEVENOT, vid. part i. c. 93, &c.

^d See

before, p. 128, & seq.

^b Ibidem ibid.

^c Id. ibid.

^d MARMOL, GRAMMAY, DAVITY, &c.

Abu Zechariah extends his territories.

Abu Ferez
revolts from
the king of
Morocco;

ABRAHAM, or, as he is most commonly called, *Abu Ferez*, whose ambition was now a equal to his overgrown wealth and power, was not long in possession of his father's dignity before he looked upon himself as too considerable to pay any farther submission to the king of *Morocco*. The dissentions that raged between the other powers of *Africa* had too far weakened them to permit him to overlook such a promising advantage; and, as he might justly look upon himself as their superior in strength and opulence, so it was natural for him to aspire at the reduction of the whole country under his dominion, especially as the *Benimerini* had, by this time, made themselves masters of the kingdom of *Fez*, and the *Benizegens* of that of *Tremecen*; so that that of *Morocco* alone remained in the hands of the *Almohedes*. With this hopeful prospect before him, *Abu Ferez* began his expedition with *Tremecen*, which he quickly reduced, and obliged the king to become his tributary. His example was soon followed by that of *Fez*, who, being then taken up with the siege of *Morocco*, thought fit to prevent the like visit, by sending him an embassy with rich presents, and the most solemn assurances of his friendship and submission, and of his acknowledging him thenceforward as his sovereign.

his death.

THERE needed no more to persuade *Abu Ferez* to turn back, who accordingly entered his capital in triumph, and there assumed the title of king of *Africa*, and established his court in that city in the same pomp and magnificence as that of the Sharif of *Morocco*. From that time the city of *Tunis* began to outvie most of those of *Africa*, being embellished by many sumptuous edifices, and defended by strong walls, towers, and other bulwarks, answerable to its new title of, *Metropolis of Africa*. *Abu Ferez* at his death divided his dominions between his three sons; to one he gave that of *Bugia*, to the second that of *Numidia*, and to the third, named *Hutmen*, that of *Tunis*.

Hutmen suc-
ceeds him at
Tunis; and
Abu-Bar suc-
ceeds Hutmen.

HUTMEN, or, as others call him, *Autman*, was no less valiant than his father. He greatly enlarged his territories, dispossessed his brother *Hamar* of *Numidia*, the kingdom of which he rejoined to his own of *Tunis*, and caused his eyes to be put out. He reigned, according to *Grammay*, forty years^c, and left his kingdom to his son *Abu-Bar*, who was afterwards deprived of it by one *Jesajah*, or *Subajah*, who stiled himself the son of *Omar III.* Khalif of the *Asiatic Saracens*.

Tunis taken
by Hassan,
and soon after
retaken from
him.

HUTMEN, as well as his father, had, during his life-time, kept the kings of *Fez* so far in awe, that they had not dared to undertake any exploits or conquests for fear of giving him umbrage; but, after his death, they became powerful enough, in a little time, to cause their sovereignty to be acknowledged by all the *Mohammedans* of *Africa*, and to extend their dominions to the most eastern parts of *Barbary*, and southward as far as *Negroland*. They likewise had some bloody wars against the successors of *Hutmen*; till at length *Hassan*, or *Hascen*, one of their kings, came and besieged *Tunis*, and quickly after took it, which obliged the king to flee for shelter into the neighbouring deserts, then inhabited by the *Arabians*. It was not long, however, before he returned with a strong body of them; and, having defeated *Hassan*, recovered his capital and his kingdom. In the mean time, whilst the *Tunesian* monarch was at war with that of *Fez*, the city of *Tripoli*, which we lately observed had been subdued by *Abu Zecharia*, revolted, and continued five years independant; till *Abu Hamen*, successor of *Hassan*, came and defeated *Muley Abu*, and obliged him to flee to *Constantina*, where he besieged and took him prisoner, and confined him in the castle of *Centa*, then belonging to the *Moors*.

Tripoli taken;

WHIST this was doing, the city of *Tripoli* saw itself at once surrounded by a squadron of *Genoese* ships, and twelve gallies, which quickly forced them to surrender at discretion. All the inhabitants were made slaves, and going to be carried away, when the king of *Fez*, being apprised of it, offered 50,000 crowns for their discharge, and the purchase of the city from them. The sum was readily accepted on those terms by the *Genoese*, but not so honestly paid by the *Fezian* monarch; one half of it being, we are told, false money, which they ignorantly took for good^f.

bought by the
king of Fez;

who restores
that of Tunis
to his throne.

THE king of *Fez* died some time after this new purchase, and was succeeded by *Abu-celem*, who entered into a treaty with that of *Tunis*, kept still prisoner at *Centa*; and, by means of some alliances between them, restored him to his liberty and kingdom. *Abul Abex* had not long returned to his dominions before he recovered the city of *Tripoli*, and others of his provinces, of which *Hassan* had stripped him, and enjoyed them peaceably afterwards, as did also his successors; till one of them, named *Abu Barca*, was assassinated, with one of his sons, in the citadel of *Tripoli*, by order of *Chiajah*, his nephew, who had raised a rebellion in the kingdom. He had not been long in the possession of it, before a first cousin of his revolted, defeated, and killed him, and enjoyed the crown peaceably whilst he lived; and at his death bequeathed it to *Zechariah*, the nephew of the above-named traitor, *Chiajah*, his predecessor. This dying soon after of the plague, the chief inhabitants chose for his

Abu Barca as-
sassinated by
Chiajah, who
is also mur-
dered.
Zechariah.

^c GRAMMAY, l. viii. c. 2. MARMOL, l. vi. c. 16. DAVITY, & al.

^f MARMOL, ubi sup.

successor

a successor *Muley Abu Camen*, the nephew of *Zechariah*, whose tyrannical government caused several cities to revolt, and erect themselves into petty sovereignties. Muley Abu Camen.

MULEY ABU CAMEN was succeeded by *Muley Mahmed*; of whom we find nothing remarkable, except that he reigned thirty-three years in *Tunis*, and had many children; the eldest of whom, called *Mamon*, he caused to be imprisoned, on suspicion of some treasonable design against him; and the rest were so vicious and profligate, that he could not find one among them all that was fit to succeed him. He at length pitched upon the youngest, not only because he was esteemed the most valiant, but on account of his mother being an *Arabian* of that country; and he hoped by that means to secure them the more firmly to the interest of his family^z. This successor was the since famed *Muley Hassan*, whom we have already spoken of in the history of *Algiers*, and who was restored to his kingdom by the emperor, after *Barbarossa* had driven him out of it^b; by which means he became tributary to that monarch (A), as we shall soon see.

For *Hassan* had not long been settled upon the throne, and proclaimed *Mahmed*'s successor, before *Mamon*, his eldest brother, who was still kept close prisoner, made some strenuous efforts, by the assistance of his keeper, to make his escape, and claim his right to the crown. He was, however, discovered before he could accomplish it, and condemned to lose his head for the attempt; and with him were as many others of his brothers and relations, as could be caught, put likewise to death. *Afrashid*, another of his brothers, had, however, the good fortune to escape, and flee to *Buchara* in *Numidia*, where he met with a kind reception from *Abdala*, lord of the place. This last, having immediately raised an army of stout *Arabs*, marched with him at their head against *Hassan*, and defeated him; but, as they had no artillery with them, they could not force an entrance into the town; so that *Afrashid* was obliged to take his leave of the *Arabs*; and, having set fire to the suburbs, and all the adjacent parts of it, marched forthwith to *Algiers*, to implore *Barbarossa*'s assistance, who governed that kingdom with the title of Viceroy, or *Basha*, under the Soltan.

This last, who had for some time looked upon the dissensions that reigned between those two brothers, and their partisans at *Tunis*, as a proper juncture for seizing that kingdom, and annex it to his *Ottoman* dominions, not only gave him a very friendly reception, but took him with him to *Constantinople*, under pretence of soliciting some farther assistance from, as well as for the protection of, *Solyman*. And it is scarcely to be doubted but he would have obtained his request, had not *Barbarossa* acquainted that monarch with the design he had been hatching against that kingdom. This proposal was too tempting to be rejected by that politic court; so that whilst *Afrashid* was detained as a kind of prisoner in that city, *Barbarossa* was sent with a sufficient squadron towards *Tunis*, where he arrived soon after. Upon his first appearing on the coasts, *Hassan*, who suspected his brother *Afrashid* to be there among them, and had cause to apprehend some revolt among the *Tunefians*, retired out of it, with some of his *Arabs*, and lay concealed among them till he could penetrate into the design of the *Turks*. *Barbarossa* sailed directly towards *Bizerta*, which immediately surrendered to him, out of spite to *Hassan*, who had disobliged the inhabitants. Thence he proceeded to *Porto Farino*, and the Cape of *Carthage*; and last of all, posted himself before the tower of the *Goletta*, or citadel, which he saluted, as usual, with a broadside without a ball, in token of alliance and friendship, which was returned in the same manner from the tower.

He next demanded of them for whom they held the place; and was answered, for him that should be king of *Tunis*, where every thing was in commotion, and in great expectation of *Afrashid*, whose brother *Hassan* was become detestable to his subjects, on account of his cruelties and oppressions. When *Hassan* heard this, he immediately came down from

^z *Iid. ubi sup.*

^b See GRAMMAY, MARMOL, & al. *sup. citat.*

(A) This prince, we are told (1), did boast himself to the emperor to have been the thirty-fifth king of his family, who had reigned successively in *Tunis* during the space of 450 years, and to have been descended from *Melchior*, one of the three *Magi*, or wise men, who came to pay their adoration to the new-born son of God at *Bethlehem* (2). He bore in his escutcheon a lance between two swords, with their points upwards, and three crescents over them; above them a crown, and over the crown a star. This coat of arms, our author tells us, *Muley Mahmed*, the son of this *Hassan* at *Palermo*, had upon the sword he then wore (3).

But, adds he, *African* writers, on the contrary, de-

rive their genealogy from the *Hentetæ*, which were a branch of the descendants of *Muhamuda* (4); whilst others affirm them to be descended from *Omar*, the second *Khalif* (5). However that be, with respect to their pedigree, we have seen, that these kings of *Tunis* have carried their conquests as far as *Sicily*, and reigned a considerable time in that island (6). Afterwards they became tributary to the *Normans*, upon the declension of the *Arabian* empire, and to the *French*, under the reign of *Charles*, then king of *Sicily*; who, upon the death of his brother *Leavis*, since fainted, came to the assistance of the Christians, and obliged the *Tunefian* king to become tributary to him.

(1) *Marmol's Afric.* c. xvi. (2) *Vid. Matth. ii. pass. De his, & vide Antient Hist. vol. ii. p. 218, note (P), vol. iv. p. 162, note (D).* (3) *Marmol, ubi sup.* (4) *Iidem ibid.* (5) See before, vol. i. p. 148. *Vid. Marmol, ubi sup.* (6) *Vid. & auet. sup. cit.* (7) *Vid. Grammay, Marmol, & al. ubi sup.*

the castle, in order to speak for himself; but met such a rough reception from the inhabitants as quite disconcerted and terrified him; so that he immediately fled out of the city, without so much as daring to go back to his palace, where all his cash, jewels, and other treasure were kept. He even told us afterwards, says our author¹, that, upon his coming down from the castle, he had laid up 200 diamond rings, of inestimable value, in a purse of red velvet; but that his surprise was so great, that, upon his getting out of his bed-chamber to go and harangue with his tumultuous subjects, he quite forgot to take it with him.

*The Tunefians
outwitted by
Barbarossa.*

HASSAN was no sooner got out of *Tunis* in that dismal plight, than the governor and chief officers of the castle, who made no doubt but that *Afrashid* was in the *Turkish* fleet, released his wife and son out of confinement, arrayed them in princely apparel, and paid them the same respect as if he had been in possession of the crown. They likewise sent a couple of fine horses, richly clad, to *Goletta*; the one for him, and the other for *Barbarossa*, to make their entry into *Tunis*, and with them several chiefs of the army, to assure them, that that capital was wholly at their devotion. This notion, which had been artfully spread among the *Tunefians* by the subtle *Barbarossa*, had so thoroughly possessed their minds, that, upon his entering the suburbs and city, at the head of his 9000 *Turks*, which he had transported thither in sixty royal galleys, he was received with the loudest acclamations; and, having paid his first devotions at one of their mosques, marched directly to the castle, amidst an innumerable croud of people. But how great was their surprise, when, instead of *Afrashid*, they heard him mention no other name but that of *Solyman* and his own; and how much greater their resentment, when they were apprised, that their so much wished-for prince was still detained a prisoner at *Constantinople*. They tumultuously assembled themselves in arms, under the command of their *Mezouar*; and, whilst some were dispatched after *Hassan* to bring him back, to deliver them from the *Turkish* impending tyranny, the rest began to assault the traitorous *Barbarossa* in the castle; but these were soon after dispersed with loss by a general discharge, which he ordered his musketry to make upon them; upon which they were easily brought to acknowledge the Grand Signor for their sovereign, and him for his viceroy. The next step he took to keep them under, was to enter into an immediate alliance with the *Arabs*; and, by their assistance, to make himself master of *Kayrwan* and other places, which city he strongly garrisoned with his *Turks*. After which he caused the canal of the *Goletta*, which communicates with the sea, to be made wider, in order to enlarge the port; in which work the Christian slaves were employed². As for the fugitive *Hassan*, he found no better resource than to retreat among some of the neighbouring *Arabs*, that were still his friends; with whom he stayed still he was reinthroned by the emperor *Charles V.* to whom he applied for assistance against *Barbarossa*³. This was, however, a dangerous expedient; his applying to a Christian emperor for assistance was an action that could not but render him still more odious, not only to his own subjects, but likewise to all the *Mohammedan* princes; and much more so, as he could not regain his crown on any other terms than by his becoming a tributary to that monarch. But his case was by that time become too desperate to permit him to be deterred by any such considerations, or to listen to any thing but the motives of revenge, as well on his own faithless subjects, as on the treacherous *Barbarossa* and the *Porte*. So that his favourite renegado, by nation a *Genoese*, no sooner undertook to negotiate that affair with the emperor, than he dispatched him over to his court with the proposal, which was no less readily agreed to there. And it was no wonder it should be so, considering what an additional strength the annexing of this viceroyship to that of *Algiers* would afford to that pirate, already so formidable at sea, and on all the *Mediterranean* coasts, to say nothing of the advantage that would accrue to him by that kingdom's becoming tributary to him. Accordingly, *Charles* the fifth was easily determined, not only to undertake so advantageous an expedition, but even to put himself at the head of it, and to command it in person.

*who under-
takes an expe-
dition in his
favour.*

*Barbarossa
prepares him-
self for a brave
defence.*

BUT though it was concerted and carried on with all possible secrecy, and the proper shipping got ready in the ports of *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Genoa*, and *Spain*, with no less expedition, yet *Barbarossa* had such speedy notice given him of it by a *Florentine* priest, who was then bound for *Constantinople*, and charged with some important affairs relating to the *French* court, that he had time enough to apprise the *Porte* of it, and acquaint it with the imminent danger he was in of losing not only his fleet, but all his conquests in *Barbary*, if not speedily succoured. He was, however, disappointed of his hopes from that quarter; the Grand Signor being then fully employed with all his forces in *Asia*, and his ministers at *Constantinople* either unable or negligent to send him any supplies of men or ships; yet this dangerous situation did not discourage him from making a brave defence: and, since he could not fortify the city of *Tunis* so well as he could have wished, by reason of the several eminences that commanded

¹ MARMOL, lib. vi, ch. 16.

² MARMOL, ubi sup.

³ See GRAMMAY, MARMOL, & al. sup. citat.

- a it on the west side, nor dared to demolish the suburbs, which are one of its chiefs ornaments, for fear of disobliging the *Tunefians*, he set himself immediately to fortify the *Goletta*, which was at that time little more than a square tower, and seemed only designed to command the mouth of the canal, by which the sea enters into the lake that fronts the town^m. He not only added some strong out-works to it, but threw a stout *Turkish* garrison into it, and furnished it with every thing necessary for its defence: after this he sent to invite all the *Moors* and *Arabs* to his aid, and remonstrated to them, that this was a common cause, in which they were all equally concerned; inasmuch as the loss of *Tunis* would not only endanger that of all *Barbary*, but much more so, as it would reduce all the states under a Christian yoke, and prove of the most dangerous consequence to the *Mohammedan* religion.
- b This last consideration alone would have been sufficient to alarm all the *Mohammedan* princes against the apostate *Hassan*, and his powerful ally; the former of whom he had in vain endeavoured to get into his hands dead or alive. This circular letter had the desired effect, and brought to his assistance most of the *Levantine* corsairs, and armed the *Moorish* and *African* princes against the league.

His next care was to cause a stout thick wall to be built quite from the sea side to the water tower, and from thence, by winding about towards the lake, formed a kind of bulwark, with proper embrasures, which faced every side. He likewise built over the canal a spacious bridge, within side of that cincture; and, on a spot of ground between the sea and the *Goletta*, he caused a rampart to be reared, which had a full view of all that coast, and defended the twelve gallies that were left out, whilst all the rest of the shipping was secured within the canal, or in the lake; and both could play their artillery on the enemy as occasion required. All these, and other precautions for a defence, with regard to the out-works, being taken, as far as the shortness of the time would permit, he took care to fill this new cincture with a sufficient number of forces. He threw into it 7000 fighting men, 4000 of whom were either *Turks* or renegadoes, 2000 were *Tunefian Moors*, many of whom were persons of rank and distinction, and 1000 were chosen from among the stoutest *Janisfaries*; all of whom he provided with plenty of artillery, arms, and other ammunition and provisions, which were supplied to them by the vessels that kept still going and coming to and from *Tunis*. After which he sat himself down, fully determined to wait the arrival of the enemy, with an intrepid resolution, answerable to his characterⁿ and situation.

- d On the other side, *Charles V.* having got intelligence of the preparations he had made for his reception, ordered his whole navy, amounting to 1400 ships of all sorts^o, and amongst them ninety royal gallies, to set sail with all possible expedition for the *Tunefian* coasts. They soon reached the Cape of *Carthage*, which having doubled, they sent to reconnoitre the *Goletta*; near which they landed their numerous forces without any opposition.

BARBAROSSA, nothing dismayed at their number and strength, nor at their first successes in taking and plundering several of the neighbouring villages, whence they carried off some quantities of corn, oil, and other provisions, first of all assembled the *Arabian* chiefs, and exacted the usual oath of fidelity from them: for, besides 15,000 of them which he kept in his pay, great numbers of others were come to list under his banner, not only as he allowed them a better pay, but out of hatred to *Hassan* and the Christian forces; to them he joined some *Turkish* horse and foot, which he drew out of *Tunis*, and sent them to scour the country, and to annoy the Christian camp by their skirmishes, whilst they were laying siege to the city.

- e THESE frequent excursions did not, however, hinder its being carried on with great vigour, though with various success. But we hope it will not be expected that we should, in a work of this nature, enter into a particular detail of it, which would carry us beyond our bounds; and that it will suffice our readers to tell them in general, that it was concerted and executed with all the regularity and advantage that the situation of the place would allow; the emperor having taken sufficient care to furnish himself with the expertest engineers and the most consummate commanders, as well as to supply his camp, not only with all that was necessary to carry on the war, but with every thing that could render it easy and convenient for his numerous army; insomuch that the streets of his camp afforded as great plenty and variety of all sorts of provisions, and well-stored markets, as any city in *Europe*; for, besides the great number of storeships which were ordered to accompany this expedition, they had frigates and other vessels constantly coming in, laden with wines, corn, and other provisions, from *Naples*, *Sardinia*, *Sicily*, *Majorca*, and *Minorca*; besides which, they were likewise abundantly supplied with fresh water from the adjacent springs; insomuch that *Muley Hassan*, upon his first arrival at the camp, was beyond measure asto-

^m See before, p. 299, note (F).
& al. ibid.

ⁿ MARMOL, BOSIO, VERTOT, ubi sup.

^o MARMOL, VERTOT

nished at the grandeur and plenty that reigned in it, so vastly exceeding all that he, tho' a great and magnificent prince, had ever beheld till then.

BARBAROSSA, on his side, after having made the best preparations, as we have seen a little above, for a brave defence, shewed himself on this occasion to be as expert and able an engineer and commander at land, as he had formerly been at sea, where he was become formidable to all *Europe*: but his success did not prove the same, though his troops behaved with unusual bravery; for the approaches of the besiegers were no sooner completed, than all the royal galleys, whose cannon could reach the fort, were properly disposed on the sea, and batteries of forty-six guns opened against it on the land side; both which plied it with such continual fire, that several wide breaches were quickly made for an assault (B). It was carried on with no less fury, notwithstanding the noble defence which was made from within; and, after a desperate resistance on both sides, the imperial army carried the fort, not without a considerable loss ^p.

The garrison retreats.

THE garrison, seeing itself overpowered, made their retreat in as good order as they could; 4000 of them took the way to *Tunis*, through a tract that had been marked for them by posts set into the ground along the shallows; 2000 others, crossing over the canal, and breaking the bridge which *Barbarossa* had laid over it, filed off towards *Arades*, but suffered pretty much from the enemy in their rear before they could reach the place ^q.

THERE remained only about 150 *Turks* in the *Goletta*, who were left there to set fire to some mines, and blow up the enemy upon their entering the place; but the *Spaniards* made such speed to get into it, that they prevented, in a great measure, the dreadful effects of the powder. One *Turk* did, indeed, set fire to two barrels of it, which threw up the upper story of the tower, and shattered the walls of it in several places. Upon which *Don Diego de Mendoza* rushed in at the gate through the smoke and rubbish, followed by about twenty of his men, and drove the *Turks* before them. He had not gone far before another barrel was fired, which burned his hand and side, and wounded some of his men; notwithstanding which, the rest of his men coming in to his assistance with sword in hand, they made themselves a bloody way through the *Turks*, and soon set up the imperial standard on the top of the tower.

Charles V. enters the place.

THE emperor, now master of the *Goletta*, entered the place, attended by the Infant *Don Lewis, Hassan* the *Tunesian* king, and a numerous retinue of his officers; and, upon his approaching the gate, turned himself to *Hassan*, and told him, that that was the gate thro' which he should quickly re-enter into the possession of his new kingdom. To which the king answered, with an humble low bow, and thanked his imperial majesty for so signal a favour. *Barbarossa* lost on this occasion 300 brass cannon, besides a number of others of cast iron, 87 ships, 42 of which were royal galleys, and about a dozen Christian merchantmen, which that corsair had formerly made prizes of. The number of his slain on that day amounted to above 1500 *Turks* and *Moors*, besides those killed and wounded in their retreat to *Tunis* and *Arades*, and on the lake. The Christians found here likewise an immense

^p MARMOL, VERTOT, & al. sup. citat.

^q *Iidem*, ubi sup.

^r MARMOL, ubi sup.

(B) There were three batteries raised against the fort, the most considerable of which battered the new bastion with 24 pieces towards the sea side, between that and the *Goletta*, and fired sometimes against the tower and the new raised wall, as occasion required. About 100 paces farther was another battery of six guns, which kept playing likewise against the wall; and, on the right hand of this, was another battery of ten to batter down the rampart, which the *Turks* had built between the wall and the lake.

Besides these land batteries, *Andrew Doria* was making a constant fire against the place from his galleys, which he sent one after another before it; and one had no sooner fired all its guns than it was succeeded by another; whilst the grand caraca, belonging to the knights of *Malta*, which was higher than all the rest, was posted behind them all, and easily discharged its large artillery over them with such fury and efficacy, that it dismounted all the guns that were in the tower.

The *Maltese* commanders strove to distinguish themselves more than all the rest upon this occasion. Among them the commodore *Botigelle*, observing that some of the galleys, for fear of running aground, kept their oars above water, hasted to them sword in hand; *Ye cowardly wretches*, said he to the officers, *must the saving of the carcases of a few galleys obstruct our success in so*

glorious an enterprize? and made them immediately apply their oars, and approach nearer to the tower.

But the boldest action of all was that of Signor *Conversa*, another *Maltese* knight, who caused a *barcalonga*, with a good number of musketeers, to row to the very foot of the tower, from which he kept continually firing against the *Turks* that appeared on the breaches; and, whilst one side was charging, he artfully tacked about and caused the other to be discharged; by which constant play he killed a vast number of *Turks*, without receiving any damage from the tower's fire (7). This may serve to shew how eager the Christians were of carrying that important place, and how impossible it was for *Barbarossa* to preserve it, or for his new works, the most part of which were left unfinished, to hold out against such a constant fire from so many different batteries, that the besiegers had hardly time to repair one single breach. But the Christians paid dear for it, when they came to take it by assault; which, though it lasted but one hour, was no less bloody than violent; and in which the knights of *Malta*, who always challenge the post of honour, met with such a furious opposition from the *Turks*, that, besides a great number of them that were killed on the spot, there scarce came off one without being wounded (8).

(7) *Marmol*, ubi sup. *Vertot hist. de Malta*, vol. iv. lib. x. p. 73, & seq.

(8) *Iidem ibid.*

- a quantity of fire arms, swords, ammunition, and other warlike stores; that being the arsenal in which *Barbarossa* kept all his arms and piratical spoils, as it was till then reckoned impregnable^a.

IMMEDIATELY after the taking of this fortress, the only one that *Tunis* had for its defence, *Hassan*, to his great mortification and grief, found the emperor's council much divided, whether they should proceed with the siege of that capital or return homewards. Those who were for the latter alleged, that *Barbarossa*, being quite stripped of his navy and chief fortresses in that kingdom, would soon be forced to return to *Algiers*, and *Hassan's* subjects to their obedience; so that they had actually completed what they came for. The emperor was quickly apprised of this by the Infant his son, who was altogether for continuing the war; and, having convoked them into his tent, after a mild rebuke to those who opposed it, solemnly declared to them, that he was not come so far merely to seize upon the *Goletta* and the piratical ships, but to restore the dispossessed king of *Tunis* to his dominions, and to deliver above 20,000 Christians from slavery, who expected their liberty from him; and concluded with telling them, that he was determined either to acquit himself with honour of that enterprize, or die in the attempt. Upon which it was resolved, that the fortifications of the *Goletta* should be reduced into a narrower compass, and that a garrison of 1000 men should be put into it; and admiral *Doria* was ordered to cruize along the coasts with his fleet, and the soldiery to be furnished with a sufficient quantity of provisions; the whole army began to march in battle array towards *Tunis*, on the 20th of *July*, by the road that lies between the olive wood and the lake.

- BARBAROSSA was soon apprised of their march; and, though he foresaw plainly enough that the loss of the *Goletta* and of his fleet would be followed by that of *Tunis*, and of the whole kingdom, yet, like a politic commander, he resolved to defend that capital to the last, in hopes of some favourable change. With this view he made his *Arabian* chiefs take a fresh oath to him; but in that very night he assembled all his *Turkish* officers at his palace, and acquainted them with the great danger he was in, not only from the Christian army, but likewise from his *Arabian* troops, and still more so from the *Tunefians*; and proposed to them the method he had pitched upon to free himself from it; which was to blow up all the Christian slaves, in number about 7000, and to betake themselves to immediate flight.
- d This design was happily disapproved by some brave corsairs, not only on account of the odiousness of such a barbarous action, but likewise for the loss of so many useful hands. Upon which it was resolved, that they should provide for their own safety for that night, and early on the morrow march out of the city, at the head of all their forces, *Moors* and *Arabs*, as well as *Turks*. The *Tunefians* were no less glad at their departure; among whom *Hassan*, their king, had found means to disperse a number of bills, advising them to drive the tyrannical *Turks* out of their city, and to receive in their stead their lawful prince; which artifice had greatly increased the ever-mistrustful *Barbarossa* and his *Turks* diffidence and fears of them. They marched only about three miles from the city, and encamped on a plain called *Cazar-mexevi*, which is full of orchards and fresh springs, where he disposed his army in battle array, in the most advantageous manner to oppose the enemy.

- THE *Spanish* historians, to exaggerate the glory of their monarch, made his army to have consisted of no less than 90,000 fighting men; but we shall leave it to the reader to judge, from the success of their actions, whether it could be really so numerous; seeing all other Christian writers agree, that he lost no more in that defeat than 300, and the emperor only eighteen men^b. However that be, the two armies quickly came to an engagement; in which the *Arabs*, who were ordered to attack the enemy on all sides, presented themselves with their wonted eagerness (*Barbarossa* having before-hand raised their expectation of the immense plunder they should find in the Christian camp, in order to secure them to his interest), and fell upon them with the greatest fury, and with their wonted outcries: but they had no sooner heard the roaring thunder of the Christian artillery, and stood the first discharge of their musketeers, than they betook themselves to flight, with even greater haste than they had shewn on the onset; nor could any promises or menaces prevail upon them to return any more to the charge (C).

THE misfortune was, that the Christian army was quite spent with excessive heat and thirst, and the *Turks* still kept possession of the water springs; so that it was difficult to

^a *Iidem* *ibid.* VERTOT's hist. of Malta, vol. iv. p. 35.

^b MARMOL, *ibid.* VERTOT's hist. of Malta,

(C) These stout warriors, in order to ingratiate themselves to the emperor and the king of *Tunis*, made afterwards a great piece of merit of this their precipitate flight; pretending, that it was done in order to intimidate the *Moors* and *Tunefians* from exerting themselves, as they would probably have done, had they stood their

ground. But, though this was looked upon as an artful pretence to excuse their cowardice, yet it is more than probable that it greatly contributed to that general defection that ensued soon after, and was so far of single service to the Christians (9).

(9) MARMOL, *ubi sup.* VERTOT, *ubi sup.*

keep them from straggling to the lake to quench it. At length, after several fresh onsets on both sides, the *Turks* began to give way, leaving seven pieces of artillery behind them; soon after which the Christians got possession of the springs, and regained their spirits so far, that *Barbarossa*, who was every where trying in vain to rally his scattered troops, was forced to follow after his own run-a-ways; and, on their part, *Moors* as well as *Tunefians*, made much greater speed to get into the city than they had done to come out of it.

At their arrival, *Barbarossa*, instead of reproving his troops for their baseness, contented himself with calmly telling them, that he designed by the next morning to try their courage once more against the Christians; but this he only did the better to conceal his premeditated flight, which he now found dangerous to disclose even to his own *Turks*. His design was soon discovered by the dispatch he endeavoured to make to get all his treasure out of the castle, as well as by the secret direction he gave to have all the Christian slaves blown up, though none of his creatures proved inhuman enough to execute that bloody order. He had at that time a *Maltese* commander, named *Paul Simoni*, among his captives, who had formerly behaved so gallantly against the *Turks*, that he would never suffer him to be redeemed or exchanged at any price. This gentleman, having some suspicion or intelligence of his horrid design, found means to bribe two of his renegado jailors to procure them some files and hammers, by the help of which they soon got off their fetters and those of their companions: after which, forcing open the doors of the castle armory, they furnished themselves with what weapons came first to their hands, and cut in pieces all the *Turks* they found in the castle, and placed a strong guard at every avenue of it. Whilst this was doing, *Simoni* appeared on the battlements with the white banner, and invited the Christian army to come to their assistance. The unusual noise and uproar soon brought *Barbarossa* thither, who commanded the gates to be immediately opened to him; but finding his orders only answered by the musket-shot, and volleys of stones, which the slaves discharged against him, cried out in a rage, *I am undone; these Christian dogs have got possession of the castle, and of all my treasures*. And, without staying longer, he went and gathered to him what *Turks* he could get, and fled away with all speed; so that, before *Charles V.* could get the news of this revolution, he was got safe to the city of *Bona*^u.

SIMONI was the first who sent the emperor notice of it, as soon as he heard that *Barbarossa* had fled from the city, and was also the first who presented himself to him, upon his entering the city, at the head of 6,000 slaves, his companions. The sight of whom was so agreeable to that monarch, that he tenderly embraced the *Maltese* knight, with these words, *My dear friend, blessed for ever be that noble resolution which enabled you to break off your fetters, to facilitate my conquest, and increase the glory of the Maltese order*. The brave *Simoni* was soon after dismissed, with all possible tokens of esteem and friendship, to his noble brotherhood of *Malta*, and met with a reception suitable to his merit. But the joy that reigned in the camp of the Christians was soon after damped, by the horrid outrages and cruelties which the emperor's troops committed on the unfortunate *Tunefians* of both sexes. The men were tortured all manner of ways, to oblige them to discover their hidden wealth, and the women, especially the young ones, were exposed to the assaults of every lustful ravisher, and were even torn from their mothers arms, by those very officers who should have protected them from the insults of the soldiery; so that neither sex, age, nor rank, were exempted from their brutalities. *Hassan* made in vain the most pressing application to the emperor, to suppress those cruel disorders, at least in appearance; for he knew that his subjects had cause to hate him, not only for his former tyranny, but much more for his calling a Christian army to his assistance, and bring them and himself under a foreign yoke (E);

^u VERTOT, MARMOL, & al. ubi sup.

(E) A most remarkable instance of this singular hatred, we are told, was given to him, on this occasion, by a young beautiful damsel of distinction, named *Aysa*, whom he met by chance in the street, as she was led away captive, and bound, by a *Spanish* officer. *Hassan*, whether struck with pity, or, perhaps, with some still more lively passion, immediately offered to redeem her at any rate; but she, changing her grief into resentment, spit in his face, with these words; "Be gone, wicked and perfidious wretch, who, to regain a kingdom which did not belong to thee, has most shamefully betrayed thy nation and country." The king, however, without expressing any resentment at her repulse, offered the officer some very considerable sums for her ransom; when she, becoming more outrageous, bid him begone a second time, telling him, that she scorned to owe her freedom to a tyrant (10).

Marmol confirms likewise what we have said of his

revengeful temper; for, when the emperor told him that he had promised to his troops the plundering of the city, and asked him, whether there was any quarter, streets, or houses, he would wish to be spared, he readily answered in the negative, and added, that there was not one subject in it that he had not cause to be displeased with; from which it plainly appears, that he then regarded his revenge more than his interest. But he was soon after obliged to alter his tone, when he found that his soldiers, especially his *German* troops, massacred all they came at without distinction, out of a notion that was spread among them, that he had obtained a promise from the emperor, that none of the inhabitants should be made slaves, for he then applied afresh to him, and begged that the soldiers might be contented with the plunder, and that the citizens might be made prisoners of war, which was granted to him, and an end, though late, was put to their horrid butchery (11).

(10) *Marmol*, ubi sup. *Bosio* ap. *Vertot*, *hist. Malt.* vol. iv. p. 83, & seq.

(11) *Marmol*, *ibid.*

and,

The 7000
Christian
slaves gain
their liberty.

Barbarossa
flees in despair
to Bona.

a and, being naturally haughty and vindictive, might take a secret pleasure in their distress and misery. However that be, it is reckoned that near 200,000 of them either perished or were made slaves, besides those myriads whom the soldiers sacrificed to their fury; many more, seeking to save their lives by fleeing into the adjacent deserts, were destroyed by the excessive heat and thirst, and every kind of want and misery; and those of both sexes, that were reduced to a dreadful slavery, amounted to above 40,000.

b CHARLES V. now master of *Tunis*, resettled *Muley Hassan* on his throne, but it was on condition that he should become tributary to him; and, as a pledge of it, kept the fort of *Goletta* in his hands, the fortifications of which he ordered to be repaired, and new ones to be added to them, and obliged *Hassan* to pay the garrison which he left in it, and to send prince *Mohammed*, one of his sons, thither, with some officers of his court, as hostages of his vassalage (F). He designed likewise, before he left *Africa*, to have laid siege to *Mehedia*, a sea-port in the kingdom of *Fez*, but was prevented by a sudden storm, which so shattered his fleet, that it was not without the greatest danger and difficulty that he reached the port of *Trapano* in *Sicily* ^{Hassan restored to his throne.}.

c MULEY HASSAN, being now become more odious than ever, not only on account of the late cruelties committed by the Christians in his metropolis, but much more for his vassalage to and alliance with them, found less quiet in his kingdom since his restoration than he had before. The emperor had left with him 200 of his soldiers, to be a guard both to his person and castle, but had the frequent mortification to hear of some of his cities which revolted from him, and either erected themselves into little commonwealths, or put themselves under the protection of the *Turks*. *Barbarossa*, who was gone from *Bona* to *Algiers*, with a resolution to raise a powerful army and fleet against him, quickly returned with them, and made himself master of several considerable places; whilst, by the assistance of *Andrea Doria*, *Hassan* had reduced several others to their allegiance. But that admiral was too politic to act against the *Algerine* viceroy, who, though the most dangerous enemy that the emperor had among all the *Turks*, yet he thought it more prudent to let him escape in the *Adriatic* ^{Many cities revolt from him.}, when he had it in his power, and was strongly solicited, to have defeated him there; a politic maxim, too common among commanders of all nations, not totally to overthrow an enemy, though a rival, who gives them such an opportunity to display their talents and capacity. But whilst *Hassan* and he were consulting about the means of suppressing *Barbarossa's* conquests upon him, one of which was the port of *Susa*, which was revolted from him, and on the point of falling into his enemy's hands, it was agreed, that he should apply to the grand master of *Malta* to assist him in reducing that important port, and others which had been already taken from him. He sent accordingly an ambassador, named *Camuchi*, or *Camugi*, to represent to him the danger he was in from the advantages which the *Turks* were still gaining over him. The grand master, who considered that matter as more immediately concerning the emperor than his order, failed not to acquaint him with it, as that prince was now his vassal and tributary. The emperor sent forthwith orders to his viceroy of *Sicily* to send him all the assistance he could; but this last was, though ready and free with his promises, yet so slow in his performance, that, being at last quite out of patience with his untoward subjects, and weary of waiting for the promised succour, he resolved once more to go and solicit it in person ^{Hassan applies to the Maltese for aid.}.

d BUT whilst he staid in *Sicily*, and was consulting with the viceroy about the most effectual means of suppressing the overgrown power of *Barbarossa*, his ill fortune raised him a more powerful and dangerous enemy at home, of whom he had not the least mistrust. This was his own eldest son *Muley Humida*, who, at the instigation of a great favourite, named *Mahmed*, whose father *Hassan* had put to death, took the most effectual means to dethrone him, during his absence. To this end he began with complaining, that his unhappy father was gone over to the emperor, with a design to turn Christian, and to concert with him about depriving him of the succession, whom he knew to be an enemy to Christianity, and ^{His son Humida revolts against him;}.

^a MARMOL, VERTOT, ubi sup. BOSIO, & al.

^w VERTOT, ubi sup. MARMOL, & al.

^x MARMOL,

BOSIO, VERTOT, &c. ubi sup.

(F) By the same treaty, *Muley Hassan* was tied to several other articles, the principal of which were those that follow:

1. That all Christian captives, of whatsoever nation, should be released without any ransom.
2. That Christians should have a free commerce throughout the whole kingdom.
3. That they should be allowed to settle in it, to build churches and monasteries, and enjoy the free exercise of their religion.
4. That no corsair, *Turk*, or *Moor*, should be allowed to come to any sea-port, be furnished with any provisions, or be assisted or favoured in any case, by the *Tunefians*.

5. That the *Goletta* should appertain to the emperor, and his successors, for ever; and that *Hassan*, and his successors, should pay 12,000 golden crowns yearly, for the maintenance of its garrison.

6. That the whole coral fishery should belong to the emperor, and his heirs, for ever.

7. That the kings of *Tunis* should hold themselves vassals and dependants on the crown of *Spain*, and send thither yearly, in token of it, six horses and twelve falcons; in consideration of which they should be intitled to the protection of that crown, &c. (12). All which were equally grating to the *Mohammedan* powers.

(12) *Marmol, ubi sup.*

to setting the crown on his next brother *Mohammed*, who had betrayed a great propensity a to it. After this he caused several false rumours to be spread, the one, that being seized with some dangerous disease at *Naples*, he had desired to be baptized before he died. Another report went current, that he had been taken by the *Turks*, and carried prisoner to *Constantinople*, where he would either be put to death, or imprisoned for life, on account of his apostacy. As his father was so ill-beloved at *Tunis*, these rumours were readily believed; and the prince made no difficulty to come into the city, and take possession of the royal palace. He met there, however, an unexpected repulse from the old governor, who sharply rebuked him for his so easily crediting such ill news, and being in such haste to get into his father's throne, for which he would be quickly called to a severe account. *Hamida*, confounded at his repulse, retired to a pleasure-house he had a few miles out of *Tunis*; upon b which the old governor went in a vessel to the *Goletta*, to inquire after the king's health; and, being assured, that he was still at *Naples*, and in perfect health, returned immediately to the city, and took the most effectual means to suppress all these false reports.

But this was so far from silencing those reports, that it rather spurred the prince and his favourite to propagate and aver them the more openly. Nothing they pretended was more certain than the king's death, and his dying a Christian; and the old governor, who was in prince *Mohammed's* interest, went to the *Goletta*, where he was kept hostage, as was hinted before, to concert with him, and the *Spanish* governor, about the proper means of having him crowned, in prejudice of *Hamida*; adding, that the *Tunefians* would soon see him come from thence, at the head of his *Spanish* auxiliaries, if they did not prevent it before it was c too late. The boldness with which these things were affirmed, failed not to give them a sanction among the people, ever greedy of a change; and the danger of having a Christian king forced over them, for such young *Mohammed* was now believed, soon alarmed the whole populace, and *Hamida* was sent for, with all speed, to come to protect them from it. They found him in his garden, overwhelmed with dread and grief at the dangerous and unpardonable step which his favourite had persuaded him to take. He was quickly awaked, however, from his melancholy fears by the shouts of the people, who were sent to fetch him, and hastened with them to *Tunis*, where, being joined by the rest of the populace, he went at their head directly to the castle, caused the old governor to be murdered, with several others of his father's faithful friends, and, *Abfalom* like, forced the most beloved of d *Hassan's* wives into his incestuous embraces.

The news of this unnatural rebellion soon reached the unfortunate *Hassan*, who, to prevent his son's entering into some strict alliance with *Barbarossa*, made all possible haste to reach his own capital. He had about 2,000 *Italians* with him, which the viceroy had given him leave to enlist among the banditti, and other outlaws, in the neighbourhood of *Naples*, and landed with them at the *Goletta*, whence he was advised by the governor not to stir, till he was well apprised of the strength of his rebellious son, and the disposition of his subjects. But he, thinking that *Hamida* would never have the boldness to face him, marched directly to *Tunis* at the head of his small army. What still more determined him to hasten thither, with so weak force, was, that the treacherous *Hamida* had sent a party of his creatures c to meet him, not as an enemy, but as loyal subjects, who came to welcome their native prince's return to his dominions, and to assure him, that they had left his revolted son in the utmost consternation and despair; and that he seemed resolved to go and take refuge among some friendly *Arabs*, in the farthest parts of his dominions. Some say, that the citizens having asked *Hamida* whether he would submit to his father, he answered, That his father had turned Christian, and came to destroy them, and they ought all to stand in their own defence; to which they replied, if the king comes accompanied by Christian soldiers, we will die in your defence; but if he brings none but his *Moorish* guards, we will not consent to take up arms against him. Upon which it was agreed, that this party should go before to reconnoitre f what forces the king brought along with him. However that be, he had disposed his 500 *Moors* in such a manner, that they covered the *Italian* forces that came behind; whilst the citizens from within kept themselves up in arms, waiting the signal for which side they were to take; at length some skirmishes happened between those that were without and the king's forces, which occasioned a discovery of the 2,000 *Italians*; upon which the *Tunefians*, taking it for granted that he was turned Christian, as his son had given out, a bloody battle immediately ensued, in which his forces were greatly overpowered, not only by the *Tunefians*, but by some large parties of *Arabs*, that lay in ambush among the neighbouring olive trees; so that, after an hot engagement, in which many of his forces were slain and taken prisoners, and a much greater number ran away into the woods, and thence into the *Goletta*, in a sad g plight, he was surrounded by his son's forces, and brought prisoner into his capital, and there closely confined. In the morning, he sent to intreat his son to come to him, and hear what he had to say for himself, in order to come to an amicable composition with him; but *Hamida* absolutely refused to see him, and sent some executioners to him, who left him only

Hamida sent for, and enthroned.

Hassan returns to Tunis.

Italian defeated and taken.

a only the choice, either to lose his eyes or his life; and, as he chose the former, they immediately deprived him of his sight with a hot lancet, and left him to languish in his dungeon, loaden with chains, grief, and misery.

HAMIDA, now in peaceable possession, as he thought, of the *Tunesian* throne, turned his troops against *Bizerta*, one of those towns in which *Barbarossa* had thrown a *Turkish* garrison; but, whilst he was busy in reducing that important place, the viceroy of *Naples*, apprised of *Hassan's* defeat, had sent him a fresh supply of 1,500 *Spanish* troops, under the command of *Alonzo Bivas*, which landed at the *Goletta*, together with some *Arabs*, and other allies; upon which the governor of it sent *Abdulmelech*, *Hassan's* brother, in a disguise into *Tunis*, accompanied by *Abdulmelech* several of his friends, who easily dispersed themselves into several parts of the city, it being *fixes on the throne*; then a holiday, in which the *Tunesians* made great rejoicings; and, being thoughtless of any danger, and these coming on the sudden in arms to the castle-gate, killed the guards, and made themselves masters of it. *Abdulmelech* immediately seized upon the young *Said*, *Hamida's* son, and caused his eyes to be put out, and himself to be proclaimed king. He had not enjoyed that title much above a month, during which he took care to send 6,000 ducats to the garrison of *Goletta*, pursuant to the old treaty, before he was taken ill of some dangerous distemper; upon which he released his brother *Hassan*, and sent him back his wives and concubines, which his unnatural son had seized upon, and forced to his bed, and which, for that reason, he refused to admit any more into his own, but sent them back to their respective parents and relations. *Abdulmelech* died about a fortnight after, during whose sickness *dies soon after*; his servants stripped him of his best furniture, and kept him so close a prisoner, that, every time the door of his chamber was opened, he expected they were going to assassinate him.

As soon as he was dead, the *Tunesians* chose *Mulcy Mohammed*, *Hassan's* son, then an hostage at *Goletta*, for their king; but *Francesco Touar*, the governor of the fort, refused to release him, and set up one of *Abdulmelech's* sons, named also *Mohammed*, upon the throne, who was received with great applause, but reigned only four months. In the mean time *Mulcy Hassan* ventured to go to the *Goletta*, probably to expostulate with the governor, but was sent by him to the small island of *Tabarca*, which lies on the coasts between *Bona* and *Carthage*, whence he passed afterwards to *Sardinia*, *Naples*, *Rome*, and last of all to the emperor, then at *Ausburgh*, who gave him a kind reception, and seemed to pity him much, but bad him hope for better times (H).

ALL this while the treacherous *Hamida*, being denied admittance into his capital, and other towns of the realm, wandered about from court to court, among the *Moorish* and *Arabian* chiefs, to beg their assistance. At length the *Tunesians*, who were by that time dissatisfied with *Mohammed's* government, sent to invite him back. *Hamida* accordingly *Hamida recalled* embarked, with such friends as he had with him, in a corsair vessel, and landed soon after at *Monasteer*. Thence he got to some of his *Arabian* friends, from whom he obtained some reinforcement, with which he entered so unexpectedly into *Tunis*, that the young king had scarcely time to save himself in the *Goletta*. *Hamida* no sooner saw himself master of the city and castle, than he caused all those that had been in the opposite interest to be put to the most cruel deaths; some of the principal of whom he caused to be thrown to, and to be devoured alive by, dogs. After this he quietly enjoyed the kingdom till the year 1570, when his metropolis was betrayed by some of the inhabitants, into the hands of the famed *Ocbali*, or *Iali*, then *Basha* of *Algiers*; since which time both that, and the whole kingdom, have remained in the possession of the *Turks*, as we have already hinted in the foregoing chapter ^b.

BUT to return to the unfortunate *Hassan*; he still remained in some of the emperor's dominions, till that monarch had raised that powerful armament, which sailed soon after into *Africa*, in order to dispossess *Barbarossa*, and other *Turkish* corsairs, of those places which

^y BOSIO, MARMOL, VERTOT, &c. ubi sup.

^z See before, p. 266.

(H) This was, indeed, a poor comfort and recompence for the loss of his eyes and kingdom; and, tho' the only one he ever received from that monarch, was still thought greater than he deserved, for his servile submission and attachment to a Christian prince. But there were two other circumstances, which no less aggravated his misfortune, than it did the *Spanish* ingratitude. The one was the governor of *Goletta's* depriving his son of the succession, and keeping him still an hostage, or rather prisoner, when he might have set him upon the throne, with the common consent and approbation of the *Tunesians*. The other was, his wronging him of a great part of his cash, jewels, and other valuable things, which he had intrusted to his keeping, upon his passing into *Europe* to go to *Naples*, and which he now refused to restore to him in his greatest distress.

How far that minister acted of his own accord in both these instances, we shall leave to the reader to guess from the sequel. *Marmol*, notwithstanding his usual partiality for the *Spaniards*, owns, that the unfortunate prince made bitter complaints to his imperial majesty against his governor, yet doth not mention any rebuke being given him for what he had done, nor any other redress granted to the sufferer; but only says in general, that the emperor pitied him, and ordered that he should be supplied with every thing he stood in need of, till better times, which never came; for both master and minister not only suffered his unnatural and perfidious son to usurp his father's throne without molestation, but even assisted him against his two chief enemies *Hayradin Barbarossa*, and his favourite *Dragut* (13).

(13) Vertot, Esfio, ubi sup. Marmol, lib. vi. c. 18.

they had made themselves masters of along the coasts of *Barbary*. In this expedition he had taken care to engage the Pope, the *Genoese*, *Venetians*, and the *Maltese*; who were all to furnish their several quotas of ships, men, and ammunition, to join that large fleet, which he had ordered to be equipt in his several ports of *Spain*, *Naples*, and *Sicily*; all which made up a most powerful force, and was commanded by the great *Genoese* admiral *Doria*, and some of the most experienced officers of sea and land, both from the isle of *Malta*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, which threw all the piratic crew into the greatest consternation, put them upon the most expeditious means of defence, and obliged them to apply to the *Porte* for fresh assistance. This armada was to begin with dislodging the famed corsair *Dragut* out of several sea-ports on the *Tunesian* coasts, of which he had made himself master, and which were now become his arsenal, magazine, place of arms, and of his corsairs rendezvous.

Dragut, the great pirate, his extract and rise.

BUT, before we proceed farther with the other exploits of that celebrated pirate, our readers will not perhaps be displeased, if we give them some previous account of his original, and most surprizing rise and character. He was born in a small village of *Natolia*, situate over against the isle of *Rhodes*, of mean *Mohammedan* parents, who lived by the tillage and product of a small spot of ground. *Dragut* was soon weary of their way of living, and lifted himself at the age of twelve years, under an officer of artillery, belonging to the Grand Signor's galleys, as a common sailor, but soon became a most expert cannoneer under him, and served some years in that quality. At length, having gathered up some money, he bought a share in a brigantine belonging to some corsairs, and was, by his good fortune in it, enabled to be master of a small galley of his own, by which, besides the many prizes he took, he became so perfectly acquainted with all the isles and sea-ports, bays, harbours, rocks, and shelves, on all those coasts, that he was gladly received into the service of the no less famed *Barbarossa*, then admiral of the *Turkish* fleet, and the terror of all the Christian maritime states. *Barbarossa* was too well acquainted with his valour and merit, not to give him all possible encouragement; and, after having made him go thro' all the lower ranks, raised him to that of his lieutenant, and gave him the command of a squadron of twelve galleys.

FROM this time *Dragut* did not suffer a summer to pass without ranging the Christian sea-coasts, and committing some dreadful ravages on those of *Naples* and *Sicily*. Scarce a vessel could sail from *Italy* to *Spain* but became his prize; and, whenever he failed of making a sufficient number of such captures, he made himself ample amends by some descent along those coasts, and plundering whole towns and villages, and carrying the inhabitants into slavery. At length the emperor, tired with the daily complaints which were made to him of these continual depredations, sent express orders to admiral *Doria* at any rate to put an end to them, and to rid those seas of so dreadful an enemy. *Doria* accordingly equipt what ships he could get fit for his purpose, and gave the command of them to his young nephew, to give him an opportunity of signalizing himself against such a formidable enemy. The young admiral lost no time, but sailed with all expedition in quest of him, and had the good fortune to find him in a small creek, near the castle of *Giralatta*, on the coast of *Corfica*, between *Calvi* and *Layazzo*.

Doria sent against him.

DRAGUT, who knew nothing of the imperial fleet being at sea, was scarcely got into it, before he saw himself closely shut up, and furiously battered by the cannon of the castle, and the artillery of the imperial squadron. He defended himself at first with his usual bravery, but finding their fire so much superior to his own, and himself surrounded by the inhabitants of that coast, who ran in shoals to help to destroy a piratic crew, which had so often ravaged their towns and villages, he was forced at length to hang out the white flag. He tried in vain to capitulate; all that he could obtain of the young admiral was, to save his own life, with the loss of his liberty, and the surrender of himself, and all the vessels he had, at discretion, to the governor of the castle, which was accordingly complied with. What most mortified the rough old corsair was, when he and his officers were brought into the admiral's ship, to find him a mere stripling; insomuch that, unable to contain his indignation, he broke out into some indecent expressions, which procured him a severe drubbing, and occasioned his being clapt in irons as a common slave (I), and to be sent to *Genoa*, where he continued four years in a state of slavery, in spite of all the efforts and vast offers of *Barbarossa* and the Grand Signor to have him ransomed at any price. The *Genoese* would, in all likelihood, have kept him in that state his whole life, but were at length forced to surrender him to *Hayradin Barbarossa*, who had succeeded his brother at *Algiers*, and at the *Porte* as *Turkish* admiral^b, when they saw him appear at the mouth of

Defeats and takes him.

Dragut released, and restored.

^b De hoc, vid. sup. p. 249, & seq.

(I) His expression, at the sight of the young admiral, was, "Am I then doomed, at these years, to see myself laden with fetters by a beardless effeminate youth?" but some writers add, that the term *effe-*

minate implied something more reproachful and scandalous, though nothing but what is as common to be met with at *Genoa* or *Rome* as in any part of the *Turkish* empire.

their

- a their river to demand him, at the head of an hundred gallies, to prevent their city and territory from being bombarded and ravaged by him. *Dragut* was accordingly released, and sent, laden with rich presents, to the old *Turkish* admiral^c.

He was quickly reinstated by him in his former post, and put at the head of a powerful squadron, and in a condition to revenge at once his former disgrace, and the ill treatment he had received from the *Genoese*, during these four years. His resentment, by this time, having inspired him with a more inveterate hatred than ever against the Christians, he began to vent it at first against the kingdom of *Naples*. He took and plundered the castle at *Lamore*, and all the villages along that coast, carrying off great numbers of captives, and other valuable plunder. His next booty was a *Maltese* galley, which had been parted from
 b its squadron by a storm, and in it were found 70,000 crowns, designed to be employed in repairing the fortifications of *Tripoli*, which made that loss the more considerable. On the other hand, *Hayradin Barbarossa*, having turned over the care of his fleet to his released lieu-
 tenant, being above 80 years of age, was then indulging himself in his old debauches at *Constantinople*, which he now followed to such a degree, with a number of his fairest cap-
 tives, that he was found dead in his bed by the excess of them, to the great regret of Sol-
 tan *Soleyman*, who, to repair as much as possible that great loss, ordered all his corsairs to acknowledge *Dragut* for their commander. He did not, however, bestow on him the title of admiral, but contented himself with confirming him in the authority which *Barbarossa* had intrusted him with, over all the southern coasts of the *Mediterranean*. Hayradin Barbarossa dies.

c *DRAGUT*, now invested with the protection and authority of the Grand Signor, thought it highly necessary, after the example of his old master, to secure some strong place of retreat for himself, his ships, arms, and captures; in consequence of which he seized on the sea-ports of *Souza*, or *Suza*, and *Monasteer*, which belonged to this kingdom of *Tunis*, and being open, and without fortifications, received indifferently all the pirates of every nation; so that they were as often under the dominion of the *Turkish*, *Moorish*, and other corsairs, as under that of their natural princes. *Dragut* was at that time in quiet possession of them, but easily foresaw, that he would not be able to hold them long against the superior forces of the emperor, and that he should certainly be attacked, by the next spring, by the united fleets of *Naples* and *Sicily*; he therefore cast his eye upon the port of *Africa*, or, as it was
 d afterwards called, *Mehedia*, situate between *Tripoli* and *Tunis*, and not only strong by nature, but much more by its prodigious walls, and various outworks, as well as by an old well-built citadel, furnished with artillery, and other kinds of arms and ammunition, and a most commodious and spacious harbour, sheltered from all winds, and well fenced against all attempts. Neither did these advantages discourage him from pursuing his design, but only
 made him alter his measures; and, as he was not in a condition of reducing it by force, he resolved to attempt it by stratagem and treachery, in which he but too well succeeded, and by which he was enabled to do such incredible damages to the Christians on those seas, and sea coasts, till happily dislodged from that strong bulwark by the imperial fleet. Dragut seizes on Mehedia by a stratagem.

e BUT, before we come to speak of that successful transaction, the retaking, and afterwards the demolition, of that once so celebrated a city and strong fortress, it will not, we hope, be unacceptable to our reader, if we give him some account of that important place, of its illustrious repairer and enricher, and of the immense labour and cost he bestowed in the building, beautifying, adorning, and fortifying it, in order to render it, in all these respects, as well as that of its advantageous situation, equal, if not superior, to any maritime city, not only in *Africa*, but in the whole world. That fortress described.

f *AFRICA* is situate in $35^{\circ} 16'$ of north latitude, and $27^{\circ} 21'$ of east longitude, from *Paris*†, and is commonly supposed to be the antient *Adrumetum* of the *Romans*, but had undergone sundry vicissitudes since their time, and was run into utter decay and ruins, when *Mehedi*, the schismatic Khalif of *Kayrwan*, rebuilt and fortified it, and called it by his own
 name *Mehedia*. It is built on a kind of peninsula, fallying out of a point of land into the sea, about four leagues east of *Tobulba*; and, at the time of its being besieged by *Charles Vth's* forces, was encompassed about with thick stout walls, and flanked with strong towers, and other outworks, being surrounded on all sides by the sea, except a narrow slip, or neck of land, of about three hundred and fifty paces in breadth, which joins it to the continent. This space was occupied by a strong castle built within the wall, which was solid rock, up as high as the plinth, and forty feet thick, together with six towers at proper distances, and solid like the wall, and projected another forty feet outwardly, as far as the barbican of the ravelin. Above the castle were two other walls, the one answering to the town, and the other to the country, within which, and the void space between the towers,
 g were the governor's apartment and the soldiers barracks. The four middle towers were of a square, and the two others, which were washed by the sea, of a round figure, and of a

^c MARMOL, lib. vi. c. 28. VERTOT, Hist. of Malta, lib. xi.

† See D'ANVILLE's map of Africa.

considerable height; every one of them had little doors, covered over with flatted iron, and so low, that one could not go in or out of them without stooping; so that each tower was a separate fortress. In the second square tower, towards the east, was the principal gate, there being none towards the land side. a

THIS gate, as hath been elsewhere hinted, ran under the tower, through a long, dark, roofed, avenue, in which were six double doors in a direct line, and covered with platted iron, the inner one of which, as one came into the city, were of flat iron bars, nailed to each other crossways by strong nails of the same metal, without any timber; each of these doors had a lion in relief cast in brass, and so placed, as if looking at each other. The doors were not flat, but somewhat bending outward, and had each their iron portcullisses and retreats, which slid down from the top of the tower, about eight yards from the height of its wall. There was still another a little lower, which served for a false battery, and was twelve feet thick, and with nine towers so nicely disposed, that each three answered to two of those of the castle. b

THE city was 5,300 paces in circuit, and towers all around at the distance of thirty yards from each other. The arsenal faced the east, and stood near a stately mosque, contiguous to the city wall. At the end of the town, towards the north, is an eminence, on which was built a tower, which commanded the whole prospect of the sea. Within the town was an inclosed haven, which one entered into by a high arched gate, in which the gallies and other lesser vessels were shut up; for those of a larger size, there was a convenient harbour near it. Fronting the city, on the south side, ran a ridge of rising hills covered with vineyards, and bespangled with variety of pleasure houses; and, on the east side, reigned a continued verdure of gardens and orchards, which were watered by the help of some adjacent wells. Behind them were the arable lands, which ended at a ridge of high hills, running quite from east to west, on the other side of which are seen some spacious plains, abounding with excellent pasture, to which the *Arabs* resort in the winter, with their vast herds of cattle, for the sake of that and the several small lakes that were formed here and there on the lower grounds. c

THIS was the fine situation, beauty, and strength of *Mehedia* at this time; and the flourishing condition in which the Khalif above-mentioned had raised it, after it had been totally ruined by the successors of *Mohammed*; and, as he designed it for the place of his residence, instead of that of *Kayrwan*, he had been no less profuse in adorning it with the most stately edifices, than in fortifying it in the strongest manner; and, with respect to the latter, we are told by our author, that he even wished that he could surround it with walls of brass, instead of those of stone. *Dragut* had likewise, by this time, taken care to furnish it with all manner of arms and ammunition, and to throw into it a stout garrison, and had given the command of it to his nephew*; and in this advantageous condition was this fortress, when the emperor *Charles V.* formed that noble resolution to wrest it out of that pirate's hands, maugre all difficulties and discouragements, and the inability the king of *Tunis* was in to give him any other assistance, than that of supplying his fleet with all necessary provisions to carry on the siege. d

Hassan and his two sons follow the armada.

As soon, therefore, as every thing was got ready for that expedition, the king *Muley Hassan*, old and blind as he was, resolved to pass into *Afric* with his two sons, *Muley Mohammed* and *Muley Bubezar*, and to accompany the viceroy of *Naples* to that siege, fully determined, if he could recover his dominions, to take the severest revenge, not only on the perfidious *Hamida*, but upon all his friends and partisans. He sailed accordingly with the fleet, which soon reached the coasts of *Barbary* with a fair wind, where the admiral, according to the emperor's orders, landed his forces at Cape *Bonajend*, and seized on the fort *Calibia*, whence he advanced to *Monasteer*. Here the *Turks*, having sent some parties to reconnoitre them, were so vigorously attacked by the *Maltese* knights, at the head of a strong *Spanish* squadron, that they forced and pursued them quite into the town, and made themselves masters of it. The castle was next summoned to surrender, and, upon the *Turkish* governor's denial, was taken by assault, notwithstanding a vigorous defence, and great loss on both sides. The governor, an old corsair, was killed, and the rest of the garrison, as well as the inhabitants who had taken refuge in it, were made slaves. e

Admiral Doria takes Monasteer.

THIS quick success encouraged *Doria* to undertake next the siege of *Mehedia*, to which end he immediately wrote to the emperor for a fresh supply of ships, men, artillery, and provisions; and, whilst these were coming, went and posted himself among some islands near the place, to prevent *Dragut's* throwing any new reinforcement into it; all this while the viceroys of *Naples* and *Sicily* had orders to send him whatever supplies he wanted, and were getting them ready; and the latter sent *Doria* word, that the inhabitants of that island were so highly concerned in driving the *Turkish* corsairs out of that place, that he designed to come thither in person, attended with a good number of troops, provisions, and ammunition. f

Resolves the siege of Mehedia.

* MARMOL, ubi sup. vid. & VERTOT, ubi sup.

- a tion. He was an old experienced officer, his name Don *Juan de Vega*, and the emperor had sent express orders to the admiral, not to undertake any thing of moment without him ; all which not only caused the siege to be greatly retarded, but was a great mortification to him, who plainly foresaw, that, if he quitted those islands, *Dragut* would not fail to send some fresh forces into the town ; yet was he forced to sail to *Palermo*, in order to take his directions from him, and hasten those succours which he had promised to bring. They accordingly sailed to *Drepano*, where they met the *Neapolitan* succours, which consisted of 24 gallies, and other transport ships, commanded by Don *Garcias de Toledo*, the young viceroy of *Naples*. And this was like to have occasioned another delay, that young nobleman absolutely refusing to act as subaltern, as he stiled it, to the brave *Juan de Vega*, and insisting upon
- b commanding his own troops. The matter was at length, with some difficulty, compromised, by a mutual agreement, that each of them should command his own forces, and that the operations of the siege should be determined by the plurality of votes of the council of war. But, during that long delay, and *Doria's* absence, *Dragut* had taken care to send into the town a plentiful reinforcement of his best troops and officers, as well as of ammunition and provisions ; whilst himself, with his fleet, were scouring the coasts, to prevent any fresh supply being brought into the Christian camp. This was the situation of both sides, when the army landed, in order to begin the siege in form ; the sight of which, and of so powerful a fleet, but especially the batteries, and other preparations, would easily have brought the magistrates and chief inhabitants, who looked upon *Dragut*, their tyrant, with horror, to a speedy capitulation, had not his nephew, *Effé Rais*, a bold and resolute soldier, whom he had left governor of it, threatened to plunge his dagger into every man's heart, one after another, that durst utter a word about capitulating, and to set fire to every quarter of the city. He then asked them, in a gentle manner, whether they could be such fools, as to expect any favour from such enemies of their religion, and whether it was not much safer, and more honourable, to venture their lives and fortunes in defence of it, especially as they were supported with such a powerful and numerous garrison, and such brave old experienced officers as he had under his command. This silenced them at once, and animated the populace to a high degree against the Christians, and prevented all farther danger of a mutiny from that quarter.
- c To assure those citizens how little he feared this vast Christian army, he ordered a party of horse, and about 300 musketeers, to sally out, and take possession of a neighbouring hill, and harrafs from thence Don *Garcias's* camp, which was nearest to it. Against them Don *Garcias* soon advanced, at the head of a strong party, to dislodge them. The skirmish was hot and bloody ; but the *Turks*, being quickly supported by 600 *Moors* armed with muskets, fell so furiously upon the *Neapolitans*, that they and their commander would in all likelihood have been cut to pieces, had not the brave *Juan de Vega* sacrificed his resentment to the emperor's service, and made all possible speed to their rescue, and dispersed the enemy.
- d But he was not more successful in his first attack ; for, observing that his cannon had made what he supposed a sufficient breach in one of the outworks, he was immediately for mounting it by assault, notwithstanding his being told, by those who had been sent to view it, that it was fortified within with strong intrenchments, and filled at the bottom with iron spikes, which would infallibly occasion the destruction of the assailants. But, suspecting the report, or thinking it exaggerated by their fears, he would allow only a day or two longer to widen the breach, after which he caused it to be mounted by the *Sicilians*, two hours before daylight, which they did with uncommon bravery, and met their deaths in the attempt, not above one of them having escaped the sword of the enemy, and him they only spared, in order to force him to make some discovery. Neither did those, whom he sent to support them, meet with a better fate, they being all destroyed by the besiegers fire or sword, and lay in dreadful heaps one upon another, till the sounding of a retreat put an
- e end to the slaughter.
- f ABOUT this time the unfortunate king of *Tunis*, *Muley Hassan*, who had followed the Christians hitherto, and burned with desire to be restored to his kingdom, and consequently must have pined with grief at their long delays, and now much more at their bad success, was taken ill of a fever, and died in a poor wretched hut, on an adjacent hill, in the 66th year of his age. He was tall of stature, and of a black complexion, wise and valiant, but so vindictive, that he breathed nothing but anger and resentment against his unnatural son and his friends. His body was conveyed to *Kayrwan*, the burying place of the kings of his race².
- g ALL this while the Christian army received constant supplies of men, provisions, and martial stores, but was no less annoyed by the frequent sallies of the besiegers, and the ambushes of *Dragut*, who had landed in the neighbourhood with about 800 *Turks*, and lay concealed

Dragut prepares for a defence.

Hassan dies in a hut near the camp.

behind a hill, among the olive woods. This corsair, ever watching all advantages to annoy a the enemy, had hired besides 3,000 *Moors*, and sent word to his nephew, that he designed to attack the enemy, at that wood, on *St. James's* day, that being the place whence they had their fascines, and ordered him to be ready on his side to make a vigorous sally at the same time. In the mean time a *Moor*, who belonged to the late *Hassan's* retinue, observing these *Moors* laying in ambush on their bellies, as he was going to the camp, and, meeting the Christian party going for fascines, caused them to halt, and went to apprise the *Sicilian* viceroy of it. Don *Juan*, thinking it dishonourable to recall those men back to the camp upon a bare surmise, resolved to go to escort them, accompanied by the governor of the *Goletta*, some *Maltese* and other commanders, and a good squadron of horse, which immediately brought on a bloody engagement; for *Dragut* and his troops, which lay concealed in the b wood, waited no longer than till they were come near enough, and then rushed upon them with their usual fury, with their sabres in their hands. The onset was fierce and long, several of the *Maltese* knights, *Perez de Vargas*, governor of the *Goletta*, and a great number of Christians, were slain, and the viceroy, with great difficulty, got out of the wood; and, when he had regained the plain, was closely pursued by *Dragut* a considerable way to the camp. Whilst the *Turks* and Christians were engaged in the wood, the governor, according to his uncle's orders, made a vigorous sally out of the city, and, in spite of the fierce fire which the besiegers made upon him, which killed a great many of his men, some of them ventured so far as to plant two standards on the enemies trenches; but finding them doubly guarded, and the men regularly planted on their posts, he thought fit to sound a c retreat, and retired into the town without doing any other harm.

A new attack
made with
success.

Don *Juan*, on the other hand, had no sooner recovered his camp, than he ordered, by way of revenge, all his batteries to make a dreadful fire against the place, but the walls proved so thick and strong, that they scarcely made any impression on them, insomuch that the generality of officers began to talk of raising the siege. At length Don *Garcias*, the young viceroy of *Naples*, proposed to the council of war, to attack the place on the sea-side, where he was informed, by some deserters, the walls were much weaker, and would more easily give way. Upon which two flat galleys were immediately ordered to be fastened together, and a stout battery to be raised upon them, with parapets and embrasures, and to be towed in the night to the place designed for the new attack; which being done accordingly, the batteries began to play with such success, that a sufficient breach was quickly made for an assault. d Immediately the knights of *Malta*, according to their privilege, prepared to mount the breach, accompanied by four companies of their own troops, and a great number of volunteers of several nations; whilst the viceroys of *Naples* and *Sicily* were causing a diversion on the land-side with their own troops. The assailants, finding themselves frequently stopped by some sandy banks, jumped into the sea, which came sometimes up to their very necks, and gained the bottom of the wall with great difficulty, whilst the *Turks*, planted on the top of the breach, were making a constant discharge of their cannon, muskets, arrows, stones, boiling water, and wild fire, which destroyed a great number before they could come to scale the breach. They met with no less difficulty, and a considerable loss, before they e accomplished it, and penetrated from it to the town, which they were obliged to do, over a few beams and boards, the remains of an old gallery, now demolished, which communicated to it. The outcries of the inhabitants soon brought thither those *Moors* and *Turks* from the ramparts on the land-side, where they had been opposing the *Spanish* and *Neapolitan* troops: and here would have began a new fight, had not the *Maltese* by that time dispersed themselves through every part of the town, and driven the inhabitants out of it sword in hand, some of whom fled through the plain into the woods, others to the sea-coasts, and others desperately threw themselves into the waves; for the viceroy, finding against his expectation all quiet on the land-side, none of *Dragut's* forces appearing to make a diversion there, poured in his musqueteers and other forces in such plenty, that most of the streets of the place looked for some time like so many fields of battle; for the troops of the garrison so f dreaded *Dragut's* resentment, that they would accept of no quarter, but fought desperately to the last, and died with their weapons in their hands.

An immense
plunder found
in the place.

THE plunder which was found in the place was of an immense value, it being, as we observed before, the repository of *Dragut's* treasure, his chief arsenal, storehouse, and granary; besides which they found the merchants houses full of rich merchandizes of all sorts, gold, silver, jewels, rich stuffs, drugs, &c. and the inhabitants of both sexes, who were made slaves, amounted to seven, *Marmol* says ten thousand. But the most valuable prize was the city itself, the strongest on all the *African* coasts. The viceroy of *Sicily*, who was the oldest and chief commander, took possession of it in the name of the emperor, and g challenged the whole glory of its reduction to himself, and made his son, Don *Alvarez*, governor of it, though Don *Garcias* deserved the greatest share of the honour, not only on account of his gallant behaviour during the siege, but as it was by his advice and con-

trivance

a trivance that the siege was carried on at the most advantageous side, when the rest were ready to raise it^f.

DRAGUT, enraged at the loss of the place, all his stores, riches, and slaves, sent immediately an embassy to *Porte*, accompanied, as usual, with large presents, to represent to the Grand Signor the importance of this and the other two towns, which *Charles V.* had stripped his empire of, contrary to the treaty still subsisting between them, and, at the same time, inveighed bitterly against the knights of *Malta*, to whose bravery the loss of them, especially that of *Mehedia*, was chiefly owing. *Soleyman* was by this time become too powerful not to resent such a breach of faith, yet would not begin any hostilities, till he had sent to the emperor to demand the restitution of those three places: he was answered by that monarch, that those places belonging to the kingdom of *Tunis*, now tributary to the crown of *Castile*, his generals had acted no other way than any other sovereign might have done, against a corsair that was detested by God and man, and whom, without intending to break the truce with his highness, he was determined to pursue as a common pirate, wherever he lurked. This answer could not fail of exasperating that haughty Soltan, who caused a fresh order to be immediately dispatched to *Dragut*, to take up all the galleys and vessels that sailed under *Ottoman* colours, and to use his utmost efforts to recover those places from the Christians. At the same time, to take from the emperor all pretence to treat the corsair as a pirate, he sent him a commission, by which he appointed him Sangiac of the isle of *Santa Maura*. *Dragut* could not but be highly pleased with his new title and commission, but had but little stomach to the order of retaking these towns, as long as the *Maltese* continued so strong at sea, and in possession of *Tripoli*; and therefore sent word to the *Porte*, that he could have but little hopes of succeeding in that enterprize, unless the Soltan attacked both their island and that city with fire and sword, and drove that powerful enemy out of *Africa*, as they had been formerly out of *Asia*. This advice, being relished by *Soleyman*, diverted the storm from the coasts of *Tunis* to the island of *Malta* and city of *Tripoli*, in the former of which *Dragut* lost his life, as will be hereafter shewn.

By all that we have seen of the emperor's conduct in the reduction of these three *Tunesian* sea-ports, it doth not appear that he had any other view than the depriving of that formidable corsair, and all the piratic tribe, of those advantageous retreats. As for *Muley Hassan*, and his two sons, who came to this siege with them, we do not find that he had any thought of restoring any of them to the throne, though his interest might have induced him to it, as the then possessor of it, the perfidious *Hamida*, had not only disavowed all dependence and vassalage to him, but was then his declared and irreconcilable enemy, and was no less pressing than *Dragut*, by his embassies and presents to the *Porte*, to induce Soltan *Soleyman* to declare war against him^g. The truth is, that *Charles V.* had too many things of greater moment upon his hands, as will be shewn in a subsequent part, to give any farther attention to these conquests, which he was quickly after obliged to abandon, and even to order this important place to be demolished.

BUT to return to the garrison: Don *Sancho de Leva* was soon after sent thither to succeed Don *Alvarez* as governor, who ordered them to make fresh incursions upon the neighbouring *Moors*; whence they came back laden with rich plunder, which he obliged them to live upon, without allowing them any farther pay. The soldiers, apprehending that he sunk it in his own pocket, became so exasperated against him, that he was forced to fly to save his life; upon which they chose one *Antonio de Aponte* to command in his room, together with a serjeant major to see his orders executed. The viceroy of *Sicily*, being acquainted with this revolution, sent word of it to the emperor, and, at the same time, endeavoured to reduce them to their obedience, by stopping the usual provisions that were sent to them from thence. But this only obliged them to equip a small vessel with 60 soldiers, who, sailing into *Sicily*, seized what corn they could get out of the vessels. They likewise obtained other provisions from the grand master of *Malta*, and other places, for their money; so that, being by this means so plentifully supplied, they resolved, one and all, not to receive Don *Sancho* again, tho' the emperor and viceroy had sent them orders to submit to him, under severe penalties. This contest lasted a considerable time, during which officers were sent, some with threats, others with flattering promises. Some of them had even been bribed by the viceroy to assassinate the heads of this small, but well-governed republic, but were prevented from it by a sudden blast of a burning wind, which forced them to seek for cool shelters in caves and cisterns, just as they were on the point of executing their bloody design; yet this prevented not the two chief assassins from murdering the serjeant-major, and such other mutineers as were the main props of the revolt; after which all became quiet again. At length a new governor was sent thither, who found the place in want of all things for its defence, and the soldiery in a great ferment for want of pay. He

^f VERTOT, MARMOL, &c. *ibid.*^g *Iidem ibid.*

Charles offers it to the knights of Malta; apprised both the viceroys of it, who proposed the demolishing of it to the emperor; but that politic monarch was rather inclined to turn that place over to the knights of *Malta*, instead of *Tripoli*, which the *Turks* had lately retaken from them, and proposed to pay them 20,000 crowns *per ann.* for the maintenance of the garrison and fortifications. No artifice was omitted by his ministers and creatures to persuade the grand council to accept of the emperor's generous offers, as they were stiled. Those knights had too many powerful reasons to deter them from saddling their order with such an important place; such as disobliging the *French* king, exasperating the *Porte*, &c. so that the proposal was rejected by a great majority. An embassy was immediately dispatched to him to excuse their non-acceptance; and though *Charles* could, as grand protector of their order, have obliged them to it, yet he chose rather to have it demolished, and gave orders to have it done accordingly ^a.

On their abandoning the place, they brought away, in two large chests, the remains of those brave commanders who had lost their lives at the siege of it, and had lain buried in the principal mosk of it ever since it was taken. Upon their arrival in *Sicily*, the viceroy of that island ordered them to be deposited in the great cathedral of *Mount Real*, near *Palermo*, and a mausoleum to be erected over them, with a pompous epitaph to their memory, the sense and purport of which the reader may see in the margin (I). To conclude this section, the emperor was now glad at any rate to prevent the danger of *Mehedia's* falling into the hands of his *Turkish*, or other enemies, by blowing up all its fortifications, and reducing the rest into that heap of ruins in which the *French*, then at war with him, afterwards found it, who were sent by their general to reconnoitre it. ^b

THIS proved, however, a difficult task to be performed in due time, not only on account of the number and strength of those works, which would require a vast number of hands, but because it was to be done with the utmost speed, lest the *French* or *Turkish* fleet, then out at sea, and not very far from the place, should come and surprise it before it was completed. On the other hand, there reigned a general murmuring among both soldiers and sailors, being unaccustomed to such laborious works, and already highly dissatisfied for want of their pay, and on account of the arrears that were due to them; nor would the danger they were in from the *Turkish* and *French* fleets have been sufficient to induce them to set about it, had not the politic governor appeased their discontent by a prompt payment of part of their demands, and great promises and engagements for the rest, to be paid at the first *Silician* port they should come at after the work was done. This had, at length, the desired effect, and miners, soldiers, and sailors, went about it with such readiness, and plied it night and day with such dispatch, that nothing remained to be done but setting fire to the mines. ^c

THEIR next business was to put their men, artillery, and ammunition on board, leaving only an officer behind, whom they could confide in, together with two-thirds of a company of foot, to blow up the whole, and to see that no one mine was left unsprung. Those under the walls and principal towers amounted to twenty-four; every one of which ran with its branches by several ways quite down to the very foundation, and had a soldier appointed to set fire to it, with each a match of a fathom and a half in length, and exactly of the same thickness. They were ordered to light them at the firing of the first cannon, and to stoop down at the firing of the second. They were likewise ordered to put it into the great pipe made for that purpose, and to push them to the mouth of each mine in such manner, that two spans of it might penetrate into the powder, and the remainder should be out of it, with its end lighted and burning; and this was done to the intent that they might all take fire at the same instant of time. Every soldier was moreover ordered, after he had planted his match in the manner above-mentioned, to go and visit that of his next companion; and the commanding officer was to take care that every thing was performed according to order, and with the utmost speed. The reason of all these precautions is obvious; for if, among such a number of mines, one or more had chanced to spring before the rest, some of these might have been so far overwhelmed by the rubbish as to extinguish the matches, and prevent their blowing up, which would have frustrated their designs, as their intention was to destroy all the fortifications so effectually that they might not be restored. ^d

As soon, therefore, as the soldiers had set fire to their respective matches, they hastened into their boats, and rowed far enough from the shore to be out of all danger from them.

^a MARMOL, BOSIO, VERTOT, &c.

(I) Though death hath put an end to the life of those, whose ashes lie under this marble, yet will the memory of their singular valour never have an end. The faith of these heroes hath obtained them a place in heaven, and their courage hath filled the world with their glory. So that the blood, which issued out of their wounds, hath recompensed their loss of one life, with a double immortality *.

* *Marmol, Afric. lib. vi. c. 28. ad fin.*

- a The first mines that sprung up were those of the west side, which blew up all the towers of the land side into the air towards the west, though so strongly built, and at such a vast expence and labour, that the Khalif *Mehedi* was heard to say, he would have been at the charge of casting them in metal, if that would have rendered them more safe and impregnable. And such was the destruction of them, and of the other works every where, that one would have imagined that the four elements had lent their united strength to complete it; so instantaneously was that noble place reduced into a heap of ruins, as not to be known even by its own inhabitants; insomuch, that this port became afterwards fatal for a while to the vessels that sailed thither. There was but one out of all the mines that missed taking fire; namely, that which lay under the great tower, through which was the deep gate leading to the land side, lately described. The officer and his men were, therefore, obliged to land once more and set fire to it; upon which both that and the two towers which guarded the entry of the port flew up into the air, and discovered the large marble columns which supported them, and which were all of one solid piece, to avoid the use of cement, which might otherwise have been apt gradually to be impaired by the dampness of the ground and the beating of the waves; and with the same view they were reared on a stout pavement of large blocks of the same hard stone; by which, and all we have said above, our readers may judge what an immense labour and expence it must have cost the Khalif above-named to raise this city to such a prodigious degree of strength, which required so much of both to reduce it to that heap of ruins in which it hath lain ever since. And we are in hopes, that the curiousness and importance of this subject, so completely transmitted down to us by an eye-witness of such note and credit¹, will sufficiently apologize for our having dwelt so long upon it.

- If *Charles V.* had now cause to rejoice at his success in the demolition of a fortress which had proved a heavy and expensive burden to him, and which none of his friends cared to take off his hands upon any consideration, *Hamida*, the then reigning tyrant of the *Tunisian* kingdom, had no less reason to be pleased to see himself happily rid of so powerful an enemy, and so grievous a thorn in his side as the Christian garrison had been to him, which chiefly maintained itself by the depredations they made in his territories. However, that monarch had still the *Goletta* in his hands, and in it a good strong garrison to keep him in awe; and it is very likely that that obliged him to become his tributary, especially as that would prevent any new attempt against him from that quarter in favour of his brother *Muley Mohammed*: for we are expressly told, that he continued in the quiet possession of the throne seventeen years, after the demolition of *Mehedia*, that is, till *an. 1570*, when the new Dey of *Algiers* drove him out of it, at the earnest request of his most considerable subjects².

- THE suddenness of this new revolution was occasioned by his horrid tyranny and cruelties, particularly over several of the nobility, whom he had grievously insulted and abused both in person and estate. So that, unable to bear his yoke any longer, they resolved to apply to the above *Hali*, or *Ochali*, Basha, newly created Dey of *Algiers*, with whom several of the chiefs were personally acquainted. Accordingly, some of them were deputed to invite him to their assistance, and even to offer him the sovereignty of the realm, to be possessed by him in the name of the *Ottoman* emperor.

- THE chief managers of this negotiation were Alcayde *Ebn Jibaara*, general of the horse, who bore *Hamida* a mortal grudge, though he so artfully concealed it, that he was not in the least suspected by him, and two other chief officers. These easily prevailed upon *Hali* to undertake so advantageous an expedition; and, upon his appearing at the head of his forces, and ready to engage, went all three over to him with their own partisans, according to agreement, at the very instant in which *Hamida* was preparing to attack him. This unexpected defection threw the tyrant into such a panic, that he left his army and fled, with as many officers as would follow him, with all the speed he could to his own capital, not in the least doubting but that the citizens would unanimously oppose a *Turkish* enemy, whom they had so much cause to hate. But, to his still greater mortification, he found them all ready to join them as soon as they appeared within sight of the walls, to which *Hali* had pursued him. In this distress he ran to his palace, and taking out thence two of his wives, two sons, and what money, jewels, and other valuables he could get, he stole away in the night to the *Goletta*, attended only by twenty-five of his friends and domestics. In his way he was overtaken by a party of *Moors*, who were apprised of his flight, and who quickly eased him of the most valuable part of his luggage, without offering any farther harm either to him or his retinue; and, with the remainder, he got happily into the *Spanish* garrison; whilst *Hali* and his *Turks* entered the city of *Tunis* without the least opposition, towards the latter end of the year 1569. A mutual satisfaction soon appeared between the conqueror and his new subjects, whilst he not only treated them all with peculiar courtesy, but, contrary to the *Turkish* custom, shewed himself liberal and grateful to those who had been the chief promoters

¹ Vid. MARMOL, in fin. cap. xxxviii. lib. 6.² GRAMMAY, MARMOL, & al sup.

1570.

moters of this revolution. The *Arabian* princes came likewise to *Tunis* to congratulate him on a his success, and offer their services and friendship to him, in hopes, most probably, of obtaining some presents, or at least a promise of such a yearly pension as the former kings of *Tunis* used to pay to them, in order to fix them to their interest. These likewise met with a gracious reception from him at first; but, whether they did afterwards intimate any thing like that to him, he took care to let them know, a few days after, that he should expect a tribute from them, to help to defray the charges of the government; but was not a little surprised to hear them answer, with a noble boldness, that he must expect no other tribute than what he extorted from them in the field with sword in hand. *Hali* staid some part of the next year to settle the state of his new kingdom, and appointed his favourite renegado *Ramadan Sardo* viceroy of it; who, as we have seen in the preceding chapter, became afterwards Dey of *Algiers*; and under him he left another *Neapolitan* renegado, named *Mahamed*, to act as field general. These had under them a garrison of 3000 *Turks* and renegadoes to keep the people in their obedience; and, all things being thus regulated, he left the city, and returned to his own kingdom about the beginning of *April*, highly satisfied with his successful expedition¹.

Tunis reduced
by Selim II.

1574.

DURING these transactions, *Muley Mohammed*, the brother of *Hamida*, had found means to escape, first into *Numidia*, and thence into *Spain*, where he earnestly solicited that court to be restored to the *Tunefian* kingdom, promising, on that condition, to hold it from the *Spanish* crown, and to become tributary^m. In whose favour the new armament was ordered under the command of *Don Juan of Austria*; of which we shall give an account in a subsequent part of this history. As to the reducing that kingdom on the following year by *Selim* II. under the conduct of the famed *Sinan*, Basha of the *Levant*, it hath been already related in a former volume, to which we shall refer our readers for a further accountⁿ.

SINAN found this new conquered kingdom much divided, chiefly by the revolt of *Kayrwan*, which had chosen a prince of its own, upon the expulsion of the *Turks* out of *Tunis* by the emperor, in order to prevent their falling again under the *Turkish* tyranny. They had, after the ejection of *Barbarossa* out of *Tunis*, elected the chief *Alfaki* of their great mosque for their sovereign; who, by the assistance of his new subjects and some *Arabian* troops, seized on several towns in the neighbourhood of *Kayrwan*, and had taken upon him the royal title. He had likewise made an alliance with *Hamida*, the king of *Tunis*, by some intermarriages, and was still upon the throne at the time of the emperor's expedition against *Mehedia*, and assisted him with some troops and provisions, in order to drive *Dragut* out of it. For this that corsair had sworn his death in revenge; and, to accomplish which, he corrupted several of the inhabitants, and particularly some *Alfakis*, to admit him into the city in the dead of night. So that entering it, at the head of some of his troops, he easily surprised the king in his palace, and murdered him: after which he made himself master of the place; and, though himself was killed at the siege of *Maltha*, about eight years after, as will be shewn in the sequel^o, yet had none of the *Tunefian* princes been able to reduce it to their own subjection^p.

THIS was the state of the kingdom when *Selim* II. dispossessed *Philip* II. of its metropolis. *Sinan* Basha, who was at the head of this expedition, the better to secure this new conquest to his master, not only destroyed all the Christians he found in that place, except about fourteen, whom he sent bound as trophies to *Constantinople*, but demolished the walls and citadel, and caused a new one to be built nearer the port; and, to prevent any new factions arising for the future to disturb this new state, he modelled it much after the form of those at *Algiers* and *Tripoli*; that is, he put it under the protection of the Grand Signor, and appointed a Basha, or viceroy, under him, and a *Douwan*, which consisted of military men; placed proper governors, or Beys, over the provinces and garrisons in other parts of the kingdom, in order to secure its dependencies; and, at his departure, left 4000 *Janissaries* to curb and prevent any future mutiny. And here was a final end put to the power and splendor of the kings of *Tunis*, after it had continued 370 years, from the time that *Abraam*, al. *Abu Ferez*, laid the first foundation of it, an. 1204^{*}.

¹ See before, p. 266, & seq.^m GRAMMAY, lib. viii. c. 2. sub fin.ⁿ See before, vol. v. p. 307.^o See the history of *Maltha*.
sup. citat.^p MARMOL, lib. viii. c. 34. VERTOT, DAVITY, DAPPER, & al.^{*} See before, p. 317, & seq.

S E C T. VI.

The sequel of the history of Tunis, after its conquest by the Turks, to the conclusion of the peace and treaty with England, an. 1718.

- ^a **I**N this section, instead of a series of princes, such as we have seen in the last, the reader must expect little else but a list of rapacious Deys, or viceroys, chosen by their own Douwan, much after the same manner as those of *Algiers*, whose avarice and ambition made those elections come so thick and fast one after another, that within the space of 120 years, that is, from the time of these first elections, to that of *Aggi Mahamed Coggia*, there have reigned no less than twenty-three. all of whom, except five, have been either dethroned, strangled, or some other way murdered. From the very beginning the *Tunefians* were so disgusted at the *Basha*, whom *Sinan* had set over them, that they immediately petitioned the *Porte* to abolish that dignity, and to give them leave to elect a Dey from among themselves, with the same power as those of *Algiers*; which being readily granted to them, they forthwith proceeded to the choice of one, whom they massacred before the year was out. *Ibrahim*, who succeeded him the year following, was in danger of undergoing the same fate, but timely prevented it by fleeing to *Mecca*. To these frequent and bloody revolutions succeeded another in process of time, in which the Beys, or second rank of officers, raised their power on the ruin of that of the Deys: so that the Beylik became gradually so despotic and absolute, that the grand Douwan, or supreme council, dwindled to a mere shadow of power, and are to this day convoked by those Beys, merely to approve of what they decree, without being ever consulted by them, except when they are obliged to it, in order to prevent some fresh tumults, or to screen themselves from the resentment of an exasperated populace^a; neither hath the grand council a much greater influence in the elections to the Beylik, they being commonly carried by violence; the strongest sword or interest is the surest, and most commonly the only means of attaining that dignity, without any regard to succession. These disorders, perhaps, which have caused so much confusion and bloodshed in that kingdom, were, in all likelihood, the chief motives which induced the *Porte* to revive the old custom of sending their *Bashas* thither, to be a check or curb to their arbitrary proceedings.

- ACCORDINGLY, we have taken notice in the *Algerine* history of several who were become great favourites at that court, on account of their strenuous valour and conduct, who have been removed from the Deylik of *Algiers* to the Bashalik of *Tunis*. Such were the brave *Ramadan Sardo*, *Hali Basha*, and others^b, who were as well received, and no less beloved at *Tunis*, than they had been at *Algiers*; yet these were recalled at the end of two years at most by that jealous and politic court, and sent upon expeditions of equal credit and importance. And this seems, in all probability, to have been done, to prevent the no less jealous and powerful Beys raising some dangerous commotion against them, on account of their strenuous and intrepid conduct in supporting the interest of the *Ottoman Porte*, rather than out of fear of any coalition between them and the *Tunefians*.

- HOWEVER that be, we must look upon the whole space of the Dey's reign as not only an æra of rather anarchy and confusion than of a well regulated government, but likewise as a period little known to us, considering, that the various attempts made by the emperor, and other Christian princes, on this and other maritime kingdoms of *Barbary*, had put a stop, in a great measure, to all kind of commercial intercourse between the *Europeans* and them, and inspired all those *Mohammedan* nations with an invincible jealousy and hatred against every Christian nation. So that all the correspondence that passed between the *European* states and those of *Barbary*, was merely of the piratical kind, and the only one by which they desired to supply themselves even with such *European* commodities as they could not do without^c. And in this the *Tunefians* came not behind any of their neighbours; and we are assured, by an ingenious gentleman, who hath lately resided a considerable time in those parts^{*}, and from whose account of this kingdom, published a few years ago, we have taken the greatest part of this sequel of its history, that a *Genoese* renegado, who flourished some time within this interval, and was made commander of the gallies of *Bizerta*, a commodious port belonging to this kingdom, had made about twenty thousand Christian slaves.
- ^f Such is the history of this kingdom, could we, or were it worth our while, to collect all the material transactions that have happened in it, from their first establishing themselves in this tumultuous and arbitrary form of government, we should find it to consist chiefly in their

^a Ibid. p. 313, & seq. ^b Ibid. p. 269, & alib. pass. ^c Ibid. p. 212, & seq. ^{*} Hist. of Algiers, Tunis, &c. an. 1750, London.

constant depredations at sea, and their frequent revolts and contentions, butcheries and tyrannies, at home; many of them fomented and lightened by the *Turks*, in hopes of finding some proper opportunity of raising themselves to the same height of despotic power over the *Moors* here, as they have done at *Algiers*, *Tripoli*, and were like to have done the same in *Morocco* and *Fez* more than once, as we have seen in the two former chapters. Of this the Beys were so aware, and so watchful against, that they made it a settled rule of their politics to cultivate a good understanding and friendship with the Sharifs on the one hand, and to obstruct the growing power of the incroaching *Turks* on the other. The *Algerines*, on their part, were no less watchful to prevent too close an union between the Beys and the Sharifs, as their country lies between them, and liable to be attacked on both sides, and to become a prey to those two states^d; and it was this jealousy that kindled those frequent wars which happened between them; and, particularly, that dreadful one against the *Tunefians*, which we just gave a hint of in the history of *Algiers*; but which we shall here resume a little lower, as it is one of the most considerable transactions of their modern history, and the most proper to give our readers a taste of the rest, which we pass over for the reasons lately mentioned.

Circ. an.
1681.

Morat's three
sons contend
for the Beylik.

MORAT II. Bey of *Tunis*, left three sons at his death, *Mahamed*, *Hali*, and *Ramadan*, who all contended for the succession to the Beylik. *Ramadan* was the first, who, for peace's sake, gave up his pretensions, and left them at liberty either to divide or dispute the government between them. Their ambition soon determined them to the latter; which contest caused a great effusion of blood for some considerable time, till *Mahamed*, whether out of religious considerations, or tired with the opposition, gave it up to *Hali*, and retired to *Kayrwan*, where he gave himself up to solitude and devotion. *Hali* had not been long in quiet possession of the Beylik, before the war was kindled again by his own treachery: for *Mahamed*, at his resignation, having intrusted his favourite son *Achmed* to his care, he, upon some jealous surmise, had caused him to be put to death. *Mahamed* was soon informed of his perfidy by *Cheleby*, the then Dey, or next in dignity to the Bey, an ambitious statesman, who had long since waited for a favourable opportunity to raise himself to the Beylik, and now thought to effect it by the destruction of the two brothers; and, the more effectually to excite his resentment, offered to assist him with all his power and interest to revenge his son's death. *Hali*, at this time, had likewise made some strenuous attempt upon the city; for which the *Tunefians* had taken up arms against and defeated him; so that he had been forced to fly: but, upon hearing that the exasperated *Mahamed* was hastening to *Tunis*, he made all the dispatch he could to reach that city before him; but the politic *Cheleby* took care to shut the gates against him. *Mahamed*, to prevent the like obstruction, declared, that he came with no other view than to punish the authors of his son's death; but was told, that they, having notice of his approach by his brother *Hali*, had escaped on board a vessel, and were sailed away. At this news he lost no time, but pursued so closely after them, that he came upon them before they could put to sea, and took the vessel; and having sacrificed those murderers to the manes of his dear son, returned directly to *Tunis*^e.

Mahamed punishes the murderers for the death of his son.

Tunis besieged.

In the mean time the ambitious *Cheleby* had taken such care to inflame the citizens against the two contending brothers, upon whose destruction depended all his hopes, that, upon his return, they shut their gates against him, and boldly declared, that they would not submit to two brothers, whose mutual contentions alternately destroyed them; so that he must not expect any allegiance from them, unless he sacrificed his brother to the peace and tranquillity of the *Tunefian* state. This declaration soon caused a defection among *Mahamed's* troops; a great part of whom withdrew into *Tunis*, which obliged him to be reconciled to his brother, and to join forces with him to reduce the mutineers within. Upon which *Cheleby* made a stout sally upon them, and gave them both such an overthrow, that, if he had pursued his victory more closely, he might easily have gained his end, and been raised to the Beylik: but, instead of it, he suffered them to go on in their own measures, till, having hired a body of *Algerine* troops from the Dey, *Ibrahim*, for 40,000 piasters, he saw himself at once closely besieged by him and the two brothers in the city of *Tunis*. He had, however, the precaution to hire some *Moorish* chiefs to assist him in the place, and the siege had already lasted from the month of *September*, 1685, to that of *June* of the following year; by which time those auxiliaries, naturally accustomed to range, being weary of continuing so long cooped within the city walls, retired to their mountains, and left him to make the best defence he could with his own citizens.

Kara Osman goes over to the besiegers.

THEY had no sooner abandoned the city, than *Kara Osman*, who commanded the cavalry in it, sallied out, under pretence of pursuing those fugitives; instead of which, he marched directly to the two Beys; upon which the gates were immediately opened to them, yet rather as friends than conquerors. Whilst these were entering in at one end, *Cheleby* was endeavouring

^d See before, p. 239, & seq.

^e MARMOL, lib. vi. c. 14.

- a vouring to make his escape at the other; but, being discovered, was brought prisoner to the Dey *Ibrahim's* tent; presently after which his *Algerines*, looking upon themselves as masters of the city, began to commit the most cruel disorders and outrages. Some of them had the insolence to pursue two *Moors* to the very palace with their drawn scymitars, and even to drag them to prince *Mahamed's* apartment, brandishing their weapons before him in a threatening manner. This indignity, which *Mahamed* could not but be conscious was offered to him by those imperious *Turks*, in revenge to the hatred which he had always expressed for their nation, (inasmuch, that even during his long contest with his brother about the Beylik, he never would take any of them into his service, but rather used those that were in his dominions with unusual cruelty, causing some to be put to death, and others to be banished, and confiding in none but his own *Moors*) terrified that pusillanimous prince to such a degree, that, to avoid their carrying it any farther, he caused those two innocent *Moors* to be thrown head-long from the terraces of his palace, and stole away to his camp with as much haste and privacy as he could. Those enormities still raging in the city, his brother *Hali*, a prince of more courage and conduct, and less hated by the *Turks*, hastened immediately into it, at the head of some of his troops, and quickly drove them out of it, and all was quite again.

- In the interim, those of *Cheleby's* party, having resolved to assassinate the two Beys, rushed into Dey *Ibrahim's* tent, whither they supposed they had retired, and surrounded it by the next break of day; but not finding them there, went forth into that of *Hali*; who, being still in the city, they missed likewise; whilst *Mahamed*, not thinking himself safe in his camp, was making all the haste he could out of it. He was, however, soon overtaken by his brother-in-law, *Ben Choukee*; who, after some severe reproofs for his untimely pusillanimity, told him, in plain terms, that nothing but his presence could put a stop to the present commotions; and that *Tunis* was the place where he must either conquer or die. And, indeed, his cowardly flight had so far reanimated *Cheleby's* partisans, that they had ventured into *Ibrahim's* tent, where he was kept, with a full design to have carried him off, and proclaimed him Bey. But that being quite opposite to *Ibrahim's* interest, he at once put an end to all further attempts on his behalf, by causing him to be strangled, and his body to be exposed before his tent; the sight of which so cooled and terrified the warmest of that party, that they were the very first to acknowledge *Mahamed*; who, on his side, soon after dismissed the *Algerines* at the same rate he had hired them. *Mahamed* having now got the sole power into his hands, and none left to oppose him, began immediately to gratify his insatiable avarice, by the most exorbitant confiscations and extortions; inasmuch that his most wealthy subjects were those that were most exposed to his rapacious cruelty. He had likewise renewed his alliance with the Sharif of *Morocco*; when the *Tuneseans*, weary of his tyranny, saw themselves obliged to invite the *Algerines* to their assistance against him. *Cheleby*, or, as others call him, *Chaban*, then Dey of *Algiers*, readily accepted the invitation; and, having sent a sufficient number of forces to secure his frontiers on the western side, to prevent *Muley Ismael* sending him any forces from thence, marched directly to *Tunis*, at the head of 10,000 of his *Turks*. *Mahamed* went out, at head of his numerous *Moors*, to meet and attack them; but they, like their pusillanimous leader, affrighted at the sight of the *Turkish* forces, whom they had been so long inured to dread, immediately fled and forsook him; upon which he returned to *Tunis* with such prodigious consternation and speed, as threw the whole city into an universal panic; inasmuch that *Ramadan*, the then Basha, the Dey, and many other persons of distinction, made their escape on board a *French* vessel, bound for the *Archipelago*; the former of whom went afterwards and put himself under the protection of the duke of *Tuscany*.

- f THE *Turks* immediately laid siege to *Tunis*; and, whilst that lasted, which was four whole months, *Mahamed* making a most vigorous defence, their troops committed the most grievous ravages in all the adjacent countries. At length, *Mahamed*, finding it dangerous to trust himself any longer among his discontented subjects, took the first opportunity to abandon the city, and fled for refuge to the desert of *Zahara*; upon which the city immediately opened their gates to the *Algerines*. As soon as their Dey saw himself master of the town, he appointed *Ben Choukee* Bey, and *Tatar* Dey of *Tunis*; and, having repaid himself with advantage for all his charges and troubles, returned to *Algiers*, leaving those two to govern that state as they thought fit. He was no sooner gone, but this new Bey, like a rapacious wolf, began to exercise the most horrid outrages and cruelties on the unhappy citizens; and, as if the confiscating their all to his own use had been too small a punishment, he ordered eight hundred of the chief of them to be tortured to death by the most inhuman and excruciating torments. He carried, at length, his tyranny and impiety so far, as to attempt to force some women, near relations to *Mahamed*, out of a celebrated asylum, in the city of *Kayrwan*, whither they had fled for safety; which so exasperated the inhabitants,

that

that they rose up in arms, and forced him to flee out of the city to save himself from the effects of their fury. The revolt soon spread itself from that city through the principal ones of the kingdom, to so great a degree, that his outrages and cruelties seemed to have quite obliterated those of the fugitive *Mahamed*: so that they quickly after agreed to send some bodies of men to go and seek him among those deserts where he lay concealed, and to invite him to come back and resume his former government.

MAHAMED was then refuged in the territories of a powerful *Arabian* Cheyk, whose father he had some time before justly put to death, imagining, perhaps, that that would be the last place where his exasperated subjects would suppose him to be concealed. But as soon as he found himself to be discovered, and that they were in full search after him, and little dreaming how different their errand was from what his fears and guilt suggested to him, he went immediately and surrendered himself to the Cheyk, wholly relying on his generosity for a protection. The Cheyk, no less conscious of his father's guilt, than ambitious to oblige and protect a submissive enemy, not only received him under his protection with the utmost readiness, but as soon as he was apprised on what account his subjects were come in quest of him, generously furnished him with a body of 10,000 horse; which, being joined with those troops of his own which were come to meet him, enabled him to give *Ben Choukce* a total overthrow; the consequence of which was, that he soon recovered his capital, and was reinstated in the Beylik. The first thing he did after his restoration was the recalling of his brother *Ramadan* from *Tuscany*, where he had refuged himself, and bestowed the Deylik upon him. He died soon after of an apoplexy, and was succeeded by him in the Beylik, by the interest of the *Algerines*, in opposition to the *Douwan*, who were for chusing of his nephew, *Morat*, to the dignity, as being much better qualified for it. The *Algerine* party having thus far prevailed in favour of that weak prince, he no sooner saw himself possessed of the supreme power, than he gave himself up to pleasure and indolence, and committed the whole management of all his affairs to an *Italian* fidler, named *Mazoul*, a person no less unfit to hold the reins of that government than himself; and who, by his pride, ill-conduct, and mismanagement, quickly brought the kingdom into a general commotion and discontent. The *Douwan* and *grandees* which had declared for *Ramadan*, in complaisance to the *Algerines*, began to see their fault and danger, and did not fail of making loud complaints against them and the Bey, and his prime minister's ill-conduct. Great caballing was made every where against them, accompanied with private consultations about dethroning *Ramadan*, and electing *Morat* in his room; which at length so alarmed the favourite *Mazoul*, that he could find no other expedient to avoid the impending storm than by instilling a strong suspicion into his weak master, that his nephew was plotting against his life: whereupon the frightened *Ramadan*, no less pusillanimous than credulous, caused him to be apprehended and brought before the council, who, being all his creatures, made no difficulty to condemn him to lose his eyes.

IN all these transactions it is not to be doubted but the *Algerines* had the greatest hand, whose interest it was to have not only such weak princes, and bad ministers at the head of the *Tunesian* affairs, but likewise to embroil them so far with the *Douwan*, that they might always have an opportunity to thwart any measures they might take to the prejudice of their own state. For had the cabals in favour of *Morat* succeeded, who was a prince of a quite opposite character, the harmony which seems to have reigned between him and the grand council might have been productive of some steps, by way of retaliation, for the outrages they had lately suffered from the *Algerine* forces, and a firmer alliance been made between this republic and the emperor of *Morocco* against them. *Muley Ishmael* having no less cause to fear the growing power of *Algiers* than the Bey of *Tunis*, from the hostilities that had passed between them; of which we have given a further relation in a former chapter. So that upon all accounts it was plainly the interest of the *Algerines* not only to prevent that brave enterprising prince from being raised to the Beylik, but even to deprive him and all his partisans of all hopes of his ever doing so. But happily for him, their design was disappointed, by the surgeon who was to execute the sentence upon him.

HE was a *French* renegado; and, whether bribed by some of his friends, or the hopes of some suitable reward, found a method to deceive his severest enemies, and to save his eye-sight at the expence of his eye-lids; the cutting off of which so besmeared his eyes with blood, that he really seemed wholly deprived of the use of them. This was farther confirmed to them by some trials they made upon him, to be fully satisfied about it; such as setting chafing-dishes of burning coals in his way, over which he artfully stumbled; pointing of drawn swords before him, against which he advanced without betraying the least concern or fear.

RAMADAN and his council having seen enough to convince them that he was really deprived of his sight, sent him under a strong escort to the castle of *Soufa*, and committed him

- a him to the care of the Aga, a renegado monk, nick-named *Papafalga*, on account of his apostacy; but who, being sharper-sighted than the council, soon discovered the deceit, and immediately sent an express to apprise them, that, though his eyes were much disfigured, yet was his sight but little impaired by it. This news greatly alarmed *Ramadan* and his court; and a fresh courier was immediately dispatched to the Aga to put *Morat*, at any rate, to death. Happily for the latter, his affability and good qualities had so far gained the affections of the greatest part of the *Moors*, *Turks*, and renegadoes, that were in the castle with him, that he easily brought them over to his interest; and, as his safety depended upon preventing any further attempt upon him, of which he had received some private intimation, they readily joined with him in dispatching the Aga, as he sat at table, and forwarded his escape to the *Offoleti* mountains, which lay about thirty leagues distant from *Tunis*, before the bloody orders from the Bey were arrived. The news of his escape was no sooner known at court, than the greatest part of the *Tunesian* troops forsook *Ramadan*, and came over to him, which obliged him to endeavour to save himself by flight. But, whilst he was making all the haste he could to escape by sea, he was apprehended, and brought back to *Morat*, who ordered him to be strangled, and his body to be burnt to ashes. His favourite sinner and prime minister, *Mazoul*, met with a still severer fate, being condemned to be shut up in an iron cage, and to have his flesh torn piece by piece during two days successively; after which his carcase, disfigured as it was, being thrown to the mob, was treated with the most brutal indignities. *Morat* carried his inhuman resentment against his uncle still farther, seeing, we are told, that he commonly mixed the ashes of his burned body with the wine which he drank*. His rancour against the *Algerines*, for having promoted the election of *Ramadan* against him, was no less manifest; and the first public act of his reign was a declaration of war against them, which he carried on with such fury and vehemence, such expence and profusion, as quite ruined his own subjects, and brought the most deplorable calamities upon his kingdom. Such was his insatiable thirst of revenge, not only against that rival republic, but against such of his subjects as had a hand in the promoting or supporting his uncle's interest against him, that he scrupled neither extortions nor cruelties against them, nor the most atrocious violations of oaths and sacred ties to assuage it.
- d THE Marabouts, and men of the law, though held in high veneration among them, *Morat* could not escape his vengeance; though the manner in which he vented it against them was rather ridiculous and terrifying than cruel. For, having caused them to be summoned to the great hall of his palace, he ordered them to be stripped and laid naked and bound upon the floor; and, after keeping them all night in that posture and fearful plight, he contented himself with ordering his servants on the next morning to throw some pails of water upon them; and, having diverted himself sufficiently with the scene, released them from their fears, and sent them home. This was probably done to shew his singular contempt of that whole tribe, as well as of those who held it in such great veneration (L). But, in other respects, he was such a monster of cruelty, that none but a *Nero* could come up to his character; and revelled in those horrid butcheries a longer time than one might have reasonably surmised, in a kingdom where so many of his predecessors had been sacrificed to popular fury for much less crimes: yet did he not escape his due fate, being at length murdered by *Ibraim* Sharif, captain of his guard; who, for that signal and hazardous service to the state, was unanimously raised to the Beylik in his stead.
- e *IBRAIM* was a person of a quite opposite character, bold, intrepid, and generous; and much beloved by the *Tunesians*, as the restorer of a liberty and tranquillity which they had not known before for a long while. He was, nevertheless, so unfortunate in a war which he undertook against the *Tripolitans*, that he was defeated with great loss, and taken prisoner by the *Algerines*; who, according to their custom, kept him in close confinement during seven whole months; neither would they grant him his liberty, but upon such severe and disadvantageous terms as made him hesitate a good while before he would submit to them.
- f At length, being tired with his inactive confinement, and apprehensive of his subjects elect-

* Hist. of Tunis, (London, 1750), p. 292, & seq.

(L) We have another instance of his disregard to the *Mohammedan* religion, which would be hardly worth recording, were it not for the oddness of it, and as it helps one to judge of his character. For being one day in the chapel of the holy cross, belonging to the Christian slaves of his bagnio, and seeing there an image of *St. Lucia*, who is reported to have been condemned to lose her eyes for being a Christian, and is commonly painted holding her two eyes in a kind of cup, asked the slaves who she was; and being answered, that she was the saint to whom the Christians prayed for the preservation of their sight, and against all distempers of the eyes, cried out, That she was a saint for his purpose; and that, if she could cure him, she should never want the best oil to burn in her lamps. And, we are told, that, to this very day, the lamp that burns before her image in that chapel is supplied at the charge of the government (1).

(1) Hist. of Tunis, (London, 1750) p. 293.

ing another Bey, he was at length forced to subscribe to their demands; one of which was, that he should pay them 200,000 piafters as soon as he had recovered his dignity; and the other, that he should, from that time, become tributary to *Algiers*.

THIS treaty was not fo secretly agreed to but the *Tunefians* got notice of it, and were highly difpleased with the fecond condition, though they would have readily confented to the firft. But though they were fully fatisfied that it was thro' mere neceffity that *Ibraim* had fubmitted to thofe hard terms, yet the thought of his condefcending to become tributary to that rival ftate, made them unanimoufly refolve not to admit him any more into their territories, and to keep all avenues as clofely fhut up againft him as if he had been an enemy.

killed near
Porto Farino
by Haffan,
who fucceeds
him.

THESE orders were fo ftrictly executed, that, upon his arrival at the port of *Bizerta* with his fmall retinue, he was denied accefs to the place; upon which he fent two of his officers to enquire into the reafon of their behaviour; but thefe were immediately put under an arreft; by which he eafily judged that he fhould have no admittance into it. He then failed directly to *Porto Farino*, where he expected a more favourable reception; but, to his great furprife, met with a much bolder repulfe: for *Haffan-Ben-Hali*, who commanded in that place, and obferved him at a diftance from the fhore, immediately difpatched a vefTel out againft him. The engagement was hardly begun, before *Ibraim* received a fhoot from a mufket which put an end to his life and to the action; upon the news of which *Haffan* was, for his zeal and vigilance, chofen to fucceed him by the *Tunefians*; and it is to this laft Bey that we owe the renewal of the peace with that ftate; of which we fhall fpeak immediately; and probably occafioned the abolition of an infamous cuftom among their prostitute women, who, whenever they met with a Chriftian of virtue and ferioufnefs, ufed to entice him by the moft lafcivious poftures and actions; nor would they leave him till they had extorted fome money from him *.

DURING the long interval of all the Beyliks we have been fpeaking of, their mercilefs corfairs, as well as thofe of their neighbours of *Algiers* and *Tripoli*, ranged the *Mediterranean* with a high hand, and infefed the Chriftian coafts with their frequent incurfions, committing horrid outrages on the inhabitants, plundering them of their moft valuable effects, and carrying off an infinite multitude of them into dreadful captivity, to the great interruption and decay of commerce. Thofe dreadful piracies had gone on fucceffively with them till the year 1682; when the famed admiral *Ruyter* chafed a *Turkifh* vefTel, called the *Three Crefcents*, into the very bay of *Tunis*, and there burned it on the 26th of *February* of that year, after he had refcued twenty-fix Chriftian flaves out of it, and made the reft of the crew prifoners. This action was foon after followed by a peace, which was concluded by him with *Mahamed*, the then Bey, the Dey, and the whole *Douwan*, and figned on the 2d of *March* following: Among other articles, one was, that all paff hoftilities and outrages fhould be forgotten on both fides, as if they had never been committed; and that peace, friendship, and a good underftanding, fhould thenceforth be eftablifhed and cultivated between both nations. The fame was likewise concluded with *England* foon after; but neither of them were well obferved by them longer than they were yearly bought by exorbitant prefents, till the reign of king *George I.* when admiral *Baker* renewed it with them, as well as with *Algiers* and *Tripoli*, or rather concluded a new one with them, which hath continued ever fince, and is as follows:

Peace concluded
between
England and
Tunis.
1716.

The articles of
it.

ARTICLES of peace and commerce between his moft facred Majefty king *George*, &c. and the moft excellent lords *Hali Bafha*, *Haffan-Ben-Hali Bey*, *Cara Mufapha Dey*, the Aga, and the *Douwan* of the noble city of *Tunis*, and the whole body of militia of the faid kingdom, renewed and concluded in the year of Chrift, 1716, by *John Baker*, Efq; vice-admiral, &c.

1. THAT all former grievances, loffes, and other pretentions between both parties, fhall be void and of no effect, and from henceforward a firm peace for ever, free trade and commerce, fhall be and continue between the fubjects of his moft facred Majefty *George*, king of *Great-Britain*, &c. and the people of the kingdom of *Tunis*, and dominions thereunto belonging. But that this article fhall not cancel or make void any juft debt, either in commerce or otherwife; that may be due from one perfon or perfons to others of either party, but that the fame fhall be liable to be demanded, and be recoverable as before.

2. THAT the fhips of either party fhall have free liberty to enter into any port, or river, belonging to the dominions of either party, paying the duties only for what they fhall fell, transporting the reft without any trouble or moleftation, and freely enjoy any other accu-

* Id. ubi fup.

† DAPPER'S *Afric.*

a stomed privileges; and the late exaction which hath been upon the lading and unlading of goods at *Goletta*, and the marine, shall be reduced to the antient custom in those cases.

3. THAT there shall be no seizure of any ship of either party at sea, or in port; but that they shall quietly pass, without any molestation or interruption, they displaying their colours: and for the prevention of all inconveniencies that may happen, the ships of *Tunis* are to have a certificate, under the hand and seal of the *British* consul, that they belong to *Tunis*; which being produced, the *English* ship shall admit two men to come on board them peaceably, and satisfy themselves that they are *English*; and although they have passengers of other nations on board, they shall be free, both they and their effects.

b 4. THAT if an *English* ship shall receive on board any goods or passengers belonging to the kingdom of *Tunis*, they shall be bound to defend them and their goods, so far as lies in their power, and not deliver them unto their enemies; and the better to prevent any unjust demand being made upon the crown of *Great-Britain*, and to avoid disputes and differences which may arise, all goods and merchandizes, that shall from henceforward be shipped by the subjects of this government, either in this port or any other whatsoever, on board the ships or vessels belonging to *Great-Britain*, shall be first entered in the office of *Cancellaria* before the *British* consul residing at the respective port, expressing the quantity, quality, and value of the goods so shipped, which the said consul is to certify in the clearance which is given to the said ship or vessel, before she departs; to the end that, if any cause of complaint should happen hereafter, there may be no greater claim made on the *British* nation than by this method shall be proved to be just and equitable.

c 5. THAT if any ships of either party shall, by accident of foul weather or otherwise, be cast away upon any coasts belonging to the other party, the persons shall be free, and the goods saved and delivered to their lawful proprietors.

6. THAT the *English* which do at present, or shall hereafter, inhabit in the city or kingdom of *Tunis*, shall have free liberty, when they please, to transport themselves, with their families and children, though born in the country.

7. THAT the people belonging to the dominions of either party shall not be abused with ill language, or otherwise ill treated; but that the parties so offending shall be punished according to their desert.

d 8. THAT the consul, or any other of the *English* nation residing at *Tunis*, shall not be forced to make their addressees, in any deference, to any court of justice, but to the Dey himself, from whom only they shall receive judgment: this is in case any dispute should arise between a subject of *Great-Britain* and one of this government, or of any other foreign nation: but if it should be between any two of his majesty's subjects, then it shall be decided by the *British* consul only.

9. THAT the consul, or any other of the *English* nation, shall not be liable to pay the debts of any particular person of that nation, unless obliged thereunto under his hand.

e 10. THAT as the island of *Minorca* in the *Mediterranean* sea, and the city of *Gibraltar* in *Spain*, have been yielded and annexed to the crown of *Great-Britain*, as well by the king of *Spain* as by all the several powers in *Europe* engaged in the late war, it is hereby agreed and fully concluded, that, from this time forward for ever, the said island of *Minorca* and city of *Gibraltar* shall be esteemed, in every respect, by the government of *Tunis*, to be part of his majesty's own dominions; and the inhabitants thereof shall be looked upon as his majesty's natural subjects, in the same manner as if they had been born in any part of *Great-Britain*; and they, with their ships and vessels wearing the *British* colours, shall be permitted freely to trade and traffick in any part of the kingdom of *Tunis*, and shall pass without any molestation whatsoever, either on the seas or elsewhere, in the same manner, and with the same freedom and privileges, as have been stipulated in this and all former treaties in behalf of the *British* nation and subjects.

f 11. AND the better and more firmly to maintain the good correspondence and friendship that have been so long and so happily established between the crown of *Great-Britain* and the government of *Tunis*, it is hereby agreed and concluded, by the parties above-mentioned, that none of the ships or vessels belonging to *Tunis*, or the dominions thereof, shall be permitted to cruize, or look for prizes of any nation whatsoever, before or in sight of the aforesaid city of *Gibraltar*, or any ports of the island of *Minorca*, to hinder or molest any vessels bringing provisions and refreshments for his *Britannic* majesty's subjects, troops, and garri-fons in those places, or give any disturbance to the trade and commerce thereof; and if any prizes shall be taken by the ships or vessels of *Tunis*, within the space of ten miles of the places aforesaid, it shall be restored without any dispute.

g 12. THAT all the ships of war belonging to either party's dominions shall have free liberty to use each other's ports for washing, cleaning, and repairing any of their defects; and to buy and ship off any sorts of victuals, alive or dead, or any other necessaries, at the price

price the natives buy it in the market, without paying custom to any officer. And whereas ^a his *Britannic* majesty's ships of war do frequently assemble and harbour in the port of *Makon*, in the island of *Minorca*, if at any time they, or any of his majesty's troops in garrison there, should be in want of provisions, and should send from thence to purchase supplies in any part of the dominions belonging to *Tunis*, they shall be permitted to buy cattle, alive or dead, and all other kind of provision, at the price they are sold at in the market, and shall be suffered to carry them off without paying duty to any officer, in the same manner as if his majesty's ships themselves were in the port.

13. THAT in case any ships of war belonging to the kingdom of *Tunis* shall take, in any of their enemies ships, any *Englishman* serving for wages, they are to be made slaves; but if merchants or passengers, they are to enjoy their liberty and effects unmolested. ^b

14. THAT in case any slave in the kingdom of *Tunis*, of any nation whatsoever, shall make his escape, and get on board any ship belonging to the dominions of *Great-Britain*, the consul shall not be liable to pay the ransom, unless timely notice be given him to order that none such be entertained; and then, if it appears that any slave has so got away, the said consul shall pay to his patron the price for which he was sold in the market; and if no price be set, then to pay 300 dollars, and no more.

15. AND the better to prevent any dispute that may arise hereafter between the two parties about the salutes and public ceremonies, it is hereby agreed and concluded, that whenever any flag-officer of *Great-Britain* shall arrive in the bay of *Tunis*, in any of his majesty's ships of war, immediately upon notice given of it, there shall be twenty-five cannon fired from the castle of *Goletta*, or any other the nearest fortification belonging to *Tunis*, according to custom, and as a royal salute to his *Britannic* majesty's colours; and the same number shall be returned in answer thereto by his majesty's ships. And it is hereby stipulated and agreed, that all ceremonies of honour shall be allowed to the *British* consul who resides here, to represent in every respect his majesty's person, equal to any other nation whatsoever; and that no other consul in the kingdom shall be admitted before him in precedency. ^c

16. THAT the subjects of his *Britannic* majesty, either residing in or trading to the *Tunisian* dominions, shall not, for the time to come, pay any more than three *per cent.* custom on the value of goods or merchandizes, which they shall bring into or carry out of the kingdom of *Tunis*. ^d

17. IT is moreover agreed, concluded, and established, that at whatsoever time the said government of *Tunis* shall please to reduce the customs of the *French* nation to less than they pay at present, it shall be always observed, that the *British* customs shall be two *per cent.* less than any agreement that shall hereafter be made with the said *French*, or than shall be paid by the said subjects of *France*.

18. IT is moreover agreed, concluded, and established, that in case any *British* ship or ships, or any of the subjects of his *Britannic* majesty, shall import at the port of *Tunis*, or any part of this kingdom, any warlike stores, as cannons, muskets, pistols, cannon powder, or fine powder, bullets, masts, anchors, cables, pitch, tar, or the like; or also provisions; *viz.* wheat, barley, oats, beans, oil, or the like, they shall not pay any duty or custom whatsoever for any such kinds of merchandize. ^e

Read, approved, and ratified, by the parties above-mentioned, and signed and sealed by them in the said city of *Tunis*, on the 30th day of *August*, O. S. A. D. 1716.

AND thus much for the history of *Tunis*.

C H A P. V.

The history of Tripoli.

^a **T**HIS state, though under the protection of, and tributary to, the *Porte*, assumes ^{The kingdom of} the name of kingdom; the Grand Signors being always fond of multi-Tripoli; plying those titles, in order to swell the pomp and grandeur of their own. It takes its name from its own metropolis, which is likewise stiled *New Tripoli*, in order to distinguish it from a much more antient one on the same *Mediterranean* coasts in *Phœnicia*, which is still very considerable, and retains its antient name*.

^b THE kingdom of *Tripoli* is bounded on the north by the *Mediterranean*; on the west ^{its limits;} partly by *Tunis* and *Biledulgerid*; on the south by mount *Guibet*, or *Atlas*; and, on the east, by *Barca*, or rather by *Egypt*, where its boundary terminates at the Cape *Solyman*, or *Solomon*, according to the latest and more accurate geographers (A). In this case the extent of this kingdom, from west to east, that is, from the town of *Capes*, or *Gabs*, on the ^{extent from east} mouth of the river *Triton*, which is the boundary on the *Tunesian* side, in east longitude ^{to west;} 10° 13', to Cape *Solyman* 25° 27' (B), will be 15° 14', or near 200 leagues, exclusive of the windings of the coast, gulphs, &c. The truth is, that all the maritime towns, not only from the cape above-named to the town of *Derne*, where some authors place the end of its eastern limit, but even quite almost to the gulph of *Sidra*, which tract is better known by the name of *Dernian* coasts, are either so ruined, or dwindled into such poor inconsiderable villages, that it is hardly worth the *Turks* or the *Basha* of *Kairo*'s while to dispute about the property of them with the state of *Tripoli*; and hence it probably is, that most of our late geographers assign it to the latter. As to the depth of it, from north to ^{from north to} south, it varies very much, being in some parts, especially the farthest part of the gulph ^{south.} of *Sidra* inward, to its utmost extent southward, scarcely above forty leagues; and in ^c others, as about the city of *Tripoli*, where the coast stretches farthest northward, quite to mount *Atlas*, its southern border, above double the number^b.

TRIPOLI hath formerly been divided into seven provinces; viz. 1. *Tripoli Proper*; 2. the ^{its division} country of *Mesrato*; 3. of *Haica*; 4. *Benolefa*, *Taourga*, al. *Teorregu*; 5. Gulph of *Sidra*; ^{into provinces.} 6. *Ouguela*; and, 7. coast of *Derne*. At present it is commonly divided into maritime and inland; the inhabitants of the former chiefly live upon commerce and the piratical trade; and the latter, for the most part, on plunder and robbery: each of those divisions hath some cities and towns, besides a much larger number of villages, which lie scattered chiefly thro'

* See Antient Hist. vol. i. p. 394.

^b See the map of Barbary.

(A) This *Barcan* tract, both the maritime part, which is likewise stiled a kingdom, and the desert, some geographers pretend to appertain to *Egypt*, and to be under the government of the *Basha* of *Kairo* (1). But others, with more probability, look upon them to be under this of *Tripoli*. The truth is, that not only the desert, but even the maritime, are in such a miserable plight, that they are hardly worth claiming by either. The former being nothing but a dry, sandy, barren wilderness, inhabited by one of the vilest sorts of *Arabs*; who still answer the character we have given formerly to the *Barcæi* (2), whether descended from them or not, as well as the description we meet with in *Virgil* of them (3), who stiles them, *Late furentes Barcæi*; wretches that live altogether on the plunder of caravans, and other travellers, and murder them upon the slightest occasion or dislike.

We are told moreover, that, after they have robbed and stripped those that fall into their merciless hands, they oblige them to drink their stomachs full of milk, and hang them by the heels, to make them vomit what gold or gems they suppose them to have swallowed down (4). In a word, they are become so terrible to all passengers, that the caravans, and other merchants that carry things of any value with them, chuse rather to fetch a large compass about to avoid falling into

their hands. Add to this, that their extreme poverty, and the fierce unconquerable temper they still retain, will scarcely make it worth any state's while to hold them in subjection, where so little benefit or advantage is to be reaped from it. We may add, that *Leo*, *Sanfon*, and other authors, have given this desert a much larger extent, by joining to it those of *Ouguela*, *Sebeta*, and some others which lie on the south of it, and are quite different from it, as the reader may see by the map of this country, otherwise it would be next to impossible for those caravans to take such a prodigious circuit to avoid them.

(B) We have followed Dr. *Shaw* in the settling the western limits at the city of *Capes*, or *Gabs*, which, being situate on the other side of the *Triton*, as well as that of *El Hammah*, must of course belong to *Tunis* (5): whereas most other geographers place them under this government (6). We have, therefore, in complaisance to both, mentioned the hot baths and springs of them among the natural curiosities of the *Tunesian* kingdom; and shall give the further description of those two places among the rest of the *Tripolitan* cities, as being the most considerable next to *Tripoli* in the whole kingdom; though, in reality, both are in a very ruinous condition, as will be seen in the sequel.

(1) *Baudrand*, *Corneille*, & al. (2) *Ant. Hist.* vol. vii. p. 171. (3) *Virg. Æneid.* vers. 43. (4) *Leo Afr.* l. vi. p. 236. (5) See *Shaw's Travels*, p. 196, and his map of *Tunis*. (6) *Marmol*, *Dapper*, *Baudrand*, *Martinieri*, & al. plur.

the latter; most of them very poor and thinly inhabited; the country being almost every where sandy and barren. As for cities and towns, those that deserve that name, are those which are situate along the coasts; of the most considerable of which we shall now give an account; the rest, being either wholly depopulated and gone to ruin, or are only inhabited by a few fishermen, lime-burners, pot-ash-makers, and here and there some few labourers: all of them reduced to the lowest degree of misery and wretchedness, through the cruel exactions of the government, or the frequent depredations of the *Arabs*^c.

The city of
Tripoli de-
scribed;

TRIPOLI, the metropolis of the kingdom, was formerly divided into two parts, the old and new; the former, which was the native country of the emperor *Severus*, is supposed to have been built by the *Romans*, and was since conquered by the *Vandals*, and at last destroyed by the *Mohammedans*, under the Khalif *Omar II.* since which time it hath never recovered itself; or, if it ever did, it hath been suffered to run into decay, and is now almost gone to ruin: the latter, which stands at a small distance from it, though of no great extent, is populous and in a flourishing condition. It stands on a sandy ground by the sea side, and is surrounded with high walls and stout ramparts, flanked with pyramidal towers, but not kept in good repair, and without any fosse. It hath but two gates, one towards the inland on the south, and the other towards the sea on the north, where it expands itself in form of a crescent, near a spacious and commodious haven. The point by the east is little else now than a group of scarped rocks; on which are to be seen some antient forts, now gone into decay; but that to the westward is defended by a strong castle, surrounded with fortifications after the modern fashion; and furnished with some large cannon.

by whom built.

THE new *Tripoli* was, it is supposed, built by the natives, who gave it the name of *Tarabalis*, or *Trebilis*, whence the *Latins* have called it *Tripolis*. Some authors pretend that it was once a place of vast trade, on account of its neighbourhood to *Numidia*, *Tunis*, &c. and resorted unto by vessels from *Malta*, *Venice*, *Sicily*, *Marseilles*, and other parts; there being hardly such another commodious sea-port along this whole coast, till you come to *Alexandria*^c: by which means it became so opulent, that it was filled with rich merchants, abounded with fine mosks, hospitals, and other public buildings, and excelled *Tunis* in beauty and wealth. And though it retains now but few traces of its antient splendor, having little else inviting to the eye except the outside, whilst its houses in the inside are low and mean, its streets narrow, dirty, and irregular, there are in it, nevertheless, some monuments still standing, which will not permit one to doubt of its having formerly made a much nobler appearance; particularly a triumphal arch, one half of which now lies buried in the sand; though what is still to be seen above it is a sufficient witness of its former grandeur.

decayed from
its former
splendor;

NEITHER shall we need to wonder at this extraordinary decay, if we consider the two great inconveniencies which this city labours under; viz. first, the want of sweet water, here being neither rivers, springs, nor wells, nor any other means of supplying it with that useful element but the common one of cisterns, and reservoirs of rain water; and, secondly, the great scarcity of corn, and other product of the ground, occasioned by the dry sandy soil that surrounds it for miles together on the land side; especially if we add to these what some authors affirm, that all that land was formerly arable and fertile ground, producing great abundance of corn and other grain, till the sea overflowed it, and left those vast quantities of sand which now cover the whole surface of it (C), and render it incapable of bringing forth any thing but palm-trees; which, we are told, grow in great plenty, notwithstanding the barrenness and dryness of the soil, and yield the most delightful dates, which is a considerable part of their food^f: besides these, they have the *lotus*, or *lotus*; a tree of which we have spoken in a former part^g, whose fruit is reckoned still finer than the dates, and makes a most excellent wine; so that the plant serves them for meat and drink, from which they have been stiled by the antients *Lotophagi*^h. But, upon the whole, were it not for the continual supply of provisions brought in by their corsairs, and

owing to its
want of water
and barren soil.

Palm trees
in great num-
bers.

The lotus, a
kind of food.

^c MARMOL, lib. vi. c. 44. Vid. & SANUT. GRAMMAY, DAVITY, DAPPER, & al. ^e Vid. MARMOL, lib. sup. ^f MARMOL, & al. sup. citat. ^g See Antient Hist. vol. i. p. 183. vii. 175, & seq. ^h Vid. HOMER's Odyss. LEO, lib. i. MARMOL, DAVITY, & al.

(C) We are accordingly told, that the sea, being higher along all these coasts than the land, hath incroached a good way into it, which plainly appears from those spots where the cities stand, and which are all covered with deep sands up to the arm pits for above a league together. To which we may add, that there

were still to be seen, in *Marmol's* time, if they are not so now, houses buried in those sands, and quite covered with the sea; so that the inhabitants have been forced to retire more to the south, in proportion to the incroachments which the sea made upon them on the north side of these towns (7).

(7) *Marmol*, lib. vi. c. 44.

a other trading vessels, *Tripoli* could never subsist by the product of its own territories, but must soon be starved; and hence we may infer the cause of its present decay.

ADJACENT to the walls of the city is a famous burying ground, in which are found *Antient relics*. coffins, urns, medals, and other curious relics of antiquity. The *Franciscan* friars have here a very handsome church, convent, and hospital; the last of which is the more necessary, as the city is so often and so severely visited by the plague. Other orders of monks were likewise settled in it, who have been since obliged to abandon it, probably on account of its decay above-mentioned. The country about it is, however, adorned with a multiplicity of handsome villas, cultivated chiefly by Christian slaves, and much like those about *Algiers* and *Tunis*, spoken of in the two foregoing chapters. It is observable, with respect to those unhappy wretches, that there is but a very small number of them here, in comparison to the many thousands that swarm in those two capitals, insomuch that they have but one bagnio in the whole city to lock them in at night. They just keep a sufficient number to serve them in the lowest offices, and cultivate their villas, and make a traffick of the rest. The people here carry on a great trade in linen cloths, great quantities of which are wrought by the inhabitants; but their chief dependence is on their own corsairs, and those of other nations which resort to it. They keep, indeed, few of their own, six or seven at most; yet those are so desperate, and make so good an advantage of their situation, as being within the reach of those merchant ships which trade into *Egypt*, *Italy*, and the *Archipelago*, that they can greatly infest those seas, and do a deal of mischief among them¹.

c CAPES, or *Capez*, called by the *Moors* *Cabes* and *Gabs*, is, as we have lately seen, situate on the northern banks of the river of its name, supposed the *Triton* of *Ptolemy*^k; and, as that is the boundary between *Tunis* and this kingdom, should of course belong to the former^l; but is, nevertheless, reckoned by the generality of geographers among the cities of the latter^m. It stands on the bay of its name, and is large, and well defended by an old wall and a strong fort. Near it are the ruins of the old city, called by the *Romans* *Tacape*, and one of the first that was built by them on those coasts. This last was built on a little rising ground, about half a mile from the new, and shews still some marks of its antient grandeur; particularly some square pillars of a peculiar granate, not to be met with in any other parts of *Barbary*, or perhaps of *Africa*. It was formerly washed by the sea, which grows daily shallower, by the addition of sand on the one hand, and the mud and other filth which is washed into it by the river *Capez*; a thing very common on all the coasts of *Barbary*, and owing chiefly to the indolence and carelessness of the inhabitants. And hence, probably, the cause of the decay of the new town, which is now but thinly inhabited, and that only by poor fishermen and husbandmen, who cultivate a little barley, and great quantities of palm trees round the place; but whose dates are so soon dried, that they will not keep the year round, like those that grow in *Numidia*; to supply which defect, they make use of a root which grows here in plenty; and, when boiled like a potatoe, hath the taste of an almond, and yields them a good nourishment. The inhabitants here are quite black, and so poor, that they esteem him a wealthy man among them who hath a bushel of barley in his possession: so terribly are they oppressed by the regency on the one hand, and by the *Arabs* on the otherⁿ. As to what particularly relates to the river *Capez*, or *Triton*, and to the lake of the same name, we shall refer our readers to the description we have given it in our *Antient History*^o.

MAHARA, or *Machres*, is now a poor village, situate on the mouth of the *Capes*, remarkable only for a modern citadel, which was built on purpose to guard the entrance into that gulph.

EL HAMMAH is another antient town, long since gone to decay, and about four leagues from *Capez*. It is remarkable only for its *Roman* walls of square stones, and some inscriptions, mentioned by *Leo Africanus*, *Dapper*, &c. but since so defaced, that they are not now to be seen^p; and for its hot sulphureous springs, which are conveyed to it by an old aqueduct, of which we have spoken in a foregoing chapter^q. In other respects it is now a poor miserable town, inhabited only by some few fishermen and husbandmen, whilst the greatest part of them, as well as of the adjacent country, seek for a better livelihood from the piratical trade; in which they are neither so oppressed by the government, nor infested by the plundering *Arabs*.

ZOARA, or *Zara*, is another ruined town, surrounded by an old decayed wall, and situate near the sea, about thirteen leagues from the island of *Ferba*, or *Zerbis*: some think it to be the antient port *Pisidan*. At present it is inhabited by poor people, who live either

¹ MARMOL, DAVITY, DAPPER, & al.
map of Tunis

^k Geog. l. iv. c. 3.

^l See SHAW's Travels, p. 196, and his

^m MARMOL, BAUDRAND, MARTINIÈRE, & al.
vol. vi. p. 670, & seq.

ⁿ Id. ibid.

^o Antient Hist.

^p See SHAW, p. 213.

^q See before, p. 309, & seq.

those along the gulph and eastward still poorer. by burning of quick-lime and pot-ash, or follow the piratical and fishing trade. All these stand on the western coasts of the gulph of *Sidra*. Those that are within it, and on the eastern side of it, are still in a much more ruined condition, as we have had occasion to observe a little above; and whosoever compares their antient flourishing state with their present miserable plight, the many dreadful vicissitudes they have undergone under the *Goths* and *Vandals*, the *Arabs*, *Mohammedans*, and other barbarous nations, to say nothing of the *Europeans*, who likewise put a helping hand in spreading the devastation still farther, but still more the tyranny of their government, which hath not only given the finishing stroke to it, but hath put an invincible obstacle to their recovery, notwithstanding their advantageous situation for commerce, and the once known valour and industry of the native inhabitants, will have more cause to wonder that any of those should still chuse to live among so many dreadful ruins, under such a grievous load and variety of misery and oppression, than if he saw them wholly abandoned to the wild beasts, fowls, and venomous insects, and quite turned into a perfect barren wilderness. b

BUT what hath contributed most to the ruin of all these maritime towns, and their piratical trade, on which, like their neighbours, they chiefly subsisted, is their neighbourhood to the island of *Malta*, which, lying conveniently over against these coasts, hath enabled the noble knights of it to have a more constant watch over them, and, by suppressing their frequent excursions, obliged them to take up with the fishing trades, and the cultivating of as much land about those ruined places as will just serve them from hand to mouth. And we make no doubt, but that those brave *Maltese* have likewise prevented the corsairs of *Tripoli* from being either so numerous or hurtful as they would have been otherwise, though they are not able totally to suppress them. c

The town and district of Derne.

THE only place of note on the west of the gulph abovesaid is *Derne*, now a small town, but heretofore in a much better plight, and built by the *Moors*, after they were driven out of *Andalusia*. It stands about half a mile from the sea, and is surrounded with some fine springs of sweet water, one of which runs quite through, and others around the walls of it; so that it is a territory capable of bearing some corn and garden-stuff; but is so poorly inhabited, that little advantage is reaped from it. This town is still the capital of a district of its name, which extends itself, and reaches from Cape *Bomb* east, to the gulph of *Bengasi* west, above 100 leagues, and still farther towards the inland. This district is chiefly inhabited by wandering *Arabs*, to the amount of 30,000 families, who pay a small tribute to the Bey of *Tripoli*. This tract is almost every-where covered with a kind of plant or shrub, which bears a thick downy leaf, and thick bunches of a yellow flower, which gives an excellent taste to their honey. As for the road, it is very bad and unsafe near three parts of the year. d

District of Mefrata.

ON the western side of the *Sidran* gulph is the canton or district of *Mefrata*, containing what was antiently called *Cyrenaica*, and *Pentapolis*, from its five cities, and now called *Mefrata* from its capital, hath still some towns and villages, both on the sea-side and inland, which drive a kind of commerce with the Christians for *European* commodities, which they sold to the *Negroes*, and exchanged for slaves, musk, and civet, which they carried into *Turkey*, and sold at good prices. The inhabitants were rich and warlike, ever impatient of the *Tunesian* yoke, as now of the *Tripolitan*; but this large and once flourishing tract is likewise reduced to a low ebb by the corsairs, who plunder their coasts, and the *Arabs*, who ravage the inland, when they join with the *Berebers*. They can muster up about 10,000 men fit to bear arms, and are often at war with the *Arabs*, but are nevertheless forced to submit now to the *Turkish* yoke and tribute, in spite of all their valour and number. e

Other inlands still more barren.

THE other countries and districts in the inlands are still more desert and void of towns, as well as more unknown to us. All that we can say is, that they are inhabited by much the same people with the two last-mentioned, who live after the same manner, and strive alike to free themselves from the tribute exacted from them. The land is for the most part dry and barren, and so sandy, that one cannot travel through it without sinking above the middle in sand; so that were it not for the abundance of dates which grow in it, and for some mountains that afford a kind of pasturage for their cattle, it would be impossible to subsist. On the farthest extremes, south and east of this kingdom, in particular towards the desert of *Barca*, lies the country called *Auguela*, *Augela*, or *Onguela*, which, though for the most part sandy and barren, hath, nevertheless, some spots so well watered as to afford great plenty of dates; and the mount *Meys*, which divides it from the *Barcan* kingdom, affords excellent pasturage. In this territory, besides the town of *Aguila*, from which f

The district of Auguela.

* MARMOL, lib. vi. c. 37, & seq.

Voy. vol. ii. p. 86, & 94.

MARMOL, ibid. DAVITY, DAPPER, &c.

* DAVITY, DAPPER, MARMOL, lib. vi. p. 37, & seq.

† Anc. Hist. vol. vii. p. 169, & seq.

† LUCAS

* MARMOL, lib. vi. c. 55, & seq.

^a the canton takes its name, is another, seated at the foot of that mount, called *Si-wah*, *Siouah*, *al. San Rey*, which is the very last on that side that belongs to the government of *Tripoli*^a. And it is remarkable, that the inhabitants have preserved their name ever since *Ptolemy*'s time, who makes mention of the *Augile*, as inhabiting these parts^b.

THE coasts afford no natural curiosity, except the gulph of *Sidra*, which is, indeed, the chief and only one, and hath its name from a small island at the bottom of it. It was antiently called the *Syrtis Magna*^c, in opposition to the lesser one, of which we have spoken in the last chapter^d; both are very dangerous to mariners, but this is more so of the two, because it draws with greater violence, and the sands are here deeper, and of a quicker nature. It had, nevertheless, no less than 16 towns, according to *Ptolemy*^e; of which there remain only some ruins, or poor villages. It has but few rivers that discharge themselves into it, and those of no great note. Nor are the *Gafarnacar*, *Rufalmabes*, *Magra*, and others, that empty themselves into the *Mediterranean*, and are supposed to spring from the *Gibel*, or *Atlas*, of greater consequence, except that they serve to nourish an infinite number of palm trees, by being distributed into canals, without which it would be impossible for them to grow in such vast and numerous sandy deserts^f.

ANTIQUITIES and artificial curiosities are no less scarce in a country where the inhabitants are such professed destroyers of them. The only one to be met with is the triumphal arch of white marble we have already given some account of, which lies almost buried in the sand and earth; and even this had not been now to be seen, had it not been for a tradition, which passes for current among the inhabitants, that the very attempt to demolish it would be infallibly attended with some dreadful misfortune. In confirmation of which, they still shew a stone half loosened from the rest of the fabric, and confidently assure you, that, a prince having begun to remove some of the stones, the workmen were at first scared with a terrible earthquake, but persisting still in their work, in spite of that supernatural warning, they were all buried under a cloud, or, as they stile it, a prodigious rain of sand. It is probable, that there was some magnificent structure built near this elegant arch, seeing one cannot dig far under the ground about it, without finding some of the largest marble stones that are to be met with any where^g.

As to what is still to be seen of this famous work, the architecture and the bas reliefs are exquisite. There are four busts of *Roman* consuls, but very much defaced. The four corners of the building are supported by an equal number of pilasters, adorned with vine leaves. Over each of the four gates is seen a triumphant chariot, in one of which is represented *Alexander* drawn by two sphinxes, with some slaves under it. As for the inscriptions over the gates, they are all worn out, except one on the north-side, which is still legible, is of a round figure, and hath some fine ornaments in bas relief. The stones are all of fine marble, between five or six feet thick, and all fastened to each other with leaden plates and iron cramps, without either mortar or cement.

AMONG other artificial trifles, that are to be found among the monuments out of the walls of *Tripoli*, of which some have the form of ovens, but larger and higher, and about two or three fathom deep, cut into the rock, with niches around them, our author tells us, he found a wooden coffin, adorned with platted lead scolloped, the human bones therein almost consumed. At the foot of the coffin was a large earthen urn set in the rock, and round the coffin dishes and plates of different sizes, that had been filled with some sorts of meats, the bones of which were not consumed. There were likewise, several sorts of neat drinking glasses, a cupping glass, and a copper lamp almost eaten up with rust; but nothing of any value, except two silver pieces as thin as paper, and about two inches broad, and three long. In most, if not in all these tombs, are found a large glass urn and human bones, and the bottom is covered with a reddish water, but insipid to the taste^h.

THE government, religion, laws, customs, &c. of this kingdom, being in a great measure the same with those of *Algiers* and *Tunis*, we shall have the less need to expatiate upon them, after what has been said on these heads in the two foregoing chapters. Only, with respect to the first of these articles, it will not be amiss to observe, that the Beys of *Tripoli* are not mere titular vassals to the *Porte*, like them, but are really under some kind of subjection and tribute to it; and this, joined to the other exigencies of the regency, the avarice of the *Turkish* Basbas sent thither from *Constantinople*, and the general decay of commerce, obliges them to load the subjects with such heavy taxes and extortions, as have reduced the greatest part of the kingdom to the lowest degree of indigence and misery. The revenues of this kingdom, like those we have already spoken of, arise chiefly from their corsairs, who are nevertheless but few, they seldom amounting to above seven or eight, and of these one only can properly be stiled a ship, the rest are commonly small galleys, poorly manned and equipped. The next is the duty on imports and exports, and on the

^a DE LISLE, Atlas. ^b Geogr. lib. iv. c. 5. ^c See Ancient Hist. vol. vii. p. 175. ^d See before, p. 309, & seq. ^e Geogr. lib. iv. c. 3. ^f See MARMOL, DAVITY, DAPPER, & al. ^g LUCAS's Voyages, lib. ii. p. 100. MARTINIERE, & al. ^h Ibidem ibid.

Arabs and
Moors heavily
taxed.

Bey's power
despotic.

Their com-
merce.

Fidelity in
treaties.

Jews, who are very numerous, and severely taxed, as they drive the greatest share of the *Italian* commerce; and on the natives, who, though ever so poor, must yet pay part of the product of their ground, or other manufactures; and lastly, on the country *Moors* and *Arabs*, among whom the Bey sends his flying camp of *Janissaries*, if he doth not go himself at the head of them, to levy it; for these last, as well as the *Moors*, who are no less resty and impatient under the *Turkish* yoke, are kept so poor by those heavy taxes, that nothing but force, and sometimes exemplary severity, can extort it from them¹. For, as their commerce is greatly dwindled of late, by reason of the heavy imposts laid upon it, and the exigencies of the government increased, by their being tributary to the *Porte*; so they are forced to exact greater taxes from the subjects to supply them, though they are in continual apprehension of their putting themselves some time or other under the protection of some Christian power, to alleviate their misery. And, indeed, there is hardly any tie but that of religion could have prevented their doing so long ago, in spite of the vigilance of the regency over them^k. However, the Bey, by means of his protection from the *Porte*, makes shift to keep up a kind of despotic power, as he is besides generalissimo of all the forces, and, by appointing of such officers to act in all capacities under him, hath also made himself so absolute over the *Douwan*, that it is now kept only as a matter of form, they having nothing to do but to approve and ratify whatever he pleases to lay before them; neither doth the *Porte*, or its *Basha*, concern themselves in the government, provided he doth but punctually pay his tribute to the one, and satisfy the avarice of the other, they leave him to govern the rest with as arbitrary a sway as he pleases.

As for their commerce, it chiefly consists in slaves, either such as are taken by their corsairs, or such as they traffick for with their neighbours; the greatest part of both which they send into *Turkey*, where they can dispose of them to the best advantage. The next branch is that of ashes, which they buy from the *Arabians*, and sell to the *Europeans* to make glass and sope: the rest of their traffick is not worth mentioning. But one thing is worth taking notice of with respect to this regency; *viz.* that they are here more scrupulous observers of their treaties with other nations, and punish the breach of them with greater severity than any of their neighbours; which punctuality, whether it proceeds from real probity, or a consciousness of their own weakness, is nevertheless of no small advantage to navigation and commerce^l. What revolutions this kingdom hath met with, since the decline of the *Roman* empire to the reduction of it into the present form of government, and what else relates to their modern history, will be seen in the following section.

SECTION II.

The history of Tripoli to this present time.

THIS state, as well as the rest of *Barbary*, after being freed from the *Romish* yoke, passed consecutively under that of the *Vandals*, *Saracens*, and thence under that of the kings of *Morocco*, *Fez*, and *Tunis*, by turns; till, weary of their slavery and oppression, they resolved to have a monarch of their own, whom they chose from among themselves. It is true indeed that we do not read of any of them that have signalized themselves by any remarkable exploits. Neither was *Tripoli* looked upon as a kingdom of any great consequence, till it became a bone of contention between some of the Christian princes, and the kings of *Tunis*, who had been the longest possessors of it, since the expulsion of the *Vandals* out of *Africa*. We have already taken notice, that the old city had been taken and totally destroyed by the *Arabs*, under their Khalif *Omar II.* after a siege of six months, the greatest part of the inhabitants either butchered, or sent slaves into *Egypt* and *Arabia*^m. A long while after which, the *Africans* rebuilt it, and called it *Tirabilis*, and the *Europeans*, *New Tripoli*. But whether upon the same spot, or a little farther to the south, by reason of the incroachments of the sea, is not certain. However, it became subject to the kings of *Tunis* in time, and it was under one of them, named *Bucamen*, whose predecessors had joined the *Tunesian* crown to their own of *Fez*, that the *Tripolitans*, to whom his tyranny and oppressions were become insupportable, chose one of their fellow citizens king over them, in his stead, and made him master of his treasury and revenue. The new king governed them at first with great equity and moderation; on the other hand *Bucamen* sent a considerable army against him, the command of which he had given to a general in whom he knew he could confide; but he being poisoned by the intrigues of some of the principal inhabitants, the army returned home without doing any thing. The new king no sooner saw himself out of danger, than he began to play the tyrant in his turn to such

¹ *Iidem* *ibid.* *vid.* & *State of Tripoli*, p. 313, & seq. ap. *MARMOL*, lib. vi. c. 44.

^k *Iidem* *ubi sup.*

^l *Iidem* *ibid.*

^m *ERN RAK.*

- a a degree, that the citizens conspired against him, and he was murdered by his brother-in-law. They chose in his room one *Abubacer*, who had been formerly an officer under him, but had since retired, and turned marabout or hermit, and who was easily persuaded to take the reins of the government upon him; but he had not reigned many months, before *Ferdinand*, king of *Castile* and *Arragon*, sent thither *Peter*, count of *Navarre*, with a powerful fleet, and above 15,000 armed men on board, and a great quantity of ammunition and other stores, who came and laid siege to the capital. *Abubacer*, who had had private notice sent him of this vast descent by some *Genoese* merchants, above a month before, had taken all proper measures to make a vigorous defence. But neither the great number of forces he had got with him, nor the artillery which he had planted at proper places, could
- b prevent their landing, and laying close siege to the place; whilst Don *Diego Pacheco*, at the head of 4,000 men, was ordered to prevent the approach of the natives, who came in shoals from all the adjacent parts, both on foot and on horseback, to his assistance, during the time of the attack. The assault began, accordingly, about nine of the clock in the morning, and, in spite of the vigorous opposition from within, a great number of Christian soldiers were got upon the ramparts by eleven, many of whom were thrown back, and those that ventured down into the place fared still worse, both from the besieged, and excess of heat and thirst. At length some of them, having refreshed themselves at the wells that were near the ramparts, found means to force open the gates, and give a free entrance to the besiegers; upon which the *Moors* abandoned the place, and *Abubacer*, with his family
- c and friends, retired into the castle; thither the *Spanish* count followed him closely, lest he should fall thence upon his men, whilst they were busying themselves about the plunder of the city, which in gold, silver, and jewels, amounted to an immense value. *Abubacer*, however, finding himself unequal to so powerful an enemy, surrendered himself the next morning on honourable terms; and was sent with his wife, two sons, and an uncle, to the emperor *Charles V.* then at *Palermo*, who soon after gave them their liberty, and sent them back to *Tripoli*, and restored him to his former dignity, on condition that he should become his vassal and tributary. In the mean time, the count seized on the treasure he found in the castle, which proved still more considerable than that of the city (D); and, having caused the latter to be garrisoned and fortified, by the addition of a smaller one nearer the
- d port, sailed away. Soon after this *Abubacer* returned to *Tripoli*, and caused the city to be rebuilt and repopled, and held it in the emperor's name till the year in which the knights of *Rhodes* were driven out of that island, and forced to retire into *Syracuse*, when application was made to that monarch, who was pleased to bestow the island of *Malta* upon them, together with the city and castle of *Tripoli*, which lay just over against it. These sent accordingly and took possession of it, and made one of their order governor, and put a garrison into it of their own. They were hardly settled in it before *Barbarossa* made himself master of it, together with *Tunis*, *Bizerta*, &c. but it was soon after retaken by the emperor, and restored to them, as we have seen in the *Algerine* history^o.

*Tripoli be-
sieged by the
Spaniards:*

*taken and de-
stroyed.*

*Given to the
knights of
Malta:*

- e THEY continued in possession of it till the reign of *Soleyman*, who, under pretence that it had been retaken during the truce, sent thither a naval armament, consisting of about 110 royal galleys, and about 30 other vessels, under the command of *Sinan* Basha, who had under him the famed *Salba Rais*, surnamed devil-driver, and the no less famous *Dragut*, often mentioned in the foregoing chapters. With this fleet, which carried 12,000 fighting men, *Sinan* sailed directly for *Tripoli*, and landed his forces, artillery, and ammunition, at the *Anguils* point, whence he sent his summons to the governor to surrender, promising him, on that condition, to grant him and his garrison their liberty, but threatening, in case of a refusal, to put them all to the sword. To which arrogant message the governor, by the advice of his council, returned an answer to this effect: *That he was sent thither by the grand master to defend the city, and that he would never surrender it without his order*; upon receipt
- f of which the Basha ordered immediately the principal fortrefs, in which the governor commanded, to be battered with 40 pieces of ordnance. But that side was so strongly fortified with ramparts and outworks, that it would have been next to impossible to have succeeded

^a GRAMMAY, lib. viii. c. 10. DAVITY, MARMOL, lib. vi. c. 44. VERTOT, & al. p. 248, & seq.

^o See before,

(D) This plunder, which, like that of the city, is said to have amounted to an immense value in gold, silver, jewels, and other costly things, is so much the more remarkable, as we are told, that both the prince and the inhabitants had, upon the advice sent them by the *Genoese*, conveyed away above 5,000 camel loads of their richest goods, before the siege began. The

number of their slain, and those that were made prisoners, were no less considerable, the former amounting to 6,000, whose bodies were either flung into the wells of the city, or into the sea; and of the latter 15,000, besides above 180 *Italian* slaves, whom they set at liberty (8).

(8) Grammay, lib. 8. c. 10. Marmol, ubi sup. Davity, &c.

The place is
surrendered.

in it, had not a traitor (E) slid down the wall, and directed him to a weaker place, where a he might attack it with more success, which he immediately did, and, turning his battery against some towers which he had shewed him, made such a dreadful havock amongst them, that in two days he had brought them to the ground, killed four cannoneers, and a great number of Christians, though not without a much greater loss on his side. This so alarmed the governor, if he did not hold a treacherous intelligence with the enemy, that he proposed a capitulation to the officers of the garrison, the greater part of whom opposed it, alleging, that whilst the walls were still standing, and the garrison in so good a condition, it were shameful and unjustifiable to surrender. However, this declaration had no other effect upon him, whether through cowardice or treachery, than to make him pursue his own base measures more closely; and being informed that there was, in the enemy's b army, a *French* gentleman named *Aramont*, who had been sent ambassador to the *Porte*, he went privately to him, and proposed the surrendring of the place, upon the conditions offered at first to him. Some authors pretend, indeed, that the *Basha* refusing to consent to them, he withdrew, but was arrested by him in his way to the garrison. But others, with more appearance of reason, maintain, that there was a secret treaty between the *Basha* and him; and the event doth but too evidently confirm it; for the place was no sooner surrendered, than *Gambars*, and all that were of his faction and nation, were set at liberty, and conveyed to *Malta* in two galleys; whilst the rest of the garrison, who were by far the more numerous, were detained prisoners, and stripped in the usual form, in order to be sold for slaves.

THE *Basha* lost no time to summon the garrison of the other fort to surrender; but these sent him word, that they were *Spaniards*, and resolved to die sword in hand, rather than yield themselves prisoners to him; unless he would promise them, in the presence of all his chief officers, to convey them safe to *Malta*, with their arms and baggage, and give them a sufficient assurance of his performing it. These conditions *Sinan* readily agreed to, and sent them, in the presence of all his *Sangiacs*, his ring as a pledge; upon which they immediately delivered up the fort, and were conveyed to *Malta* in the manner stipulated, and without delay or molestation (F). Thus was *Tripoli* delivered up to the *Turks* on the the

(E) This villain was a native of *Provence*, but had, on account of his unlawful intrigues with the *Moorish* women, been obliged to turn *Mohammedan*; after which he had listed himself in the service of *Aga Morat*, and served him as a spy in the city. *Morat* was a *Turkish* officer, who had made himself lord of *Tachoras*, a place not many leagues from *Tripoli*, where he had entertained *Sinan* in a most magnificent manner, as he was going to lay siege to that place; and, in consequence of some promise obtained from that *Basha*, had listed himself under him, and met him at the siege at the head of 200 horse, and 600 musqueteers. For which service, as well as for the treacherous advice that his favourite renegado had given him, *Sinan* intrusted him with the government of the place, as soon as it was surrendered to him (g).

(F) This is the most received and most rational account that is given of the surrender of that important place; but which is point blank contradicted by the partizans of *France*, who lay the whole blame of it on the *Spaniards* and *Catalonians* that were in garrison in it, and who, they pretend, obliged the governor to it, contrary to his inclination, and the opposition of all his countrymen.

This gentleman, to whom they give the name of *Caspar de Vallier*, and the title of mareschal, was, they say, an old experienced knight of *Malta*, whose merit and valour might have intitled him to be at the very head of that order, but who, on that very account, was become obnoxious to the grand master of it, a *Spaniard* by birth, and too jealous of the glory of his nation, not to endeavour to draw such an aspersion from it, and throw the whole blame on the *French* governor and his partizans; so that, according to them, the cowardly *Calabrians* and *Spaniards* were the first movers of the sedition in the place, by their daily clamours, that the governor delayed the surrendring it with no other view, than to have them all butchered, or made slaves by the besiegers; whilst he, on the

other hand, was sure to make his own terms with the *Basha*, both for himself, and those of his nation. They add, that when the governor, to appease their mutinous complaints, ordered some of their own officers to go and view the state of the fortifications, they made such a dreadful, though false report of them to the rest of their compatriots, as put them out of all farther patience; the event of which was, that the tumult increased to a greater degree, and the governor, to avoid some more fatal consequences, was forced to capitulate. They go on, and tell us, that, upon their arrival at *Malta*, *D'Omedes*, the grand master, acquitted the *Spaniards* of every thing that was laid to their charge, and ordered the mareschal, and most of his partizans, to be arrested as the betrayers of *Tripoli*.

The mareschal was thrown into a dungeon, in order to be tried with the rest of his accomplices; and the *French* ambassador *D'Aramont* was traduced in most of the courts of Christian princes, as acting in concert with the mareschal; and it was even insinuated, as if *Henry II.* his master, had sent him thither to negotiate that treasonable project with the *Turkish* *Basha*. His friendship to the *Turk*, and hatred to the emperor, to whom *Tripoli* was of the greatest importance, as it covered his other dominions in *Italy*, were pretended to be the main spring of the whole. In a word, the *French* treachery was, by *D'Omedes*'s private emissaries, become the common subject of such loud complaints in most Christian courts, that *Henry* found himself obliged, in order to clear himself and his ambassador from those scandalous rumours, to send *Villegagnon*, a knight of *St. John*, to *Malta*, to make a strict inquiry into the behaviour of his ambassador, as well as of the late governor of *Tripoli*, and to oblige the grand master to send him an account of what they had to allege against the former, and of their proceedings against the latter. *Villegagnon* executed his commission with great courage, fidelity, and prudence, whilst *D'Omedes* strove, by the basest artifices, and foulest intrigues, to

(g) *Davity, Marmol, & al. sup. citat. vid. & Hist. of Malta, vol. iv. p. 242, & seq.*

a the 14th of *August*, after it had continued in the possession of the Christians a little above 40 years, from the time of its being taken by the count of *Navarre*. *Sinan* committed the government of it to the *Aga Morat*, mentioned in the last note, upon condition that he should hold it under the Grand Signor, and to resign it whenever he should appoint a governor of it.

It was not long, however, before the famed corsair *Dragut*, of whom we have spoken more fully in a former chapter †, got possession of it; and, being repulsed on his attempt upon *Malta*, came and made it his place of arms, not indeed with the title of *Basha* of it, which title, as well as that of high-admiral, the Grand Signor had absolutely refused him, but only under that of governor of it. This did not hinder him, however, from fortifying both city and castle with strong walls, and other outworks, and the addition of two stout forts nearer to the sea-side, and a new supply of artillery and ammunition, by which it was, though not without prodigious expence, become one of the strongest cities in *Africa*, and the common retreat of most of the corsairs that roved under *Turkish* colours, from whence they infested the coasts of *Italy*, *Sicily*, *Naples*, and *Spain*. *Dragut* had likewise made from thence a successful descent on the island of *Ferba*, *Gerba*, or *Gelves*, on the mouth of the gulph of *Gabbs*, or *Capez*, near the *Lesser Syrtis*, and had obliged the Cheyk or lord of it to become tributary to the *Porte*. Not long after this, *John de Lacerta*, duke of *Medina* *Lacerta pro-* *Cali*, being sent viceroy of *Sicily* by the king of *Spain*, thought that nothing would signalize *poses the re-* his new dignity so much, as the suppression of all those *Turkish* corsairs, and that the most *taking of* effectual method was making himself master of *Tripoli*, their general rendezvous. His design *Tripoli.* was highly approved by the king his master, and several other crowned heads, and particularly by *John de la Valetta*, grand master of *Malta*, who all promised their assistance in it. But *Lacerta* was no sooner informed of the strong posture of defence which *Dragut* had put it in, and of his commanding in it, than his courage failed him, and he proposed the retaking the island of *Ferba*, before the attempting of *Tripoli*. The grand master, who saw through the artifice, gave him several weighty reasons against it; but finding him still determined to pursue his wild project, told him in plain terms, that he might do as he thought proper, but that, if he did not give him assurance of his sailing directly to *Tripoli*, he must not expect any succour from the *Maltese* order. Upon which *Lacerta* swore to him, by the life of the king his master, and the head of his own son *Gaston*, whom he had with him, that he would sail directly thither, and lay siege to the place, and embarked accordingly on the tenth of *February*, the grand master furnishing him, besides the gallies and forces he had promised him, 200 *Maltese* pioneers to assist him at the siege.

DRAGUT no sooner heard of this fleet being got near the island of *Querkynefs*, than he failed out towards them with two of his gallies, against whom *Lacerta* sent a greater number of his own; but whilst these, instead of engaging him, were busy in rifling two merchantmen from *Alexandria*, *Dragut* got clear of them, and sent one of his gallies immediately to acquaint the *Porte* with the news, and to desire a speedy succour, whilst he went and fortified himself in *Tripoli*. Thither sailed soon after the duke *Lacerta*, after having tried in vain to take in water at the island of *Ferba*; and, coming near the dry sands of *Palo*, sent

† See before, p. 328, & seq.

defeat all his measures, and fix the treason on those two great personages, one of whom was still kept in fetters, and the other had left the island, and was gone to *Constantinople*. In spite of all which, he was at length forced to clear both, by a letter to the *French* monarch, dictated by the grand council of *Malta*, and which he was forced to sign. Copies of this letter were immediately sent to all his ministers at every court, and *Villegagnon* wrote, moreover, a full account of the whole transaction, which he dedicated to the emperor. So easy a thing it was for the most Christian king to justify himself, and his minister, from so foul an aspersion as that of joining with the *Turk* against the emperor. Thus far the *French* account, in justification of that governor and ambassador, in which we have omitted many other heinous crimes laid to *D'Omedes*'s charge, though without any farther proof than their own bare word, but which to explode would draw this note to too great a length. In the mean time, neither what they have said in vindication of their two countrymen, nor the letter, written by the grand council of *Malta* to the *French* king, and signed by the grand master against himself, have been yet able to clear two material objections against the light in which they have represented the

whole transaction, or, to speak more properly, against the variety of misfs they have endeavoured to throw over it. The one is, if the governor had no sinister views in giving the *French* ambassador the private meeting, why did he repair to him alone, and not rather take some of the officers of each nation, that were then in the place, along with him? and how dared he to leave his government, to go in that private and solitary manner into the enemy's camp? The other is, if his partizans had so far justified his behaviour in it, and his capitulating immediately after, and had made it appear to the grand council of *Malta*, that the chief cause of this sudden surrender of the place was owing to the grand master's neglect of providing it with all proper necessities for a siege, and of sending such supplies as they wanted, when closely besieged, why was he not immediately released out of his hard confinement, as well as the rest of his countrymen? And why did the grand master's strange misconduct go not only unpunished and unceusured, but even unmentioned any-where but in this account (10)? But there needs little more than a bare reading of it to be able to judge at whose door to lay the loss of that important city, as well as of the artful ways used in it to lay it at the wrong one.

(10) See *Veret's Hist. of Malta*, vol. iv. lib. xl. p. 337, & seq.

Suffers by a great storm before it ; some of the crew to land, where they dug several wells, and found the water very clear and sweet, which nevertheless proved so unwholesome, that many of his great officers, as well as sailors, died of it, and a much greater number fell ill and became useless. They were soon after forced to weather out a violent storm, which shattered several of their ships, among which the *Sicilian Capitana* foundered and sunk.

sails to the isle of Jerba ; THE storm was no sooner over, but the *Maltese* admiral, according to his instructions, proposed to remove to *Languir*, which was a healthier and more commodious harbour, where their ships might be safer from any attack from the *Turkish* fleet, which was in full sail, as he was well informed, to come and attack them ; but *Lacerta*, quite sick of such dangerous expeditions, ordered his armada to return to the isle of *Jerba*, where they landed without opposition, but found the wells filled up ; and, after having with much labour opened them, the waters had contracted an intolerable bitterness, by the quantity of aloe leaves which the *Jerbites* had flung into them, so that they could not drink them. The Cheyk, or lord of the island, sent to beg an interview with the duke, in order to come to some capitulation, as he found himself unequal to so great a force, but the motion was opposed by his fiery troops ; upon which notice was given him by two Christian slaves, that he would be attacked early on the next morning by the *Jerbites*. *Lacerta*, resolving to be beforehand with them, ordered his army to meet them ; upon which 2,000 of the enemy, sallying out from behind a hill with their usual noise, fell upon them, but, having neither horse nor fire-arms, were easily put to the rout with great loss ; upon which the Cheyk came and delivered up the keys of the castle to him, and acknowledged himself a subject of *Spain*. *Lacerta*, elevated beyond measure at this success, was so solicitous of preserving this island as a monument of his good fortune, that he set immediately about building a fort with four bastions, and some other fortifications in it, to keep the *Jerbites* in awe, as well as to suppress the incursions of the pirates.

defeats the Jerbites at land. IN the mean while *Soleyman*, who, upon the first news sent him by *Dragut* of this expedition, had caused a powerful fleet to be equipped, consisting of 85, some say 94 galleys, commanded by the famous *Kara Mustapha*, each of which carried 100 *Janissaries*, under the command of *Piagli* Basha, the Sultan's favourite ; of all which *Doria*, who was then one of the chief officers in this expedition, and *Tessieres*, the *Maltese* admiral, had had repeated notice. On the other hand, the heat and unhealthiness of the country, joined to the badness of the waters, and the unwholesomeness of their food, had bred a great sickness both in the Christian army and fleet, of which many were already dead, and *Doria* himself was confined to his bed with it. These two generals in vain endeavoured to persuade the duke to leave the island for a while, and meet the *Turkish* fleet near the *Archipelago*, and not stay till it was joined with the *Barbary* corsairs. But he, more intent upon building a fort in *Africa* that should bear his name, than to their salutary counsel, slackened not the work till news was brought him on the 10th of *May*, that the *Turkish* fleet, consisting of 85 sail, had been seen on the coasts of *Gosa* island three days before. Neither did he then desist till it appeared on their own, at which time the brave *Doria* cried out, *One man's obstinacy hath ruined us all ; however, we shall not be defeated without having foreseen our danger.*

surprised by the Turkish fleet. IN the confusion that reigned at their approach, both in the army and fleet, but especially in the latter, whose ships, it being low water, stuck so fast in the sand, that the *Turks* boarded them with sword in hand, took 20 of their galleys, and 14 large ships, with all their tackle, arms, &c. without any opposition (G). One only, commanded by *Macdonalt*, a brave and experienced commander, tho' pursued by three of the enemy, escaped to *Malta*, to bring the melancholy news of this defeat ; whilst the *Turks* made the air and sea resound with their rejoicings and firing. Under this desperate dilemma *Lacerta* repaired to *Doria*, who still kept his bed, and addressed himself to him in these words : " O *Doria*, the only person who hath shewed so much foresight and conduct upon this occasion, what would

(G) There is some contrast in the account of this transaction, between the *Spanish* and *French* authors ; and no wonder, considering how natural it is to them to eclipse each other's glory to advance their own. *Marmol* accordingly tells us, that the confederates put to sea, and left the duke and his forces on the island to make the best defence they could, at the first approach of the *Turkish* fleet, by which they were easily thrown into confusion ; and, being attacked in the rear, became an easy prey to the enemy ; which not only extenuates the ill conduct of the new viceroy, but throws the blame on the *Maltese* commanders, who were mostly *French*. He likewise makes the loss of the vessels to amount to 21 galleys and 14 ships, besides nine others, which,

having sheltered themselves under the castle of the island, were quickly burnt by the *Turks*. The *French*, on the contrary, lay the whole fault on the duke, whom nothing could prevail upon to suspend the building of the fort, to go and attack the enemy in the *Archipelago*, nor to pursue their design upon *Tripoli*, instead of attacking this inconsiderable island, which, had they once made themselves masters of, that important city must of course have fallen easily into their hands. The most that we dare say upon the whole, for want of a proper umpire, is, that a national jealousy misled both sides into some wrong measures, in which, however, the young viceroy was too servily suffered, by the officers of his nation, to bear too great a sway on his side (11).

(11) *Conf. Marmol, lib. vi. c. 41. D'Ablancourt, French ver. ibid. & Vertot, Hist. of Malta, vol. iv. lib. 12. p. 386, & seq.*

a “you advise me to do?” To which he replied, “Sir, you command the land forces, and it behoves you to take the best precautions you can for their safety. As for me, I design to be carried this night into a light brigantine, and to endeavour in the dead of the night to make my way through that vast forest of ships that surrounds us, and pick up as many of our scattered vessels as I can meet with, and sail directly to *Messina*.” Upon which the duke, more solicitous for his life than his honour, resolved to follow him; and leaving the care of the troops that were in the island, and amounted still to about 5,000, to Don *Alvarez de Sunde*, a famed commander, got on board the brigantine with several other general officers; and *Doria* had the good fortune to conduct them safe through the enemy’s fleet to the isle of *Malta*, whence *Lacerta* sailed soon after to *Sicily*. *Doria’s advice to him.*

b But it fared much more dreadfully with those who were left in the island, upon whom the *Turks* poured down their numerous troops, and laid close siege to the castle, which Don *Alvarez* defended as nobly and long as was possible for a commander to do, considering that he had not only the victorious *Turk* to encounter with, but want of water and all sorts of provision, and a grievous sickness, which had impaired the greatest part of the army, through the violent heats and excessive drought of the weather. They had neither water in the cisterns, nor wood to dress their victuals, and laboured under such excessive thirst, that great numbers of his men deserted daily to the enemy. The place was all the while battered with 18 pieces of cannon, which had at length dismounted those of the besieged, and destroyed most of the outworks. The siege had lasted near three months, by which time *The remaining forces destroyed or made slaves;*

c the garrison was, through famine, sickness, and desertion, reduced to less than half of what it was at first. In this extremity the brave governor proposed to the rest of his soldiers to make a bold sally, when the enemy least expected it, and either save themselves by their valour, or die with sword in hand, to which they readily agreed. But, unfortunately for him, the *Turks* had notice of it by some deserters; so that he was no sooner got out, but he saw himself surrounded on all sides by such numbers, as at once not only deprived him of the honour of dying in the attempt, but took him and the poor remains of his garrison prisoners. Immediately after which the *Basha* entered the castle, and ordered all the fortifications to be razed, to prevent the Christians returning thither after his departure. Thus ended this unfortunate expedition, in which the Christians lost near 14,000 men, either *and the fortifications razed.*

d killed, made slaves, or dead by sickness and want. The king of *Spain* alone lost 28 gallies and 14 transport ships, besides those of the Pope, of the *Maltese*, and of the duke of *Tuscany*. *Kara Mustapha* sailed soon after with his victorious fleet to *Constantinople*, and *Dragut* and his corsairs back to *Tripoli*, where he resumed the reins of that state under the Grand Signor’s protection, with additional favours from him for his timely services and vigilance, till a grievous wound, which he received at the siege of *Malta*, put an end both to his life and it, about six years after it, as we shall see in its proper place. *Dragut returns to Tripoli.*

AFTER his death the *Porte* continued sending either a *Sangiac* or *Basha* to *Tripoli*, the castle being garrisoned with *Turks*, and the city inhabited by *Moors*, and the kingdom kept still under tribute to the Grand Signor. The piratic trade went on still with success; the renegades met with the usual encouragement from the *Turks*, and were promoted to the command of their corsairs, and even of their whole fleets, and sometimes to the *Bashaship*; these recommending themselves to the regency, not only by their desperate behaviour, but much more by their peculiar barbarity to the Christian prisoners, which often provoked the Christians to use the same severity to theirs by way of reprisal, and were carried on both sides to such an excess, as can hardly be repeated or thought of without horror.

IN this condition the kingdom continued, till the *Turkish* government, becoming more and more heavy and intolerable, by the avarice and tyranny of those *Bashas*, a certain marabout, named *Sid Hajab*, about the close of the 16th century, found means to raise a general revolt both in the city and country, not doubting but he should be assisted therein by some *A revolt raised by a marabout.*

f Christian princes abroad, as well as by the *Moors* and *Arabs* at home, to drive all the *Turks* out of the kingdom; after which he might mould the government of it as well as he was able, and, in case of need, put it under the protection of those who had assisted him in carrying on this new revolution. But, unfortunately for him, he did not take care to secure a foreign assistance, before he broke out into this open rebellion; so that *Hascen Basha*, the then *Turkish* admiral, came suddenly upon him, at the head of 60 gallies, and a number of other ships and forces, which he had procured from *Tunis* and *Algiers*, and gave him so many signal overthrows, that he was at length abandoned by his troops, and assassinated by his own partisans, which put an effectual end to the revolt. *Hascen* sent the marabout’s head to *Constantinople*, and had hardly settled the government on the old footing, and taken *His defeat and death.*

g all necessary precautions to secure the authority of the *Turkish* *Bashas* from the like attempts, when a new governor, sent thither from the *Porte*, found a much more effectual way totally to suppress it as long as he lived. This man was a renegado Greek, of the antient family of the *Justiniani*, and known then by the name of *Mahmet Beygh*, who, by his intrigues and bribes, *A renegado gets the banner of Tripoli,*

and becomes
despotic.

His tribute to
the Porte.

bribes, had obtained a banner or government from the Grand Signor, sailed directly to *Tripoli*, and, having got possession of the castle of it, refused to acknowledge or receive any *Basha* from *Constantinople*, and took the reins of the government wholly upon himself, not indeed as independent, but as vassal and tributary to the *Porte*, to whom he obliged himself to pay a tribute and homage, as an acknowledgement of his subjection and dependance. And it is not unlikely, that the matter was compromised in that manner between the grand vizier and him, if not the Soltan, before his setting out of *Constantinople*, and with the same politic views as that court agreed it with the Deys of *Algiers*^a. However that be, *Mahmet* kept himself secure in his castle, which, besides its other fortifications, was guarded with a strong garrison of soldiers, whom he had taken into his pay. And these he kept, as he said, as a guard to his person, and to avoid the fate of so many other *Baschas*, whom the *Porte* had caused to be strangled or banished, upon the least umbrage or pretence.

THE tribute he paid to the *Porte* consisted chiefly in slaves, and such other curious or rich presents as were most acceptable to that court, and were carefully sent at all proper seasons, by which means *Mahmet* kept himself firm in his despotic government, which he established much after the same manner that we described at the close of the last section, except that, some time after his death, the *Tripolitans* were again obliged to receive a *Basha* to be a check on their Deys, which last were chosen by the militia, and mostly by the same tumultuous and bloody methods, as we have seen practised at *Algiers*^b.

His successors continued paying the same acknowledgements; though it sometimes happened, that both he and they had the mortification to see those ships intercepted and carried off by the *Maltese* cruizers, who lay in wait for them. Thus, at one time, they took from the former three large vessels laden with *Moors*, *Negroes*, and some valuable commodities, in their way to *Constantinople*; and a few years after another *Maltese* commander, named *Charolt*, among other prizes he made on the coasts of *Barbary*, took three large ships belonging to *Tripoli*, together with a considerable number of other vessels, which they were escorting to *Constantinople*. The fight was very obstinate on both sides; *Ibrahim* Rais, who commanded the *Turkish* convoy, had 450 soldiers on board his three ships; but, being attacked on all sides by the *Maltese* fleet, was forced to yield, after a most desperate defence. The Christians made above 300 *Turks* prisoners in this action, and their commander, and entered the port of *Malta* with 20 ships, laden with the richest spoil.

S E C T. III.

Of the bombardment of the city of Tripoli by the French fleet, and the disadvantageous peace they were obliged to submit to.

The Tripolitans a faithless piratic crew.

THE next remarkable transaction relating to the history of this piratic republic (for we omit those of lesser moment, such as their frequent domestic broils and revolts against their Deys and Douwan, upon every discontent, their good and ill success in their piratic excursions), was the dreadful bombardment it brought upon itself by their breach of faith to the late *French* king *Lewis* XIV. a prince no less known for his severity in punishing that crime in others, than for his own particular disregard to it in himself. The various instances we have given in the history of the two neighbouring republics of *Algiers* and *Tunis*, in the preceding chapters, evidently shew, how ready those piratical states are, we may add, how often they have been obliged by a proud, lazy, and starving populace, to violate the most solemn treaties with Christian powers; and what an encouragement the protection of the *Porte*, which they buy by a small homage and yearly tribute, hath been to their principals to do so, whenever their interest or safety gave them an occasion or pretence for it. But, however such breaches might go unpunished with some Christian powers, the *French* court never stood enough in awe of that of *Constantinople*, to decline taking a severe revenge of them for such infringements against it^c.

Incur the displeasure of France.

WHAT gave occasion to the present dreadful execution we are going to relate, was a capture made by a *Tripolitan* corsair of a ship under *French* colours, and that republic's detaining a great number of *French* subjects in a state of slavery, the restitution of both which had been in vain insisted upon by their consul; which insolent refusal the *French* monarch so highly resented, that he ordered all his captains, who cruised on those seas, to make reprisals on them wherever they met them^d.

PURSUANT to these orders the marquis *D'Anfreville*, who was dispatched by commodore *Quésne* to convoy two small prizes he had taken at the island of *Hiera*, on the north coast of *Sicily*, meeting with six vessels belonging to *Tripoli*, near Cape *Sapienza*, immediately

^a See before, p. 208, & seq.

^b See before, p. 209, & seq.

^c See before, p. 287, & seq.

^d LA

CROIX, Relat. de L'Afrique, part i. c. 10. sect. 1 & 2.

- a attacked them; three of them, however, making all the sail they could, had the good fortune to get out of his reach, whilst the other three, venturing to stand the engagement, were so terribly shattered, that they were forced at length to sail away, with the utmost Tripolitan speed, to the island of *Chios* to be refitted. The commodore *Du Quesne* had no sooner notice ^{ships forced into Chios:} of it, than he came with a squadron of seven ships, and surprised them there; but, before he began any hostilities, he sent to acquaint the Aga who commanded in that place, *that he came as a friend, but that he had express orders to come in quest of some Tripolitan pirates, who, by the tenor of treaties still in force, were stiled rebellious subjects, and given up to the just vengeance of the EMPEROR OF FRANCE.* This specious declaration did not, however, meet with the favourable answer he expected from the Aga, the *Tripolitans* being at that time
- b masters of the port and city; upon which, having called a council, he immediately drew ^{bombarded it that port:} nearer to the place, and began to cannonade it with such fury, that the *Tripolitans*, who were then employed in refitting their shattered vessels, and in no condition to defend themselves, betook to the water, and swam, with all possible haste, to the two forts belonging to the town. *Du Quesne* tried in vain to enter the port, being prevented by a strong staccado which they had laid in his way. A furious combat ensued, which lasted three hours and a half, the castle all the while firing their artillery upon his squadron, who, in their turn, threw no less, we are told*, than seven thousand bombs from theirs against it, few of which failed of making some dreadful execution, either on the *Tripolitan* ships, or on the city, a great number of whose houses were either thrown down
- c or terribly shattered, and many of the inhabitants killed or wounded. On the next day the city sent to demand a parley, and to engage either to oblige the *Tripolitans* to accept of a peace, or to drive them out of the port. *Du Quesne*, instead of giving any answer to these proposals, removed with his squadron farther off, in order to block up those corsairs more easily. This hostile infringement of the *French* on the *Chions*, and their ill treatment of the *Tripolitans*, soon reached the *Ottoman* court, and the complaints made of it both to the Grand Signor and Douwan so greatly exasperated them against the *French*, that the ambassador of *Lewis XIV.* *M. de Guilleragues*, then at that court, who had express orders ^{The Sultan incensed against the French commodore:} not to relax or recede in the least from his master's pretensions in this affair, found it a difficult task to maintain his honour and interest in so delicate a point, and was forced to make
- d use of all his politics, bribes, and cabals, to prevent a rupture between these two monarchs. At length, after a long and strenuous contest between the grand vizier and him, the *Ottoman* court agreed, that the captain Basha and *M. du Quesne* should terminate the affair by a treaty of peace, of which the articles were as follow:
1. "THAT all the *French*, who were on board any vessel, whether of the *Tripolitan* corsairs, or any other that were sailed out from that city, since the year 1681, should be set at liberty.
 2. "That the ship of captain *Cruvillier*, which they had taken under the *French* banner, and carried to the port of *Chio*, should be restored, with all its artillery, arms, equipage, &c.
 3. "THAT the vessel taken under *Majorcan* colours should be detained in the same port,
 - e "under the authority of the captain Basha, with all its rigging, cannon, arms, &c. till it be decided whether it ought to pass for a *French* vessel.
 4. "THAT the ships belonging to *Tripoli* should not pretend to visit any trading vessel under *French* colours, nor attempt to seize upon them, or the men or effects, in case they were provided with passports from the *French* admiral.
 5. "THAT all strangers, on board any *French* vessel, shall pass free and unmolested in their persons and effects; as likewise all *Frenchmen*, of what rank soever, who shall be found on board any vessels under strange colours, even those of an enemy.
 6. "THAT no *French* prizes, and their prisoners, shall be sold in any port belonging to the kingdom of *Tripoli*.
 - f 7. "THAT *France* shall have a consul at *Tripoli*.
 8. "THAT no corsair, belonging to *Tripoli*, shall make any prize on the *French* coast, at a less distance than ten leagues^d."

THE reader may see by these articles, what a strange influence the *French* court had over that of the Grand Signor; but the regency, who paid not the same regard to it, rejected them with the utmost indignation on that account. This was no more, probably, than *Lewis XIV.* expected, who had taken care by that time to provide such a powerful armada against that republic, as could scarcely fail of forcing them to submit to more disadvantageous articles than those which had been imposed upon them by the *Porte*.

- g ACCORDINGLY on the 15th of *June* of the very next year 1685, the marshal *D'Estrees*, ^{A fleet sent to bombard Tripoli.} vice-admiral of *France*, appeared before their capital at the head of his fleet, and was there joined by the marquis of *Anfreville* and captain *Nesmond*, who had been cruising in that

* *Iidem* *ibid.*^d *LA CROIX*, *ibid.* sect. 2.

neighbourhood, expecting his arrival. Some days were spent in reconnoitring the place, ^a and chusing a proper spot where to cast anchor, whilst M. *Tourville*, followed by some armed long-boats, went every night to sounding, as far as the walls of the city, till he had found one about a league distance from them, and there they formed their line of battle, and the plan of the siege. On the 22d orders were given to the bombardeers to get all the mortars ready; whilst the shallops, belonging to the men of war, went and anchored within gun-shot of the town, and, about eight at night, they began the attack; and Mr. *Tourville*, who had the command of it, having ordered three armed gallies before the port, to prevent any obstruction from the enemy, they began to throw some bombs in the place about ten of the clock, with great success, and without any molestation from the *Tripolitan* sloop all that night, though they had kept a constant firing of their musketry the two foregoing nights ^b on the bombardeers, though much nearer to them. They continued plying their work till six the next morning, by which time they had thrown 500 bombs into the place. They resumed it on the night following about midnight, and made such terrible execution, that they could see the spreading flames in several parts of the town, without receiving one shot from it; and, on the morrow, the marshal *D'Etrees* caused the port to be every-where founded, in spite of all their fire, in order to find a proper place to raise a fresh battery, which might destroy both the town and its fortifications. In the mean time some of the bombs having fallen on a place where the people were assembled, and killed about thirty or forty of them, threw the whole city into the utmost consternation, and filled the air with the most dreadful outcries. At length, finding the enemy resolutely bent on their ruin, and ^c pursuing their work with so much intrepidity, they agreed to dispatch a herald to the marshal to obtain a peace from him at any price.

*The city sues
for peace.*

THE person they made choice of for that purpose was a venerable old man, 94 years of age, who, being introduced to the vice-admiral, addressed him in words to this effect: "I am ^d the unfortunate *Trik*, the father in-law of *Baba Hassan*, driven out of *Algiers* after a reign of 24 years, during which time I had been their Dey, and always behaved as a fast friend to the *French*. I am now sent to you by the Douwan of *Tripoli*, to know what your demands are, and to mediate a peace between you and them." To this the vice-admiral answered in such terms as expressed his satisfaction; and, having acquainted him with the motives which had induced the king his master to begin the war against the *Tripolitan* republic, proposed to him the most effectual means of putting an end to it, promising him, at the same time, a cessation of hostilities till the next day, that they might have time to take their measures about the articles which he should send to them. *Trik* assured him, that no time should be lost about it, the city being wholly inclined to peace; and leaving one of the principal members, who had accompanied him, as an hostage, returned with Mr. *Raymond*, a major of the *French* army, and Mr. *La Croix*, who was to serve as interpreter; upon which orders were given to fire five pieces of cannon, to assure the city of the cessation of the bombardment.

THEY met with a very civil reception from the Dey, who on the next day, being the 25th, caused the articles to be read before the Douwan; the principal of which were, ^e

1. THAT they should pay 200,000 crowns as an equivalent for all the captures they had made of *French* merchantmen: and 2. To restore all the Christian captives they had taken fighting under *French* colours. The first of them was greatly excepted against, on account of the impossibility of raising such an exorbitant sum; but, after some debates, they agreed to pay down 500,000 livres, and to release all the *French* captives; and as to the money, they promised that one part of it should be sent that very night, and the remainder within 20 days; which term the vice-admiral reduced to 15, and that on condition that they should furnish his fleet with a daily supply of beeves for their maintenance, and that of the slaves. And as to the Christian captives, they engaged to release 200 of them, which, they said, were all they then had within and in the neighbourhood of their city. And as to the 400 ^f more, which were then rowing in the seven gallies belonging to their republic, and at that time in the service of the Grand Signor against the *Venetians*, they would send ten of their principal citizens as hostages for their release, upon the return of those ships. An hundred and eighty of the former were accordingly restored by the very next morning, together with two other hostages for the remainder; but they raised several difficulties about the payment of the 150,000 livres agreed on; yet not being able to obtain any abatement on any pretence, and being on the contrary threatened by the marshal with fresh showers of his destructive bombs, the Dey saw himself obliged, not only to lay a tax on the citizens, but even to order the heads of five ringleaders of the malcontents to be struck off. This execution, joined to the admiral's menaces, so terrified the mutineers, that they immediately ^g complied with his severe terms; insomuch that on the next morning, which was the 27th, and the day on which they were to pay the above-named sum, they brought but a small moiety of it in coin, and the rest in ingots, rings, bracelets, necklaces, gold chains, diamonds,

*The great fine
was paid.*

- a monds, pearls, and other jewels, which they said they were obliged to strip their wives of, and at the same time released a merchantship belonging to the port of *Marfeilles*, which they had taken a little before this rupture.

THEY did not complete the payment of the stipulated sum till the 9th of *July* following; at which time they had stripped the *Jewish* synagogue of all its rich lamps, the *Janissaries* of their mitred caps, their horses of their richest harness, and their grand standard of its gilt silver ball; the admiral protesting, that he would not sign the peace till full payment of the sum was made, and threatening the citizens with a fresh bombardment at every delay; inso-much, that the fear of it had driven great numbers of them out of the city into the adjacent fields, to avoid being buried under the ruins of their own houses. At length, Mr. *La Croix*,
 b the interpreter, having translated the articles of peace into the *Turkish* language; went in and read them before the Dey and Douwan; where, being solemnly signed and sealed, public notice was given of it by a double discharge of twenty-five cannon; the one to express their joy, and the other to return thanks to the marshal *D'Etrees* for his services done to their republic; which, besides the large sum above-mentioned, and exacted with so much rigi-
 c nesses, consisted in the destroying of a vast number of houses, and the death of 300 persons buried under the ruins. The regency begged in the next place, that a consul might be appointed to reside at *Tripoli*, which was readily granted; and M. *Martinel* nominated to that office, until his majesty's further orders arrived. Upon his coming to the house appointed for his residence, the *French* flag was hoisted up on the top thereof, and saluted by a third discharge of the same number of cannon †. Thus ended this dreadful expedition, to the great satisfaction of the *French* monarch, and his trading subjects in those parts; and which, how severe it may appear in its execution, must be owned by all that knew the avarice and perfidy of that piratical nation, to have been the only effectual way of bringing it to reason, and of deterring, if any thing will, all those miscreant corsairs from committing the most cruel, audacious outrages on those seas, in violation of the most solemn oaths and treaties with Christian princes and states: a task which the great *Charles* the Vth, the *English*, *Dutch*, and other maritime nations, had attempted in vain in their turns.

By this treaty of peace the republic was farther obliged to send an ambassy to *France*, which was to consist of two of the chief officers belonging to either of the three states; viz. the Dey, the Douwan, and the militia, and those were to go and offer a kind of homage, or tribute, in their names, to the *French* monarch. The persons nominated to that office were the *Khalil* Aga, lieutenant to the Basha, and *Heister* Aga, an officer of the marine. The presents they were to carry were to be some of the most curious birds and beasts that their country afforded, as lions, tigers, leopards, dromedaries, *Barbary* horses, ostriches, &c.

THEY landed at *Toulon* on the 3d of *May*, 1687, accompanied by eight domestics, besides the son of *Khalil* Aga above-mentioned, and were received there by the intendant of the marine, and maintained there and every-where else at the king's expence. They were obliged to stay there forty days, to recover themselves and their wild creatures from the fatigues of their voyage, notwithstanding their eager desire to get to *Paris*, and have the honour, as they expressed themselves, of being presented to the greatest monarch in the world. They were no less liberal of their compliments on him, whilst they were shewn, during that interval, the several rarities of the place; such as the arsenal, dock, port, and vessels riding in it. And much the same thing they did at every city through which they passed, and especially at that of *Lyons*, where they halted some days, and were visited by all the quality of both sexes in their richest dresses and equipages. The same honours were paid to them at *Charenton*, where they halted thirteen days, before they were conducted to *Verfailles*, where the king and court then were, and where they were presented to them on the day after their arrival, in the usual form, just as his majesty was going out of his chapel. The speech they addressed him in, if their interpreter hath done them justice, was in the same low flattering stile with all their other encomiums on him. It was to the following purpose:

f "GREAT monarch of the earth, the envoys of the Dey, Douwan, and the militia of *Tripoli*, are come to present to your majesty some horses, dromedaries, and other animals of their country, as an homage and tribute which they offer to your majesty; and they shall return home highly satisfied with the honour done to them of appearing before the greatest king in the world." Their reception was suitable to their high sworn compliments; and, upon their leaving *Paris*, where they had been invited to view the rarities and curiosities of that city, and especially of the *louvre*, or royal palace, they expressed their admiration in words to this effect. Surely gold must be the most common of metals in this kingdom; and, by all that we have seen, we are fully persuaded, that his majesty need only form any one wish to have it immediately accomplished; so worthy did his sweet and affable temper ren-

† LA CROIX, ubi sup. in fin. sect. iii.

der him of the empire of the world. The royal academy, observatory, the various manu-
 a
 factures they were shewn, particularly that called the *Gobelins*, or tapestry weaving, and
 many other such curiosities, produced still some fresh encomiums on the *French nation*;
 and this in particular, upon the whole, that *nothing was impossible for it but the avoiding of*
death.

remarks on the
 opera;

BUT that which raised them to the highest pitch of wonder was the opera; the music,
 actors, dresses, scenes, and machinery, appeared to them to be nothing but a continued
 series of the most surprising enchantments; but so charming and attractive, that the old
 surly corsair being asked how he liked it, could not forbear expressing his admiration; and,
 at length broke forth into this apposite allusion. *Were we, said he, attacked by ever so*
powerful an enemy, we should not fail of making the best and stoutest defence, as long as our strength
and ammunition lasted: but if attacked by those that compose the opera, with all this noble equipage
and irresistible charms, we could do no other but lay down our arms and surrender ourselves to
them ^c.

admitted to see
 the king dine;

THEY were at last admitted to the long wished for honour to see his majesty dine; and
 were no less surprised at the magnificence of his table, and the grandeur of his attendance
 and retinue on the occasion, if not still more at seeing that great monarch of the world eat-
 ing and drinking like other mortals. Here they were presented each with a rich gold chain
 and medal, with his majesty's effigy curiously stamped; and their retinue were likewise gra-
 tified with some suitable donative: after which they received their audience of leave and
 returned to *Toulon*, extremely pleased at the kind, and at first unhopd-for, reception they
 met with on this occasion. For, from the treatment their city and republic had received
 from the *French* vice-admiral, the severe articles imposed upon and exacted from it, but
 more especially from some expressions which *Khalil* Aga let fall at the unexpected honours
 which were shewn to them at their first landing, that they rather feared they should be
 forced to undergo many reproaches and mortifications from that resenting monarch, as this
 embassy of submission and tribute was in some measure extorted from their regency. But
 now, from the opposite treatment he had met with, could, upon his return, experimentally
 acquaint his piratical countrymen, that the *French* monarchs were no less polite and generous
 towards their steadfast and submissive allies, than severe and vindictive against those who pre-
 sumed to break their treaties with them. Experience hath since sufficiently shewn how effec-
 tual two such ties as those have been to keep that perfidious nation firm to their treaties with
France, though no other maritime power hath been able to do the like by them. ^d

return home
 highly satis-
 fied.

SOMETHING, however, like this policy, the Soltan hath been often obliged to use towards
 them, by treating them either with kindness, indifference, or even with severity: sometimes
 also he is obliged to bribe the heads of the regency, particularly a new Dey, in order to
 secure their fidelity, to procure their assistance, or, as it often happens, to express his appro-
 bation of their choice; but oftener still to reward any singular service done to him by some
 considerable presents; but most commonly that of some fine large ship, well manned and
 equipped, because the benefit of it extends more to the good of the community, lays of
 course a greater obligation on all the subjects, especially as they have so few of their own,
 and those small, and poorly manned and equipped; though it often happens, that those
 presents, but more especially those state vessels, with all their men, cargo, equipage, &c.
 become a prey to their irreconcilable and ever wakeful enemies the *Maltese* knights. Of
 this extraordinary bulk and equipage was that which was presented to the new Dey, *anno*
 1724; which, though capacious enough to carry forty-eight large guns and fourteen pate-
 reroes, and 400 men, was, nevertheless, so fine and excellent a sailer, that it was with no
 difficulty that the *chevalier de Chambray*, who commanded the *Maltese* frigate, could come
 up to and engage it; neither did he make himself master of it till after a continual firing
 on both sides, which lasted four hours ^e.

A noble ship
 presented to the
 Dey;

taken by the
 Maltese.

To pursue the history of this kingdom still farther, would be both a needless and irk-
 some labour, were we better acquainted with the transactions of it by land and sea, than
 it is possible for us to be; we should find little else in it but either the same scenes of
 piracy and cruelty in one, and of ambition, perfidy, rebellions, and murders in the other,
 as we have already seen in *Tunis* and *Algiers*, only done by different actors; so that a great
 part of it would be a dull repetition of sundry events which we have had occasion to men-
 tion in the two foregoing chapters. We shall, therefore, close their history with what is
 more interesting to *Englishmen* to know; viz. the treaty of peace and commerce concluded
 by the regency of that piratical republic with our *British* vice-admiral *Baker*, *anno* 1716;
 and is as follows:

* LA CROIX, ubi sup. sect. iv.

† VERTOT in fin. lib. xiv.

a ARTICLES of peace and commerce between his most sacred majesty king *George, &c.* and the most excellent lords *Mahamed Bey; Yusef Dey*, the *Douwan*, and the rest of the officers and people of the city and kingdom of *Tripoli*, renewed, concluded, and ratified, on the 19th of *July, A. D. 1716*, by *John Baker, Esq;* vice-admiral, &c.

1. In the first place, it is agreed and concluded, that, from this time forward for ever, there shall be a true and inviolable peace between the most serene king of *Great-Britain* and the most illustrious lords and governors of the city and kingdom of *Tripoli* in *Barbary*, and between all the dominions and subjects of either side; and if the ships and subjects of either party shall happen to meet upon the sea, or elsewhere, they shall not molest each other, but shall shew all possible respect and friendship.

b 2. THAT all merchant ships belonging to the dominions of *Great-Britain*, and trading to the city, or any part of the kingdom, of *Tripoli*, shall pay no more than three *per cent.* custom for all kinds of goods they shall sell; and as for those they shall not sell, they shall be permitted freely to embark them again on board their ships without paying any duty whatsoever, and shall depart without any hindrance or molestation.

3. THAT all ships and other vessels, as well belonging to the said king of *Great-Britain*, or to any of his majesty's subjects, as those belonging to the city and kingdom of *Tripoli*, shall freely pass the seas, and traffick where they please, without any search, hindrance, or molestation from each other; and that all persons and passengers, of what country soever, and all manner of monies, goods, merchandizes, and moveables, to whatsoever people or nation belonging, being on board any of the said ships or vessels, shall be wholly free, and shall not be stopped, taken, or plundered, or receive any harm or damage whatsoever from either party.

4. THAT the *Tripolitan* ships of war, or any other vessels thereunto belonging, meeting with any merchant ships or vessels of the king of *Great-Britain's* subjects (not being in any seas belonging to his majesty's dominions) may send on board one single boat with two fitters, besides the ordinary crew of rowers, and no more than the two fitters to enter into the said merchant-ships, or any other vessels, without the express leave of the commander of every such ship or vessel; and then, upon their producing to them a pass, under the hand and seal of the high admiral of *England*, or of the commissioners for executing the said office, the said boat shall presently depart, and the merchant-ship or ships, vessel or vessels, shall freely proceed on its or their voyage: and though the commander or commanders of such merchant-ship or ships, or vessels, produce no pass from the high admiral of *England*, or, &c. yet, if the major part of the ships or vessels company be subjects of the said king of *Great-Britain*, the said boat shall presently depart, and the merchant-ship or ships, &c. shall freely proceed on their voyage: and any of the said ships of war, or other vessels of his said majesty, meeting with any ship or ships, &c. belonging to *Tripoli*, if the commander or commanders of any such ship or ships, &c. shall produce a pass, signed by the governors of *Tripoli*, and a certificate from the *English* consul residing there, or, if they have no such pass or certificate, yet, if the major part of the said ships or vessels company be *Turks, Moors*, or slaves belonging to *Tripoli*, then the said *Tripoli* ship, vessel, &c. shall freely proceed on their voyage.

5. THAT no commander, or other person, of any ship or vessel of *Tripoli*, shall take out of any ship or vessel of his said majesty's subjects any person or persons whatsoever, to carry them any where to be examined, or upon any other pretence; nor shall use any torture or violence unto any person of what nation or quality soever, being on board any ship or vessel of his said majesty, upon any pretence whatsoever.

6. THAT no ship-wreck belonging to the said king of *Great-Britain*, or to any of his subjects, upon any part of the coasts belonging to *Tripoli*, shall be made or become a prize; and that neither the goods thereof shall be seized, nor the men made slaves; but that all the subjects of *Tripoli* shall do their best endeavours to save the said men and their effects.

7. THAT no ship, nor any other vessel of *Tripoli*, shall have permission to be delivered up, or to go to any other place at enmity with the king of *Great-Britain*, to be made use of as corsairs against his majesty's subjects.

8. THAT if any ship or vessel belonging to *Tunis, Algiers, Tetuan, Sallee*, or any other place being at war with the said king of *Great-Britain*, bring any ships or vessels of his said majesty's subjects to *Tripoli*, or to any port or place of that kingdom, the governors there shall not permit them to be sold within the territories of *Tripoli*.

9. THAT if any of the said king of *Great-Britain's* subjects shall happen to die in *Tripoli*, or any of its territories, his goods or monies shall not be seized by the governors, or any ministers of *Tripoli*, but shall remain with the *English* consul.

10. THAT neither the said consul, nor any other subject of *Great-Britain*, shall be bound a to pay the debts of any other *British* subject, unless they become surety for the same by a public act.

11. THAT the subjects of his said *British* majesty in *Tripoli*, or its territories, in matters of controversy, shall be liable to no other jurisdiction but that of the Dey or Douwan, except the difference be between themselves; in which case they shall be liable to no other determination than that of the consul.

12. THAT in case any subject of his *Britannic* majesty, being in any part of the kingdom of *Tripoli*, shall happen to kill, wound, or strike a *Turk* or *Moor*, if he be taken, he shall be punished in the same manner, and with no greater severity than a *Turk* ought to be for the like offence; but if he escape, neither the *English* consul, nor any other *British* subject, b shall be in any sort questioned or troubled on that account.

13. THAT the *English* consul now, or at any time hereafter, residing at *Tripoli*, shall be there at all times with entire freedom, and safety of his person and estate, and shall be permitted to chuse his own interpreter and broker, and freely to go on board any ship in the roads as often as he pleases, and to have the liberty of the country, and shall be allowed a place to pray in, and that no person shall do him any injury, in word or deed.

14. THAT not only during the continuance of this peace and friendship, but likewise if any breach or war happen to be hereafter between his said *British* majesty and the city and kingdom of *Tripoli*, the said consul, and all others his majesty's subjects inhabiting in the kingdom of *Tripoli*, shall always, and at all times, both in peace and war, have full and absolute liberty to depart, and to go into their own, or any other country, in any ship or vessel of what nation soever they shall think fit, and to carry with them all their effects, goods, families, and servants, though born in the country, without any molestation or hindrance. c

15. THAT no subject of his *Britannic* majesty, being a passenger from or to any port, shall be molested or meddled with, though he be in a ship or vessel at war with *Tripoli*.

16. THAT if any of his said *Britannic* majesty's ships of war come to *Tripoli*, or to any other port or place of that kingdom, with any prize, they shall have liberty to sell it, or otherwise dispose of it, at their own pleasure, without any lett or molestation; and that his said majesty's ships of war shall not be obliged to pay any customs whatsoever; and that if d they shall want provisions, victuals, or any other things, they may freely buy them at the market price.

17. THAT when any of his *Britannic* majesty's ships of war shall appear before *Tripoli*, upon notice thereof given to the *English* consul, or by the commander of the said ships to the chief governor of *Tripoli*, public proclamation shall be immediately made to secure the Christian captives; and if, after that, any Christians whatsoever make their escape on board any of the said ships of war, they shall not be required back again; nor shall the said consul or commander, or any other *British* subject, be obliged to pay any thing for the said escaped Christians.

18. THAT all the merchant-ships coming to the city or kingdom of *Tripoli*, though not belonging to *Great-Britain*, shall have free liberty to put themselves under the protection of the *British* consul, in selling and disposing of their goods and merchandize, if they shall think proper, without any molestation. e

19. THAT all the *British* ships of war carrying his majesty's flag, upon their appearing before the city of *Tripoli*, after due notice given of it by the *British* consul, shall, in honour of his *Britannic* majesty, be saluted with twenty-seven cannon fired from the castle of the city, and that the said ship shall return the same number to it.

20. THAT no merchant-ship belonging to *Great-Britain*, or any other nation under the protection of the *British* consul, being in the port of *Tripoli*, shall be detained from proceeding to sea on her voyage longer than three days, under pretence of arming the ships of war f of this government, or any other whatsoever.

21. THAT no *British* subject shall be permitted to turn *Moslem* in the city and kingdom of *Tripoli* (being induced to it by any surprise whatsoever) unless he voluntarily appear before the Dey, or governor, with the *English* consul's interpreter, thrice in twenty-four hours, and every time declaring his resolution to become *Mohammedan*.

22. THAT his *Britannic* majesty's consul residing in *Tripoli* shall, at all times when he pleases, have liberty to put up his said majesty's flag on the top of his house, and there to continue it displayed as long as he pleases; and likewise that the said consul shall have the like liberty of putting up and displaying the said flag in his boat when he passes on the water, and no man whatsoever to oppose, disturb, or injure him therein, either by word or deed. g

23. THAT whereas the island of *Minorca* and city of *Gibraltar* have been yielded to his *Britannic* majesty by the king of *Spain*, as well as several other powers of *Europe* engaged in

a in the late war, it is agreed and concluded, that, from this time forward for ever, the said island of *Minorca* and city of *Gibraltar* shall be esteemed in every respect by the government of *Tripoli* to be part of his *Britannic* majesty's dominions, and the inhabitants thereof shall be deemed his natural subjects, as if they had been born in *Great-Britain*; and they, with their ships carrying *British* colours, shall be permitted freely to trade and traffick in any part of the kingdom of *Tripoli*, and shall pass without any molestation, either on the seas or otherwise, in the same manner, and with the same freedom and privileges, as have been stipulated in this and all former treaties in behalf of the *British* nation and subjects.

b 24. AND whereas, in the treaty concluded in the reign of king *Charles II.* ann. 1676, by Sir *John Narborough*, an article was inserted, by which the ships of *Tripoli* were excluded from cruising before, or in sight of, the port of *Tangier*, then belonging to his majesty, it is now ratified and concluded, that none of the ships or vessels belonging to *Tripoli* shall cruize, or look for prizes, before or in sight of the island of *Minorca* and *Gibraltar*, to disturb or molest the commerce thereof in any manner whatsoever.

25. THAT all and every article in the treaty shall be inviolably kept and observed between his sacred *British* majesty and the most illustrious lords, &c. of the city and kingdom of *Tripoli*; and all other matters, not particularly expressed in this treaty, and provided for in any former, shall still remain in full force, and shall be esteemed the same as if inserted here.

Dated, in the presence of Almighty God, in the city of *Tripoli*, on the 19th day of June, ann. 1716 of the Christian æra, and of the *Mohammedan Hejira* 1128.

C H A P. VI.

The history of the kingdom of Barca.

c WE have by this time nearly finished our *African* history, and taken the round of all Barca, its ex-
its coasts, as well as of its principal inland kingdoms, and are happily arrived at the tent, name,
country, or, as it is more commonly stiled, the desert of *Barca*, situate between *Egypt*, and barren
whence we set out at first^a, and the kingdom of *Tripoli*, described in the foregoing chapter, soil, &c.
and contiguous to both; extending itself in length from east to west, that is, from the con-
fines of the former to those of the latter, from the 37th to the 44th degrees of long. from
Paris, and in breadth, from north to south, about^b thirty leagues; though its confines on
the south side are various, and at best very uncertain. *Leo Africanus* and *Marmol* give this
country a still more extraordinary length and breadth*; but it is plain they both included
within them the *Regio Syrtica*, on the south side of the *Syerna* gulph; seeing, according to
d them, the whole length amounts to 1300, and its breadth to 200 miles, from the *Libyan*
sea to the confines of *Numidia*: whereas our most modern geographers compute its length
only from the eastern coast of the gulph to the *Alexandrian* confines, or from the 37th to the
60th degree of longitude from east to west, whatever it may be in its breadth from north
south.

e We have given an account of its antient state in a former part of this work^c. It retains
still its old name and sterility, being, for the most part, especially the middle, nothing but a
tract of dry and barren sand; on which account the *Arabs*, its chief inhabitants, stile it *Sabart*,
or *Ceyrart Barka*, that is, the desert or road of whirlwinds, or hurricanes (A). It labours
almost every where under a great scarcity of water; and, except in the neighbourhood of
towns and villages, where the ground produces some small quantities of grain, such as
corn, millet, and some maize, the rest is in a manner quite barren and uncultivated, or, to
speak more properly, incultivable; and even of that small quantity, which those few spots
produce, the poor inhabitants are obliged to exchange some part with their indigent neigh-

^a See vol. v. p. 657, & seq.
c. 10. MARMOL, lib. vi. c. ult.

^b De hoc. vid. Ant. Hist. vol. vii. p. 171, & seq.
^c Ant. Hist. ubi sup. & p. 173, & seq. & note (E).

* Afric. lib. vi.

(A) Some authors have derived its name of *Barka* from the verb *barac*, to bless; and will have it to signify blessing: but, besides that it is differently spelt in the *Arabic*, and can bear no other signification than that we have given it from *Leo Africanus*, *Marmol*, and other *Arabian* writers (1), the dry, sandy, and barren nature of the country (in which, to use the words of

Quintus Curtius (2) and *Arrian* (3), a traveller seems to wage war with nature, the ground sinking under his feet at every step, his eyes being blinded by the sand which covers it, blown in clouds about him by the wind and air) plainly shews, that the name of *Elefiring* could not belong to it in any but an ironical sense.

(1) *Leo Afric. lib. vi. sect. 10. Marmol. lib. vi. c. ult.*

(2) *Lib. iv.*

(3) *Lib. iii.*

hours for dates, sheep, and camels, which they stand in greater need of than they, by reason of their great scarcity of grass and other proper food; for the want of which, those which are brought to them seldom thrive or live long. But the most desert and dangerous canton of all is that in which the temple of *Jupiter Ammon* stood; which, though in other respects so pleasantly situated^e, is surrounded a great way round about with such quick and burning sands, as are very detrimental to travellers, not only as they sink under their feet, but being light and heated by the rays of the sun, are easily raised by every breath of wind; which, if it chance to be in their faces, almost burns their eyes out, and stifles them for want of breath; and, if vehement, often overwhelms whole caravans. We have formerly seen the sad catastrophe of *Cambyfes* and his army, in his bold attempt against that temple and oracle^f, as well as *Alexander's* more successful, though difficult, expedition to it^g. But, upon the whole, the country may justly be termed a sandy desert, through which there is no travelling without the help of a compass, or the direction of the stars; and tho' it was once the thoroughfare for the caravans from *Barbary* and *Morocco* to *Mecca*, yet it has been since so infested with wild *Arabs*, that they are obliged to steer fifty leagues about to avoid being plundered by them.

THE *French* geographers divide the country of *Barca* into that which they stile the kingdom, and the desert; the former of which hath some considerable ports, towns, and villages; and is, according to them, under the protection of the *Porte*, and governed by a *Cadi*, who is the *Basha* of *Kayro*^h, and hath his residence at *Tripoli*: but this seems to be said without any good authority. According to *Sanfon* and *Baudrand*, this other part, which spreads itself along the eastern coast, and which they stile the eastern shore of *Tripoli*, extends itself from the port of *Solomon*, or *Solyman*, to the gulph of *Sydra*; but this coast is most commonly known by the name of *Derna*, from one of the most considerable towns and ports upon it; besides which it has several others, and the ruins of a much greater number, which are now reduced to poor villages. The most remarkable ones are the *Cape Raccallino*, stiled by *Ptolemy* the great *Chersonesus*, because it forms a peninsula; and the farthest towards *Egypt* is the town of *Angela*, or *Ongucla*, which name it seems to have preserved ever since the time of *Ptolemy*, who calls the inhabitants *Angelians*ⁱ. Its territory, though mostly desert, hath good water, and produces dates. Between those two are many others, but differently placed and named by those geographers, which shews that this coast was but little known to them, as the *Porto Tabarca*, formerly *Batrachus*, *Batracha*, and *Patriarcha*, *Cape de Lucco*, or *Loco*, antiently *Promontorium Carylionium*, *Porto Mesulman*, the haven of *Salones*, or *Salona*, supposed by some to be the antient *Portus Panormus* and *Galinus*, and by others the *Portus Catabathmus*; but none of them with any certainty. Our latest geographers agree in placing it on the most eastern verge of the *Barcan* coast, next to the confines of *Egypt*. To these we may add some few more out of *La Croix*; viz. the great valley of *Carto Sappires*, the antient *Catabathmus*, which extends itself quite to *Egypt*^k, overgainst the spot where stood the temple of *Jupiter Ammon*. The *Arab* pilgrims, who go through it to *Mecca*, call it in their language *Hesackbir*, or the ruined places. From these one comes to *Porto Albertene*, or the *Soltan's* port; that of *Caguxi*, formerly *Trifachi*; the cape and haven of *Raxa*, antiently *Paretonium*; and, lastly, the city of *Barca* or *Barce*, which gives name to the whole province, and lies farther up into the inland, on the eastern coast of the gulph of *Sydra* above-mentioned. *Ptolemy*, who gives it the name of *Ptolemais*, tells us, that it was a celebrated city in his days^l; and *Pliny* and *Strabo*, who give it the same name, tell us, it was a famed sea port in the *Pentapolis Cyrenaica*. It still retains that name with a small change, and is called *Tolemeta* to this day^m; but from the different situation which these latter give it from *Ptolemy*, who places it higher in the inland, as well as from *Scylax*, who places the port of *Barca* at the distance of 100 and the city 500 stades from the sea, one may reasonably conjecture, that *Ptolemais* did not stand where the city but where the port of *Barca* did. And this will at once reconcile the difference between those antient geographersⁿ.

Thus much must suffice for the towns and most considerable places in this vast tract. What condition they are in, what commerce they drive, or how and by whom governed, we cannot find any satisfactory account of; and it is most likely that the maritime towns are under the protection of the *Porte*; but whether under the government of the *Basha* of *Egypt* or *Tripoli*, or whether they have formed themselves into free states like those of *Algiers* and *Tunis*, we cannot say; only we are told, that the inhabitants of the maritime towns are more civilized and conversible than those of the inland. The first profess *Mohammedism*, and have imbibed the notions of humanity and justice; whilst the latter, those especially of the desert,

^e De hoc vid. Ant. Hist. vol. vii. p. 156, & seq. ^f Ibid. vol. ii. p. 97, & seq. ^g Ibid. vol. iii. p. 347, & seq. ^h LA CROIX. Afriq. part. i. c. 9. sect. x. BAUDRAND, & al. ⁱ Geogr. l. iv. c. 5. ^k De his vid. LA CROIX, DE LISLE, D'ANVILLE, & al. ^l L. iv. c. 5. ^m Vid. LA CROIX, & al. sup. citat. ⁿ Vid. LA MARTINIERE, sub voce Barca, & al. sup. citat.

- a who have neither religion nor any sign of worship among them, are altogether as savage and brutish, and live wholly upon theft and plunder, like all other wild *Arabs*; of whom we have had frequent occasion to speak in some of the foregoing chapters: for it was by them that this tract, till then a continued barren desert, was first inhabited; who, at their first coming into it, settled themselves in the best cantons; but as they multiplied, and were at frequent wars, one hord or tribe with another, the strongest drove the weakest out of the best spots, and sent them to wander in the desert parts, where they live in the most abject and miserable condition; their lot scarcely yielding any one necessary of life, food, or raiment. Hence it is that they are said to be the ugliest of all the *Arabs*°, their bodies having scarcely any thing but skin and bones, their faces meagre, looks fierce and ravenous; their garb, which is commonly what they take from the passengers and pilgrims who go through those parts, tattered with long wearing; whilst the poorest of them have hardly a rag to cover their middle.

- THEY are likewise reported to be the most resolute and expert robbers and plunderers, that being their chief employ and livelihood; both which frequently yield them so lean a harvest, that necessity forces them to lengthen their excursions as far as into *Numidia*, *Libya*, and other southern parts for fresh supplies^p. Our author adds, that they commit the most unheard of cruelties on those that fall into their hands, making them drink plenty of warm milk, and then hanging them up by the feet and shaking them, in order to make them bring up any ducats, or other small coin, if any such they had swallowed to conceal from them.
- c They will even rake in their excrements, in hopes to find something to recompense their trouble and indelicacy; it being usual, it seems, among those merchants and pilgrims, who travel through this desert, to take that method to save what gold they carry about them; and whether any be found so concealed or not, they never fail stripping them of every thing they have, even to the last rag of their cloaths: in which, however, they come short of that inhumanity which is commonly practised in other parts of *Africa* by that plundering nation, who murder as well as rob their prey, unless they can get more by selling them for slaves than eating them; of which we have seen several instances in the foregoing volumes*. And yet so poor, indigent, and famished are these *Barcans*, that they commonly let, pledge, and even sell their children, to procure the necessaries of life, to the *Sicilians*, and other
- d neighbouring Christians, from whom they have most of their corn, especially before they set out for any long excursion: and it often happens, that after a successful one, they are enabled to redeem them again, but find that they have been converted and baptized; of which our author tells us he saw many instances in *Sicily*^q: but whether converted or not, they all partake of that sullen taciturnity or stupid ignorance about their country, which is common to all the *Africans* that are forced out of it, that there is no possibility of extorting any intelligence from them concerning it.

- HERE, therefore, we shall put an end to this chapter, reserving the further account of the few *Arabian* dynasties which have flourished in this kingdom, as well as those of *Numidia*, *Libya*, *Nubia*, and *Scene*, or *Upper Egypt*, to the supplement we have elsewhere promised†, where the reader will have them all at one view; and where we shall likewise supply any material omissions which may have happened through the course of this extensive work; and shall also take care to insert such other discoveries as have been lately made by some learned travellers, on the antiquities, and other valuable rarities, both natural and artificial, of this kingdom, especially of that part of it called *Scene*, or *Upper Egypt*; but which are not numerous enough to make a separate section of in this chapter.
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° SANUT. LA CROIX, DAVITY, & al.
v. p. 669, & seq. & vol. vi. pass.

^p LEO Afric. lib. vi. MARMOL, lib. vi. c. ult.
^q MARMOL, ubi sup.

* Vol.

† Vol. ii. p. 109.

C H A P. VII.

S E C T. I.

The history of the island, and of the order of the knights, of Maltha.

Maltha island described.

Extent and site.

Barrenness.

Product.

Few towns and villages.

THIS little island, known to the *Romans* by the name of *Melita*^a, and famed chiefly for the hospitable reception which its inhabitants gave to the great apostle of the *Gentiles*, and to the rest of his shipwrecked companions^b, lies in the *Mediterranean* sea, between the coasts of *Tripoli* and those of *Sicily*; and tho' distant only 18 leagues south from the latter, and about 50 north of the former, is nevertheless reckoned among the *African* islands by *Ptolemy*, and rightly enough, seeing the *Punic*^c corrupt *Arabic*, which was formerly spoken by the inhabitants, shews them plainly enough to have had their origin from thence. It is situate under the 36th degree of north latitude, and between the 15th and 16th of east longitude, having the southern coasts of *Sicily* on the north, those of *Tripoli* on the south, the *Morea* and island of *Candia* on the east, and, on the west, the islands of *Pantabarea*, *Linosa*, and *Lampadosa*. Its south coast consists of little else but rocks and shelves, without one port or creek to sail into; but on the eastern side it hath some commodious havens, particularly those called *Cala di S. Marco* and *Cala di S. Paulo*; but the two most considerable ones in the island are those on the south-east side, the one called *Marza Muzet*, and the other only *Marza*, which signifies a port, and is the larger of the two, and lies on the right hand of port *Muzet*. These two are divided only by an oblong peninsula, on which is built a stout fort or castle called *St. Elmo*, which defends the entrance into both. Within that of *Muzet* lies a small island, near which the ships suspected of infection are obliged to perform quarantine^d. Those of *St. Nicolao*, *Seatu*, and *Siroco*, have little or nothing worth notice, and more need not to be said of them (A).

THIS isle is commonly computed to be about 19 or 20 leagues in length, 9 or 10 in breadth, and 60 in circumference, little less or more^e. But though it had been antiently in the possession of the *Carthaginians*, *Romans*, and other polite nations, yet it seems to have been little better than a barren place, partly sandy, partly rocky, the latter having hardly any depth of earth, and that so stony, as to be scarcely capable of producing corn, or any other grain, except cummin, and some other such-like seeds; its chief produce being figs, melons, honey, cotton, and some few other commodities and fruits, which the inhabitants exchanged for corn; and in this barren state it seems to have continued, till it came into the possession of the *Maltese* knights. It laboured likewise under great scarcity of water and fuel: upon all which accounts it was till that time but thinly inhabited, there being only about 30 or 40 boroughs, or other villages, scattered about in poor hamlets, and no city except the capital of its name, and the town and fort of *St. Angelo*, which defended the port, of which we shall give an account in the sequel; so that the whole number of its inhabitants scarcely amounted to 12,000, women and children included, and the greatest part of them very indigent^f. In a word, it was so barren, poor, and uninviting, that when the emperor *Charles V.* offered it to the knights of *Rhodes*, after their being driven out of that island, their commissaries, who were sent to take an exact view of it, brought back such a discouraging account of it, that it was not without great difficulty that they were prevailed upon to accept of it^g. How it hath been improved since their settlement in it, we are now going to shew.

^a Ant. Hist. vol. iv. p. 662, 693. ^b Acts, xxviii. 1, & seq. ^c See Ant. Hist. vol. vi. p. 698. ^d DE LISLE, BAUDRAND, VERTOT, & al. plur. ^e Conf. auct. sup. citat. ^f Vid. auct. sup. citat. ^g VERTOT hist. of Maltha, l. ix. tom. iii. p. 451, & seq.

(A) According to this situation, which the generality of modern geographers (1) unanimously give it, it is plain, that it is different from another island of the same name, *Melita*, but now *Meleda*, on the coasts of *Dalmatia*, near the city of *Ragusa*. *Maltha* is supposed by *Cluverius* (2), from its situation, and other particulars, to be the antient *Hiperia* mentioned by *Homer* (3); whence the *Pheaces* were afterwards driven by the *Phœnicians*, and retired into *Scheria* and the island of *Corfu*, which is the more probable, as the antient poet places

the mountain *Melita* in that island. He hath likewise brought some very probable arguments to prove, that *Melita* or *Malta* is the antient *Ogygia*, in which the famed nymph *Calypso*, daughter of the *Ocean* and *Thetis*, received the shipwrecked *Ulysses*, and detained him seven years at bed and board (4); but these being out of the limits of our modern history, we shall content ourselves with the bare mention of it here, as no notice had been taken of it in the antient.

(1) See *Ptolem.* l. 4. *Strabo*, *Mela*, *Pliny*, &c. *Thevenot*, p. 5, & seq. & al. recentior. sup. citat. (2) *Antiq. Sicilian.* l. ii. c. 16, & alib. (3) *Odyss.* l. vi. (4) *Cluver.* ubi sup. Vid. & *Davity*, *Dapper*, & al. *Thevenot*, p. 5, & seq.

- a** THE island of *Maltha* hath now four considerable towns, surrounded with stout walls, and other fortifications; viz. *Citta Valetta*, *Citta Vecchia*, or old city, or antient *Maliba*, the town of *St. Angelo*, called also *Citta Vittoriosa*, or the victorious city, and *St. Michael*, all of them well inhabited, and in a thriving condition. Besides, these poor hamlets have grown into stout and populous villages, the old ones into considerable boroughs or towns, well built and inhabited, and the ground every-where so well cultivated, as to be able to supply the inhabitants with plenty of all necessaries. The ports and havens on the coast have likewise received their respective improvements, as the whole island every-where is so strongly fortified, that it hath been enabled to resist and baffle all the power and efforts of the *Ottoman* emperor to this very day. It is true, indeed, that the strength and success of this place, and its having proved such an effectual bulwark to Christianity, hath been chiefly owing to the singular bravery and zeal of that noble order; but still it is as plain, that they have spared neither pains nor cost to render this new settlement as impregnable as art and diligence could make it. They have likewise added not a little to its strength by the training up the inhabitants, who are naturally very stout and brave, to their martial discipline, so as to be ready to appear in arms upon any invasion, or other emergency; and these were grown so numerous, that in the year 1632, when an account was taken of them under their grand master *Antonio de Paulo*, they were found to amount to 51,750 souls, exclusive of the knights of the order, the clergy, which are also pretty numerous, and of those they stile *familiars*, or officers of the inquisition^b.
- b** THE natives are very robust and healthy, notwithstanding the excessive heat occasioned by the refraction of the sun's rays from such abundance of high rocks that cover the island; but those are so well refreshed by the westerly and north-westerly winds, which commonly blow during the best part of the afternoon, that they are seldom incommoded by them, and even strangers easily accustom themselves to the climate. There was a time, indeed, when most part of the country was afflicted with a contagious fever during the hot months, more especially that of *August*. This was then attributed to some particular inclemency of the air at that season; but it being afterwards found to proceed from the vast quantities of flax which used to be then thrown into the water to soak, and a prohibition issued out against it, the distemper wholly ceased^c. There are no rivers in the island, but here and there some excellent springs of fresh water, and, where these fail, they are forced to dig wells in the rock; but their cities are most commonly supplied by rain water, which they preserve in their cisterns^d.
- THE city of *Maltha*, or antient city, formerly called *Melita*, on account of the great quantity of honey which the island produced (B), was once the capital and only city of it. It is very antient; and its cathedral, dedicated to *St. Peter*, is the first that ever was built in it, soon after *St. Paul* had converted its inhabitants; and the common tradition is, that the prefect *Publius*, who so kindly received that apostle, was converted by him, and made the first bishop of it. It hath not any thing else worth notice; and that which is now the most considerable upon all accounts is that called
- c** CITTA VALETTA, by the *Italians* *Terra Nova*, and by the *French* *Ville Neuve*, or the new city. Some give it likewise the title of *Citta Notabile*, or the notable city, upon what account we cannot find; but its first name was given to it by the famed *John de Valetta*, grand master of the order, who caused it to be rebuilt immediately after it had been sadly battered, or rather almost ruined, by the *Turks*, from the castle of *St. Elmo*, which is situate just before it, and of which they had made themselves masters, as well as of the greatest part of the island. The city is built upon a rocky ground, high and craggy, which makes its streets very unpleasant and uneven, being mostly up and down hill, though otherwise strait and large. The handsomest of all is that which reaches from castle *St. Elmo* to the royal gate; it is about a mile in length, and here it is that the finest races are run by horses and asses on rejoicing days. The ground on which the city stands parts the great port of *Marza* from the lesser one called *Marza Muzet*, or *Muffetto*, which forms a kind of peninsula, open to the sea-waves at three different places, by means of a deep ditch cut into the rock, which

^b VERTOT, ubi sup. vol. v. l. 14. p. 190.
TOT, & al.

^c DAVITY, DAPPER, & al.

^d Idem ibid. & VERTOT.

(B) It will not be amiss to observe here, that the natives, who still retained their antient *Arabeek*, call it simply *Medina*, which signifies a city, or *The city*, by way of excellence; whence some conclude it to have been built by the *Carthaginians*, if not before their coming into the island (5). *Diodorus Siculus* speaks of it as a popu-

lous, well-built, and commercial city, full of tradesmen, and famed for the manufacture of a fine sort of light cloth, which they had learned from the *Phœnicians* (6). It was also made a bishoprick from the earliest times of Christianity (7).

(5) *Bosio hist. Malt. p. 3. l. 5. Vertot hist. de Malt. l. ix. ad fin. Davity, Dapper, & al. c. 12.*

(7) *Vertot ibid. Calmet Dict. sub. voc. Cornuille, Baudrand, & al.*

(6) *Hist. l. v.*

Fortifications. seems in some measure to separate it from the rest of the island. It is reckoned a very strong place, not only on account of its advantageous situation above-mentioned, but much more for the stout walls flanked with bastions, and other modern works, and surrounded by a deep and large ditch, cut likewise into the solid rock, and some other fortifications added to it occasionally at different times by the grand masters of the order, of which we may have occasion to speak in the sequel of this history ¹.

Fine Buildings. NEITHER is its beauty within the walls inferior to its strength without, the streets of it being wide, long, and strait, adorned with handsome houses, and noble public buildings of square stone, stately and spacious, particularly that called *Strata Reale*, or high-street, and the *Strata de Merchanty*, or merchant-street. The houses amount to above 2,000, are strong and lofty, flat on the top after the eastern manner, and for the most part provided with cisterns and reservoirs for rain water; but they have been since much better supplied with it from a delicious spring that hath been conveyed thither by proper aqueducts from the *Porta del Monte*, near the sea side, under the reign of their famed grand master *Alof de Vignacourt*; by which means not only the city is supplied with plenty of it, but the ships that ride in the haven may have it conveyed into their casks, by help of canes or pipes, with great ease and expedition.

Gates. BESIDES the *Porta del Monte*, towards the sea above-mentioned, the city hath two other gates leading into the adjacent territories, on the inland side, viz. that called *Porta Reali*, or royal gate, and *Porta Boucheria*, so called from its neighbourhood to the butchers slaughter-house. The country about the city abounds with delightful gardens, some of them cut out of the solid rock, and made productive of all manner of fruits, flowers, and herbage, and kept in excellent order by dint of labour and industry; that in particular called *Boscheta*, or pleasure garden, belonging to the grand master, and situate on an eminence on the west side of the city, yields the most beautiful prospect, from the great quantities of stately trees which grow upon it, as orange, lemon, citron, pomgranate, olive, peach, nectarine, and other fruit-trees. One part of this delicious spot is made into a warren, and breeds a great quantity of hares and rabbits; another, planted with olive-trees, abounds with stags, deer, &c. The whole is finely variegated with springs, cascades, and other water-works, and adorned with a most stately palace, whose apartments and lofty walls are magnificently furnished and adorned. The top of it is a noble platform, which hath some pieces of mounted cannon, and commands as well as yields a most charming prospect, particularly that of the bishop's garden, situate between that and the city.

Churches. HERE are seven stately churches, the most considerable of which is the cathedral, dedicated to *St. John*, the patron of the order, whose right hand they pretend to shew as a most valuable relic. The other six are those of *St. Austin*, *St. Dominic*, *St. Maria Jesu*, *St. Paul*, the *Madona*, or lady of victory, the *Madona del Carmine*, and the college of *Jesus*, besides chapels belonging to the monasteries, nunneries, hospitals, and other religious houses. Here are likewise, besides the grand master's palace, of which we shall speak in its place, seven others, commonly called by the knights *Borgia*, and by the *French Auberges*, or inns, as they were at their first institution, but are since stiled more commonly courts or palaces, from their subsequent magnificence, designed for the seven nations, or, as they affect to call them, tongues, of which their order at present consists; they had formerly an eighth, which was called that of *Angleterra*, or *England*, but this hath been abolished since the reformation. The names of the others are *Provence*, *Auvergnia*, *France*, *Italy*, *Arragon*, *Germany*, and *Spain* or *Castile*. Each of them have their great halls, where they hold their national councils, before they meet in the great one, in which every thing relating to the order is deliberated, the grand masters chosen, peace and war resolved, ambassadors received, and the like; of all which we shall have further occasion to speak when we give an account of that order, and its institutions and rules ^m.

Palaces and inns for the seven tongues. THE grand master likewise always resides in this city, and hath his palace built between the castle of *St. Elmo* and the cathedral of *St. John*. It is a most sumptuous edifice, and by far the largest and most magnificent in the whole island; and in it is the great hall, in which is held the general chapter or assembly of the knights of the first order, or, as they are stiled, *the knights of the great cross*; of whom we shall speak more fully in the sequel. Near the same castle of *St. Elmo* is a very noble hospital, which was greatly enlarged and enriched in the year 1664; in which every sick person hath a separate room, within a spacious hall, 30 yards wide, and 10 in breadth. There are 25 of these chambers on each side of the hall, divided by a wide gallery, which runs through it from end to end. In these each sick person is lodged in the most commodious manner, and not only attended with the utmost care by proper physicians, surgeons, &c. but, what is more, is served by the knights themselves, though all of them persons of the greatest rank and quality, none but such

¹ DAPPER, DAVITY, VERTOT, & al.^m Vid. aut. sup. citat.

a being admitted into that order; and one would have been struck with the deepest admiration, to have seen with what tenderness and readiness those noble knights did attend, and even emulate that kind of hospitable charity towards their respective wards. These sick persons *The patients served in plate by the knights.* are all served with silver; not a plate, dish, cup, spoon, &c. but is of that metal; and in these utensils are brought their victuals to their bed-side by those knights, as likewise the medicines and other things that are ordered to them by the physicians; of which there are commonly four kept in pay, who regularly visit them every morning and eveningⁿ. But *They are now become remiss.* we must here observe, that the *Maltese* knights have greatly degenerated from the rules, and, within this last century, from the observance of those of their first institution, and have given themselves more to luxury, gallantry, and other modish vices, than to the observance
b of the primitive practice of the canons of their order, or the imitation of their predecessors, whole extraordinary valour and undaunted bravery abroad, when fighting against the enemies of Christianity, joined to the most zealous observance of their religious discipline, had justly gained them the universal admiration and esteem of all Christendom^o. However, with respect to the hospital we are now speaking of, though they have quite relaxed from that antient humility and condescension in performing the lowest offices to those patients, yet they still take care that they shall be attended with the same care and diligence by persons of a lower rank.

NEAR this place, and the grand master's palace, is a large market-place, where all manner of provisions are brought and sold by the country people, in great abundance; such as
c corn, and other grain, fruits and greens of all sorts, wild and tame fowl, hogs, goats, oxen, sheep, and other necessaries of life. Most of the dead commodities are brought upon asses, which the natives of those mountainous parts are forced to use instead of horses. This market is kept every day, and in summer, when the heat is excessive, begins several hours before sun-rise. But the greater part of the corn and other provisions is brought thither from *Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, &c.* besides what is got by the prizes they make upon the *Turks* and other enemies at sea.

THERE is likewise another spacious square before the banjert, or prison, where their slaves are kept; which last is a very large building, suitable to the vast number of those slaves *Other public edifices.* they are continually bringing in from the coasts of *Barbary*, and the *Turkish* and other dominions; and this piazza is the place where they are exposed to sale. We have no room to describe their other public buildings; such as the bishop's palace, the custom-house, treasury, chancery, foundery, vast magazines for corn, wine, and other provisions, and many others of the like nature. But we cannot omit here a short account of their arsenal, which
d is not only a sumptuous edifice without, but is perhaps one of the best-furnished with the greatest quantity of arms, and other warlike weapons, machines, engines, &c. of all sorts, and kept in the most elegant regularity and order of any in *Europe*; it being always under the inspection of one of the order, and adjoining to the palace of the grand master^p.

THIS huge pile consists of a spacious hall, in the middle of which stand five wooden *The grand arsenal.* machines, of a square figure; on all the four sides are hung, with great symmetry and neatness, all sorts of armour; such as helmets, shields, breast-plates, coats of mail, swords,
e halberds, pikes, half-pikes, daggers, muskets, pistols, and others of the like nature, of various shapes and sizes. The walls and beams across the cieling, are likewise covered with long and cross-bows, and other such warlike weapons, as were in use in former times, and which were brought hither from the isle of *Rhodes*; the whole containing as great a quantity of arms as would completely equip an army of 30,000 men. Adjoining to and across that hall is another, which is likewise filled with all kinds of arms, which were for the most part brought thither from *Holland* by the then grand master *Lascaris*, who made a present of them to the order. Besides these, every knight hath his own armoury for himself and his retinue, within his own house; and so hath every burgher and peasant throughout the
f island^q.

AT the entrance into the bay, one meets with two large rocks, which advance into the sea over-against *Citta Valetta*, like the two fingers of a hand; on the point of one of which, *Castle of St. Angelo.* near the mouth of the bay, stand the town and castle of *St. Angelo*, and on the other that called *Citta Vittoriosa*, both built on the rock and strongly fortified. The former of these had formerly some strong outworks, arsenals, magazines, a palace, and apartments for the knights, and an hospital for sailors; but was almost totally ruined by the *Turks*, anno 1565. Since which it is inhabited but by a handful of people, mostly belonging to the dock where the gallees are built, and where the commander of them hath a house not far from the water-side.

THE other, which stands further in, and called *Citta Vittoriosa*, from the siege it main- *Citta Vittoriosa.* tained against the *Turks*, was built by one of the grand masters, named *Philip de Villiers Isle*

ⁿ DAPPER, DAVITY, VERTOT, & al.^o De his vide VERTOT.^p VERTOT, & al. sup. citat.^q Ibidem ibid.

The port of the
corsairs, and
Dutch.

Villages di-
vided into pa-
rishes; about
60 in number.

Natural rari-
ties scarce.
St. Paul's
cave.

Adam, soon after the order had taken possession of the island; and is still very well fortified. ^a It is about a mile and a half in compass, and contains about 1200 houses, which are mostly inhabited by *Maltese* natives, and mariners. It hath five or six small churches, one of them belonging to the *Greeks*, and a palace, which serves for a court to the officers of the inquisition. The town and harbour of *St. Michael*, commonly called the *Sangle Island*, from one of the grand masters of the order, who caused it to be built *anno* 1560, is only parted from the land by a deep ditch. It is about a league in compass, and well fortified after the modern manner; and is chiefly inhabited by the corsairs of the order, who are sent to cruize against the *Turks*. Between this port and that of *St. Angelo* is another, to which all the corsairs and galleys come to anchor with their prizes and plunder, whether taken from *Turks* or Christians. This port may be shut up by the means of a strong chain, to prevent ^b the *Turks*, or any other enemies, entering into it; and here the standard of the city and castle are displayed, when any gally or other vessel is sailing in. Behind that of *St. Michael* is the place where the *Dutch* vessels usually come to anchor. And thus much may suffice with respect to the most considerable sea-port towns.

THE villages, or *adhamets*, as they are called by the natives, or *casales* by the *Italians*, though, as we have elsewhere hinted, they were reckoned by authors of older date to amount to no more than between thirty and forty^{*}, yet they have so far increased in number, as well as bulk, since the settlement of the order in the island, as to amount to above sixty; some of which are likewise become very considerable. These were divided soon after into parishes, as the whole island is, for the better regulation of their several districts; whilst the directions and encouragement they have given those mountaineers, and the example they have set before them, how to improve their lands to the best advantage, and the training them up under their martial discipline, in order to defend themselves against invasions, have at once enabled them to live more happily and safely under their new masters, than they did before their coming, under their former government.

THIS island never was noted for any natural rarities worth notice; if we except the cave or grotto where *St. Paul* and his company took shelter from the rains, when the viper fastened to his arm; on the roof, sides, and floor of which, we are told, are found in the solid stone, which is of a soft nature, the eyes, tongues, heads, and other parts, of that reptile kind, in great abundance, and so lively represented, that no art can exceed them. The ^d like of which we are also told are to be found in many other parts of the island; and all of them are said to be, and are used accordingly, as an efficacious antidote against the bite of poisonous creatures, and even against all kinds of poison. And this, the tradition adds, is a quality which was given to them by the miraculous blessing and prayers of that apostle, inasmuch that no venomous creature could live in that island ever since that time (C). Near that place is a well of excellent water, which they likewise pretend was at first miraculously brought out by the same apostle's smiting the rock, to quench the thirst of his companions after their shipwreck; and some other virtues are likewise ascribed to the water by the superstitious inhabitants, not worth repeating; only it may not be improper to observe, in general, that the island is almost every way, but more particularly on the south coast, surrounded ^e with such a quantity of rocks, the greatest part of which scarcely rise above the surface of the water, that we need be the less surprised at any of the circumstances related by *St. Luke* concerning the apostle's shipwreck there. But the most singular rarity we read of in this island, is a spot at some small distance from the village and church of *St. Matthew*, where there stood formerly a little church, which suddenly disappeared, whether blown up or sunk in the ground by some small earthquake; in whose place there is now to be seen only a large hollow or precipice, between forty and fifty fathom deep, and about five hundred yards in

^{*} VERTOT, & al. sup. citat. [†] BOSIO, ubi sup. HIERON. ALEXANDR. siege of Malta, & al. [‡] DAVITY, VERTOT, & al. [§] Acts xxvii. 41, & seq. Vide auct. supra citat.

(C) We are farther told, that the converts whom *St. Paul* made during his abode in that island, built a little church on that spot of ground, which, by reason of its being exposed to the winds and waves, was often blown down and rebuilt. That which is now to be seen upon it was built by the famed *Alof de Vignacourt*, grand master of the order, *anno* 1606, and is a very handsome, tho' small structure. On the altar-piece is a curious

piece of painting, representing the apostle's shaking off the viper, without receiving any hurt from it, and surrounded with men, women, and children, all drawn to the life, and in attitudes of admiration and surprise, and in the old *Maltese* garb; and the whole very well executed.

On the top of the painting is the following *Latin* inscription:

*Vipera ignis astra calore frustra Pauli
Manum invadit; is infulæ benedicens
Anguibus & herbis adimit omne virus.
M. DC. V. (8).*

(8) Davity, Dapper, Vertot, & al.

a circumference : but what the most surprising of all is, that the bottom of it is flat, and like an orchard, having sundry fruit trees, and other plants and vegetables, growing in it ^w.

Among the few artificial rarities, except the noble buildings and gardens above described, ^{Artificial rarities.} which are to be met with in this island, we may reckon the two marble heads in half-relief, ^{Heads of Zenobia and Penthesilea.} much larger than the life, which were discovered in it *anno* 276, and are now seen fixed into the hinder wall of the grand master's palace; the one inscribed to *Zenobia Orientalis Domina*, and the other to *Penthesilea*. In the church dedicated to *St. Agatha* is a most noble statue of that female saint in white marble, placed upon the high altar, and exquisitely wrought. ^{St. Agatha's statue.} When the *Turks* laid siege to the city, the superstitious inhabitants fetched it out of the church, and placed it upon the ramparts, where the saint was exposed to the continual firing of the besiegers; and whilst she was wholly employed in protecting her votaries, and unmindful of her own safety, a random shot came and carried off the little finger of her right hand, which obliged her afterwards to keep so good a look-out, that she received no further harm. This image is held in great veneration by all the *Maltese*, as the protectress of the city and island. But the greatest curiosity is the grotto of that saint under the church, ^{Dreadful grotto.} which runs a great way under ground. The place hath three apertures, at which the curious are let down by ropes, furnished with flambeaux and other conveniences. But they find it, upon their coming down into it, so full of turnings and windings, so intersected with other meanders, that they have not the courage to penetrate far, for fear of being bewildered and lost. What is still worse is, that the fear and terror they are in all the time hinders them from being able to make any observations, or giving any tolerable account of it; which proves such a discouragement, that few people have the curiosity or heart to go into it. They shew in their great armoury, among other curiosities, the armour, shield, &c. of some of their most famed warriors and grand masters; a cannon made of bars of iron, fastened together by a strong wire, with a very thin case of wood, and the whole covered with a thick leather, well sewed, and so curiously painted, that it looks like a real brass gun. These were at first invented for the convenience of carrying them over high rocks and mountains; but being apt to burst, or become unfit for service, have been set aside since ^y.

We have already taken notice of the conduit that furnishes the city of *Valetta* with such plenty of water; in memory of whose founder, *Alof de Vignacourt*, a handsome pillar is erected, about 15 feet high, with his coat of arms upon it. But the most curious of all is the fountain in the great square, and made by the grand master *Lascais*. It is of stone, cut in the form of a basket, which stands on a pedestal, about three feet from the ground. In the midst of it is a spire, or obelisk, about four feet high, adorned with flowers and festoons, hanging from the four angles, from the top to the bottom; and on the top of the obelisk is another basket, smaller and more neatly wrought. The water rising at the four angles of the obelisk in the first basket falls into the small one above; which being pierced through, sends it back to the lower in a great variety of streams, from which it again falls into a large stone trough, where the horses come to drink, and thence into a lower one, where dogs and other like creatures come also to quench their thirst ^z. This piece, and the conduit that furnishes it with water, are by *Vertot* stiled a work of an antient *Roman* [†].

We hinted a little higher, that the soil of the island is either stony or sandy, dry, and mostly barren, naturally; yet it hath this good quality, even where the least pains have been taken to cultivate and enrich it, that what grows upon it is exquisite to a high degree, either for taste or flavour. The flowers and aromatic herbs yield a most odoriferous and reviving smell; the fruits a most delicate flavour and relish. Their cotton, which doth not grow here upon tall trees, as in *Egypt* and other parts of *Asia*, but upon shrubs, not above half a yard or two feet high, is reckoned the finest in the world. It must be sown every year, because it dies after it hath yielded its seed. The pods, which contain the cotton, are of the bigness of a filbert; which, when ripe, splits itself into three or four pointed leaves, whence comes out this fine soft wool; in the midst of which is found a kind of oily seed, of a whitish colour and oblong figure, whose pith tastes much like a sweet almond, or pine-kernel. The grapes, both white and red, are as large as plums, with a thick skin, and of a delicate taste, and will hang on the twigs four or five months. The wine made of them is strong and spirituous, but in small quantity, because the greatest part of them is sent to market, and eaten fresh or dried. The scarcity of fuel is such, that the olive-wood, which is brought hither from *Sicily*, *Alicant*, &c. is sold by the pound; the common sort use either dried cow-dung, or wild thistles, to dress their meat, heat their ovens, and for warmth in cold weather ^a.

^w Bosio, & al. supra citat. xiv. sub. ann. 1616.

^y THEVENOT, part. i. c. 7. & al. supra citat. ^a Auct. supra citat.

^z Id. ibid.

[†] Lib.

Beasts and
fowl, wild
and tame.

Partridges.

Character of
the women.

NOTWITHSTANDING the great want of pasturage, and other herbage, they breed here a great quantity of sheep and goats, whose flesh is the most exquisite, as they chiefly brouse upon the aromatic plants that grow on the rocks. Here are likewise hogs in abundance, and very good asses, mules, and some horses, which are chiefly fed with barley and chaff. The tame fowl, especially hens, are very large; and those of the wild kind, particularly partridges, come from divers other countries in great flights, especially in the months of *March* and *October*, and are observed to keep the same tract as they who come from the sea-side to the city of *Valetta*. The chief carriage of provisions, and other commodities, through the country, is upon asses or mules, which are never shod, any more than the horses.

THE natives, both men and women, go commonly dressed in the *Sicilian* fashion, though not quite so genteel. The women are not tall, but yet handsome, sprightly, and witty. Shy and modest in outward appearance, yet lewd, and extremely given to jealousy and revenge. They appear in public without any scruple, but affect to wear a veil to cover, or either to discover or conceal their face, as they think proper; so that, under pretence of receiving the fresh air, or seeing their way, they will cast a wanton eye on those they like, or else pass them by with an affected air of bashfulness and fear.

THE same one may say of those of quality, who wear a veil, or kind of mantle, which covers them from head to foot; but some, that are either handsome or wanton, will manage it with such dexterity, as to display some charms to advantage; and no wonder, when they meet with so many young knights, dressed in the most gallant fashions of their respective countries, instead of that of their order; an irregularity which many of their grand masters have in vain endeavoured to suppress; and who being kept under the bonds of celibacy, are of course the more inclined to intrigue and debauchery. In the hot weather, most of the women, especially the young ones, whether of high or mean rank, wear no other cloathing than their smocks and slippers within their houses; but these are commonly so long, that they come below their ancles, and some of them wrought and flowered with silk, gold, and silver, after so costly a manner as to cost 100 or 150 crowns. But when they go abroad, they throw their long veils over them, and most commonly wear their linen drawers under them. Beneath they wear a kind of white pumps, which reach up above the ancles. They take care likewise to dress their heads with variety of ornaments, some with jewels, others with trinkets, but chiefly by the plaiting and curling of their hair in various forms, and raising it much above their foreheads. But their greatest pride, when they go abroad, is to have a handsome, or even numerous, retinue of servants and women slaves attending them; and some will even go supported by them on each side, in a stately manner, though of themselves healthy and lively enough, and generally very fruitful.

Character of
the men.

THE men are both stout and warlike, very sparing and moderate in their diet; by which, and their constant labour and exercise, they live to a great age, even above 100 or 110 most commonly; but they are extremely jealous and mistrustful, vindictive and treacherous, and for a slight injury or affront, such as calling one rogue, or, which is worst of all, cuckold, will frequently assassinate one another. Our author adds, that, upon the arrival of the order in their island, great numbers of the better sort came to meet the grand master *Villiers* upon his landing, who wore long and bushy beards, and a kind of petticoat about their middle, which came down below the calf of the leg, and being wrought and stitched with cotton, would defend them from the shot of an arrow*.

As for strangers, they chiefly follow the fashions of their respective countries. That of the knights, and the different badges of their respective dignities, shall be described when we come to speak of their order.

Language.

THE language of the natives, as we have already hinted, is the old *Punic* or *Arabic*, which is moreover pronounced so differently, and with such variety of accent, by every village, that those who have the least knowledge of it can guess what parish they belong to almost as soon as they open their mouths to speak. The greatest part of the country natives hardly understand any other; but those that live in cities and towns speak the *French* and *Italian* tolerably well. But that which is most in use, both in the city of *Valetta* and among the knights and persons of rank, is the *Italian*^a.

Marriages.

WE do not find that they have any writing amongst them; their very contracts of marriage are made by an exchange of a handkerchief, or some such trifle, between the bride and bridegroom, before witnesses; which done, they may, and usually do, cohabit together some small time, during which the man leads his bride about the streets or lanes of the village, either to shew his complaisance for her, or to convince her that he is free from jealousy. All this is allowed even before the marriage ceremony, which is usually performed at church. And indeed their poverty is such as doth not admit of any greater formality or ceremonial. In their burials they have borrowed from the *Greeks* the old unnatural custom

Burials.

* BOSIO, DAVITY, DAPPER, VERTOT, & THEVENOT.

^a Auct. supra citat.

- a of hiring women-mourners, or rather howlers, who accompany the corpse with most hideous and dismal outcries, gestures, and actions, tearing their hair, and scratching their faces, in a most dreadful manner, all the way they go. The near relations likewise shave their hair, and throw themselves upon the dead corpse, and send forth the most doleful lamentations over it. The procession is preceded by a number of persons in black, and masked (D), followed by another retinue of monks and priests, one carrying the cross before them, and the rest holding torches in their hands. These have their bodies covered with a kind of upper garment, of black serge or freeze, which reaches from head to foot, and drags a long tail behind them, or is held up by some underling. The rest of the funeral ceremony is performed much after the rites of the *Greek* church, and needs no farther description.
- b THE forces of the island, abstracted from the knights, and those that belong more *Forces* directly to their order, consist in the number of the inhabitants, among which they reckoned above 25,000 men, about the middle of the last century, all able to bear arms, robust, and well disciplined, and who are obliged, at the firing of the signal cannon three times, to appear under their proper standards, in all their martial accoutrements; in less than two hours. They commonly wore long swords and daggers, bows and arrows, lances, pikes *Weapons*; both long and short, which they used with great dexterity^c; but since they have been under the discipline of the *Maltese* knights, they are become no less expert in the use of all fire-arms, and other modern weapons. They are likewise for the most part good horsemen, *Horses* though they make no farther use of horses than for the army, and these are bred to run with most prodigious speed, to leap over hedges and ditches with surprising ease and readiness. Of these they used to keep about 400, but probably they have much increased the number. These are reviewed at least once in six months by the grand master, or some deputy; and, the better to train both horses and riders to the martial discipline, they have races yearly in or near the city, where considerable prizes are allowed to the winners, besides their being exercised at proper seasons. But, besides which, every knight that hath four *scudi* or crowns *per* day is obliged to maintain one for his own use, and at his own charge^d. The number of galleys which the order, or, as they affect to stile it, the religion (because *Number of galleys* they are chiefly designed for its defence, and are esteemed the bulwark of it against the *Turks* and *Barbary* pirates) furnish, is more or less, according to the exigence they are in.
- d The number of them used to be five, till *Anno* 1627, the grand master *Paul* ordered a sixth, and, *Anno* 1652, *Lascharis* a seventh, to be built. These are very well and strongly built, well manned and commanded, having usually each 100 mariners and 25 knights on board; and that which is called the *Capitana*, and carries the standard of the order, hath most commonly 30 knights. Besides these, they have a number of galleons, and other inferior vessels; the crews of all which consist chiefly of slaves, of which they have seldom less than 2 or *Slaves* 3,000, whereof those who do not serve on ship-board are employed in the most laborious and lowest offices at land; and these are so constantly bought and sold every market-day, that there is no stating the number of them^e. Upon the whole, whether we consider the many fortifications which have been erected from time to time, as occasion required, or the *Strength* vast quantity of artillery, and other warlike ammunition, with which every one is furnished, the experience and bravery of the commanders, the good discipline and constant watch that *Constant watch* is kept among them, joined to the advantageousness of its situation, we shall be obliged to own, that it was not without good reason that this island hath been long since distinguished by the title of *Fior del Mondo*, or Flower of the world. But as it is in continual danger of being surprised either by the *Turks* or *Barbary* pirates, so every place of consequence, especially along the coasts, hath its governor and proper garrison, which keeps a constant guard, and a strict patrol every night both on foot and on horseback; and, upon the *and patrol* least appearance, give the immediate alarm by beacons set on fire on the high grounds, *The alarm how* from which they are answered by the firing of the city guns; so that the alarm is spread thro' *given* the whole island, and every person who bears arms is got in readiness for defence, in about an hour or two, from the most considerable sea-port to the meanest and remotest village^f.
- f THE traffick of the island is inconsiderable, consisting chiefly in wine and a few silks; *Commerce* but there is a great quantity of corn imported from *Sicily*, *Alicant*, and other places; and, when that proves insufficient, their ships sail out in quest of it, and oblige

^c Bosio, & al. sup. citat.^d Id. ibid.^e Bosio, & al. ubi sup.^f Id. ibid.

(D) These, we suppose, belong to some of those fraternities called penitents, which are very common in all the popish countries, and appear at their funeral and other processions in a long linen habit, which covers their usual dress, and is girt about with a string or sash. Over their heads they wear a piece of the same cloth, sown in the shape of what we call an *Hippocrates's* sleeve, through which there are two holes cut out for

them to see their way through. This dress is common to all those fraternities, they differing only in the colour of it, some being white, others blue or red, but most generally of the black hue. All these commonly assist at the funeral of a brother or a sister, that is, of one of the fraternity, in their respective dresses, and are buried in it when they die.

as many vessels as they meet with, which are laden with it, to part with it at the a price that they would have sold it for at the port to which they were bound. As for the *Turkish* and *Barbary* corsairs which fall into their hands, they are sure to be made prizes of, and the whole cargo seized, whether laden with corn or any other merchandize, and all the people in the ship are made slaves; and, as they are seldom without having many such vessels cruising on that sea, so we may look upon these captures to be one of the most profitable branches of their commerce; for it is by this means that they are able to furnish *Sicily*, and other parts of the *Levant*, with spices, sugar, and other the like commodities, in return for which they bring back grain, pulse, flesh both fresh and salted, wood, oil, silks, and other necessaries. But the chief profit of these goes to the order, the native inhabitants having no other share of it than by the exchange they make of them, with the b produce of their own lands and industry; insomuch that, excepting some few of them, not above ten or twelve in *Bosio's* time were worth above 200 or 600 crowns by the traffick they carried on of their cotton and cummin seed; the rest, as we have already hinted, were very poor, and it is scarcely to be supposed have been suffered to grow richer since that time^c.

The people very poor.

Money coined here.

THE money coined here is inconsiderable, it being with some difficulty that the emperor *Charles V.* allowed them that privilege. It chiefly consists of silver and copper pieces of low value. The smallest of the latter metal are called *Piccioli*, six of which make a *graino*, or grain, ten of these make a *Carlino*, two of which make a *Tarino*. The *Tarini* are either of copper or silver, and amount to about $4\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* French money. They have some pieces of money of brass worth four *Tarini* each, but pass no-where but in the island, and are cast merely to preserve the silver coin for foreign traffick. The *Scudi*, or *Maltese* crowns, are reckoned worth about 54 pence of French money. They coin likewise sequins, which are worth about 16 *Tarini*; but, besides these, they have variety of foreign coin, such as *Venetian* and *Turkish* sequins, which are worth 18 *Tarini*; the *Spanish* pistole, which is worth sometimes 33 and sometimes 34, as their value alters in other countries. They make use likewise of the *Spanish* dollars, *Talers* which pass commonly for 10 *Tarini*, but these must pass through the master of the mint's hands, and have his mark stamped upon them^d.

Foreign coin current.

Government Grandmasters.

Their rank and dignity.

THE grand master, who is always chosen with great caution and ceremony by the chapter of order, as we shall see in its proper place, hath the whole revenue of the island, as well d as of the small and inconsiderable one of *Gosa* adjoining to it, of which more hereafter, over both of which, at his election, he is invested with the sovereign power during his life, by the grant which the emperor *Charles V.* the then proprietor of it, gave to the first of them at his investiture of those islands; so that they have held ever since the title of sovereign princes, and are next in rank to the imperial and regal dignity, and take place of all other sovereign princes, and even of the *Romish* cardinals, and send and receive ambassadors like other crowned heads^e. To these the popes added some other privileges, besides confirming the foregoing; so that when one of them comes to *Rome*, he is intitled to the nearest place to his holiness, whether in the church, chapel, or other place, and, in a cavalcade, to ride immediately before him, and alone^f (E); for, long before their being possessed of this island, a grand master of the order was looked upon as the most powerful of all the Christian princes of the east¹.

Revenues.

HIS revenues, arising not only from a certain tax upon the island, and that of *Gosa*, including with it the duties on salt goods imported and exported, and such like imposts, were computed by *Bosio* to amount to about 10,000 crowns, one year with another: and he says, that the emperor *Charles V.* hardly received more from thence than 47 ducats *per Ann.* But, besides these, the order allows him the like sum for the entertainment of his table, the right of admiralty upon all prizes, at the rate of 10 *per Cent.* as well upon merchandizes as

^c BOSIO, DAVITY, & al. ix. sub an. 1524.

^d *Ibid.* ubi sup. & al. ¹ *Ibid.* sub an. 1414.

^e BOSIO, & al. ubi sup.

^f VERTOT, ubi. sup. lib.

(E) We have, upon this point, the judgment of the great lawyer *Chassane*, who in his treatise *De Gloria Mundi*, speaking concerning ecclesiastical dignities, expresses himself, with great respect to the grand master, in these words:

“Credere quod iste magnus magister Rhodi, post papam, debet præcedere omnes patriarchas, cardinales, & alios pontifices ecclesiasticos, & cum videatur tantæ dignitatis cujus est patriarcha, quod post imperatorem & alios principes habentes jura imperii, ut sunt reges Franciæ & Hispaniæ, quod præcederet omnes principes recognoscere superiorem, puta principes subditos imperio et quoscunque duces; habet enim sub se magnos principes, & est maxime honoratus” (9).

(9) *Ap. Vertot. lib. xii. sub. an. 1559. vol. iv. p. 349.*

Accordingly, when he was, among other Christian princes, invited to the council of *Trent*, and had sent thither two of his order as his ambassadors to that grand assembly, one of whom, by reason of his extreme old age and infirmities, could not reach it, the other, named *Royas*, coming to challenge his rank according to that of his principal, was at first strenuously opposed by the whole body of bishops, who thought it a lessening to their dignity to give place to a simple monastic, sent thither as deputy from a mere fraternity of his brethren, for so they termed him. They were however obliged to submit to it, and he was allowed to sit among the other ambassadors according to the rank formerly assigned and settled by the pope (10).

(10) *Ibid.* p. 422.

slaves,

- a slaves, gain arising from the vacant commanderies and priories, formerly common to the order, but since appropriated to him, together with some other perquisites annexed to the dignity, of which we shall speak more particularly in the sequel, were computed, in the whole, at about 40,000 more; in all, *communibus annis*, about 60,000 crowns^m. With all this great income, and pre-eminent rank, he assumed no higher title in all his letters, &c. *Humble titles*, than that of *The humble servant of the sacred house of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, and of the military order of the knights of the sepulchre of our Lord, and defender of the poor Christians* (F). Nevertheless he is addressed by all with that of grand master of the order of *St. John of Jerusalem*, prince of *Malta* and *Gosa*, &c. But they soon after became fond enough *exchanged for higher* of the latter to prefer it to the former; and we find one of them accordingly, named *Paul* *higher*.
- b *Lasfcaris*, assuming it at the beginning of his letter to the states general, for the restitution of those lands which they had alienated from the orderⁿ.

His state is still greater than his title, he sitting always under a canopy, whether in the church, general assembly, or even at his table, at which last none are permitted to sit with him but the knights of the highest rank, or of the great cross, and these only upon stools or chairs without backs, and where his meat is served in by twelve pages of noble families. He hath likewise his high steward, and carver to taste his meat, and his cup-bearer to do the same by his drink^o. He can never be deposed from his dignity without the pope's consent, nor can any one decide any dispute or controversy between him and his knights but his holiness. Other things relating to his power, dignity, election, &c. will be best seen when we come to speak of the order in general in the next section. At present we have only considered him as sovereign prince of *Malta* and *Gosa*, of which last island we shall now give a short description before we proceed farther.

- c This small island, called by the inhabitants *Gaudijs* (G), and by the *Italians* *Gosa*, is *The island of Gosa described* parted from that of *Malta* by a narrow chanel of about a league and a half, or two leagues, on the north-west side of it. Its length is about three leagues, and breadth one and a half, and compass about eight, and is surrounded with steep rocks and shelves, and of difficult access on all sides. It hath neither town nor village, but only a few scattered hamlets, in which there might be about 5000 souls, men, women, and children, who, to secure *Its inhabitants* their possessions from swarming corsairs, had made a shift to erect a small fort upon a high rock, but which the *Maltese* commissaries, who were sent to take a view of the island, found to be so ill built, that it hardly deserved that name.

- d The ground is mountainous and rugged, yet fertile, and so well cultivated, that it not only supplies its own inhabitants with plenty of corn, fruits, and other products, but sends some quantities of them to those of *Malta*^p. The chief villages, or hamlets rather, are called *Scilendi Dower*, and *Muggiari*, and these breed great numbers of sheep and goats. The island breeds likewise abundance of hares, rabbits, bees, and fowl. Near it, towards the *Barbary* coasts, stands a high steep rock, on which they catch some of the best falcons, a small number of which are sent to the king of *Spain* every year by the grand master, as a kind of homage or acknowledgement they are obliged to pay to that monarch, in consequence of the grant made to them of these two islands by the emperor *Charles V.* The grand masters afterwards much improved its fortifications, especially after it had been treacherously betrayed to the *Turkish* admiral by its governor, and retaken by the *Maltese*. The former, upon their seizing and plundering it, found in it above seven thousand souls, which shews how much it had improved under the latter. And the grand master *Vignacourt*, knowing of what consequence it was to prevent the *Turks* ever becoming masters of it, put it into such a condition of defence, that all the attempts that have been made since upon it have proved ineffectual. The castle, which, by reason of its high situation, commands the whole island, was surrounded with a stout bastion, and some other works, and well provided with artillery, and all kinds of warlike ammunition and provisions, and the garrison sufficiently reinforced.

f The governor, who is sent thither every three years from *Malta*, commonly resides in the fort, and there has been since a small town built at the foot of the hill on which it

^m Bosio, & al. ⁿ DAPPER, Africa. ^o Bosio, & al. ^p De hac, vid. Bos. ubi sup. THEVENOT, p. i. c. 8. DAVITY, DAPPER, VERTOT, lib. ii. tom. iv. p. 229.

(F) Thus the deed granted by the grand master *Foulkes de Villaret*, dated from *Rhodes*, October 17, 1312, ran in these terms, *Brother Foulkes de Villaret, by the grace of God, and of the holy apostolical see, humble master of the house and hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, and guardian of the poor belonging to Jesus Christ* (11).

(G) This island, from its old name, situation, and other characteristics, is rightly enough supposed to be

the same with the *Gaulos* of *Pliny* and *Mela*, the *Gaudos* of *Strabo*, the *Glaucos* of *Ptolemy*, and the *Fulacron* of the *Latin Itinerarium Marimum* (12). The name of *Gaudijs* is of *Arabic* extract, and we still find it named *Guadosh* by some *Arabic* authors, which was in all likelihood given to it by that nation when they had it in their possession (13).

(11) *Vertot*, ubi sup. tom. ii. lib. iv. p. 152. *Davity*, *Dapper*, & al. sup. citat.

(12) *Cluver. Antiq. Sicil. l. ii.*

(13) *Crus. Turc. l. viii.*

Healthy air
and fine springs.

Comin and
Cominot.

Lampedosa,
a desert island.
Its ruins.

Famous
church.

stands. The inhabitants of the island speak the same *Arabesk*, and follow the same customs, with those of *Maltha*. They are stout and long-lived, the air being very clear and healthy, and the fresh springs and fountains in great number, and yielding excellent water. They are all of the church of *Rome* here as well as at *Maltha*^a.

BETWEEN the islands of *Maltha* and *Gofa* lie the small ones of *Comin* and *Cominot*, the former of which is supposed to be the *Hephestia* or isle of *Vulcan* of the antients^b, and is likewise under the government and protection of the grand master. They were formerly uninhabited; but, by the care of the famed *Vignacourt*, a fort having been built upon each of them for their safety, they are now pretty well inhabited; and that of *Comin*, which is about four or five miles in circuit, breeds a large quantity of cattle, and other animals of all sorts^c. That of *Lampedosa*, called by *Ptolemy* *Lipadusa*, lies about 25 or 30 leagues west-south-west of *Maltha*, in latitude 34°, about 70 or 80 from the continent. It is altogether uncultivated and uninhabited, but hath the ruins of a castle, towers, houses, &c. The reason of its being abandoned is absurdly ascribed by some to spectres and phantoms that haunt it, by others to its unwholesome air, which causes frightful dreams and visions^d.

HOWEVER, it is certain, that there is a church or chapel in it dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*, and divided into two parts, the one frequented by Christians, and the other by *Mohammedans*, both of whom, from a zeal of religion, come to pay their devotions and free-will offerings, which they leave behind in their respective partitions, no part of which is ever touched, much less carried off, by any of those votaries, there being a notion or tradition, that whosoever attempts it can never stir out of the place; so that the knights of *Maltha*, who lay claim to the place, come in their galleys at certain times, and carry away the offerings made by the Christians, and apply them to the support of the hospital of *Trapani* in *Sicily*, called *Nunicata*, for the benefit of the sick poor, or convey it to their own island^e. How that which is offered by the *Turks* is disposed of, we are not told; but we may safely believe they are no less charitable in the use of it than the *Maltese* knights. This island, to which Mr. *Baudrand* gives about 16 miles of circumference, became more known since the dreadful shipwreck of the fleet of the emperor *Charles V.* on its coasts, *Anno* 1552.

S E C T. II.

The history of Maltha, since it came into the possession of the knights of its name, together with an account of the origin, institution, laws, discipline, &c. of that order.

Antient state of
Maltha.

Taken by the
earl of Sicily.

WE have already hinted in the last section, that this island was given to this order of knights by the emperor *Charles V.* in lieu of that of *Rhodes*, out of which they had been driven by the *Turks*. But that nothing may be omitted in this modern, which had been overlooked in the antient history, it will not be amiss to say something of its antient state, before they became masters of it. According to an antient tradition, it had been under the dominion of an *African* prince named *Battus*, an enemy to queen *Dido*, from which it passed under that of the *Carthaginians*, as we may rightly infer from sundry *Punic* inscriptions to be seen on stone pillars, and other monuments, still standing. From these it passed to the *Romans*, who made themselves masters of it at the same time that they subdued the island of *Sicily*. These were driven out by the *Arabs* in the year 828; who were driven out of it in their turn by *Roger* the *Norman*, earl of *Sicily*, who took possession of it *Anno* 1190; from which time it continued under the dominion of the kings of *Sicily*^a, and thence fell into that of the emperor *Charles V.* above-mentioned, by his conquest of *Naples* and *Sicily*, as has been formerly shewn in the histories of those several kingdoms.

In the mean time, as the knights (to whom it was granted by that wise and politic monarch, as much with a view to preserve his *Italian* dominions by this means, as for the defence of the Christian church against the overgrown power of the *Turkish* monarchs) had already signalized themselves during several centuries, against those sworn enemies of Christianity, and, like a second race of warlike and zealous *Maccabees*, were become no less famous for their singular piety and zeal, than for their surprising bravery and success, under the different names of knights hospitallers, knights of *St. John*, of *Rhodes*, &c. it will be very proper to trace their original up to the fountain's head, in order to give our readers a clearer idea of the design, origin, institution, progress, and excellency, of that so justly

^a Vid. ant. supra citat. ^b Vid. CLUVER. Antiq. Sicil. l. ii. c. 16. ^c DAPPER, DAVITY, & al. ^d CRUS. Turc. l. viii. FERRUZ Voyage. MS. ap. Davity. ^e DAVITY, DAPPER, BAUDRAND, & al. ubi sup. ^f Vide FAZEL de reb. Sicul. l. i. BOSIO Hist. di Malta, l. iii. c. 5. DAVITY, DAPPER, VERTOT, & al.

famed

a famed order; and of that invincible courage which they displayed during so many centuries, in defence of Christianity^c.

WE have shewn, in the antient history, to what a dreadful and distressed condition the city of *Jerusalem* had been reduced under the tyrannical government of the implacable *Saracens*^d, after it had undergone so many disasters under the *Isaurians* and *Persians*^e. In that last, however, the Christians had been treated with more tenderness than the rest by the Khalif *Aaron*, on account of the good understanding which subsisted between the emperor *Charles* the Great and him. But, after the death of that Khalif, they underwent a much severer treatment than before, occasioned by the discords which arose between the *Mohammedan* princes of *Persia* and *Egypt*, under whose respective dominions the country of *Palestine*, commonly called *Holy Land*, had often been shifted. The latter at length remaining masters of that province, the Christians again were treated with humanity and gentleness, till the reign of Khalif *Equen*, who, though born of a Christian mother, made it his study to persecute them with more uncommon cruelty, as he thought thereby to take off all suspicion of his being in the least degree inclined to their religion. Amongst other marks of his hatred, he caused the church of *St. Sepulchre* to be demolished, which, as we have already shewn, continued 37 years in a ruinous state, till rebuilt by the emperor *Monomachus*, at his own charges, *Anno* 1048, and with the consent of the then Khalif *Bomensar*.

Origin of the knights hospitallers at Jerusalem.

Christians cruelly persecuted.

The church of St. Sepulchre rebuilt.

ABOUT the same time, some *Italian* gentlemen and merchants, who had been witnesses of the ill treatment of the Christian pilgrims, not only from the *Mohammedans*, but likewise from the *Greeks*, who were by this time no less disaffected to them, undertook to procure them a sure asylum in the city of *Jerusalem*, where they should be wholly free from the insults of both. These *Italians*, who were natives of *Amalphy*, a city in the kingdom of *Naples*, but still subject to the *Greek* emperors of *Constantinople*, sailed frequently to the seaports of *Syria* and *Egypt*, whither they brought, among other merchandizes of value, some curious pieces of work from *Europe*, which were greatly admired, and quickly bought; by which means they easily introduced themselves into the Khalif *Monstazer Billah*'s court; from whom, by dint of presents, they obtained a permission to build a house, or hospital, at *Jerusalem*, near the holy sepulchre, for the entertainment and safety of such Christian pilgrims, together with a church, where they might have divine service performed after the rites of their own church; the holy sepulchre then building being of the *Greek* rite. The governor of the city, according to his orders, immediately assigned them a spot of ground, and a chapel was soon built, which they called *Sancta Maria* of the *Latin*, to distinguish it from those of the *Greek* church; and adjoining to it an hospital, or convent, for the reception of all *Latin* pilgrims of either sex, whether healthy or sick, according to their first design. In conformity to which, the two others, that were afterwards erected for the same use, had likewise each its proper chapel, the one dedicated to *St. John the Almoner*, or *hospitable*, and the other to *Mary Magdalen*^h.

Pilgrims resort to it.

Three hospitals at Jerusalem.

Latin pilgrims received in them.

THE first of these had not long been built, before there came a good number of zealous persons from *Europe*, who dedicated themselves wholly to that charitable work, whilst the monks of the order of *St. Bennet* officiated in the chapel, and both they and the pilgrims were supported by the alms which were collected for that end in *Italy* and other parts of *Europe*, and were constantly remitted thither every year; and from this house arose the order of *St. John*, we are going to speak of, which proved in time the bulwark of Christianity. In this hospitable place, the Christians of the *Latin* church were received and maintained, without distinction of nation or condition. Those who had been stripped by robbers, were supplied with new cloaths, and the sick, lame, and all that laboured under any affliction or misery, were sure to meet with a suitable relief from this new kind of charity, till the city was surprised, and almost totally destroyed, by the *Turks*, or *Turcomans*, of whom we have formerly given an account, and the whole garrison of the *Egyptian* Khalif cut in pieces by them. This disaster, which happened in less than seventeen years after the building of this hospital, put a stop to all future pilgrimages for a time, on account of the dreadful havock which those greedy barbarians made among them, besides their having plundered the hospital of every thing valuable; and probably would have done the same by the great church of the Sepulchre, had not the fear of losing the yearly income, which they raised on the western pilgrims, deterred them from it. In this dreadful condition were the affairs of the *Holy Land*, till the complaints which came continually from thence, heightened by the shrill sound of *Peter the Hermit*'s trumpet, stirred up the zeal of all the Christian princes to attempt the rescue of those sacred places out of the hands of those merciless infidels; and gave birth to the crusado, of which an ample account hath been given elsewhereⁱ, and to which our readers are referred, to avoid repetitions.

The Turks seize Jerusalem.

Driven out by the crusaders.

^c De his vid. MEGISSER BESHREIB de Insul. Malta. FAZEL, BOSIO, & al sup. citat. & seq. ^d Ibid. vol. vi. p. 451, 539, & seq. ^e Ibid. vol. vi. p. 544, & seq. ^f Ibid. vol. vi. p. 613, & seq. ^g Ibid. vol. vi. p. 613, & seq. ^h Ibid. vol. vi. p. 613, & seq. ⁱ Ibid. vol. vi. p. 613, & seq.

To return therefore, to our forlorn hospital of *St. John*: the Khalif of *Egypt*, who had taken the advantage of the defeats which the *Turks* had received from the Christian crusaders, and retaken the city of *Jerusalem* from them, being justly afraid of, as well as threatened by, the Christians, whom his breach of promise had greatly exasperated, of being driven out from it, had taken care to send about 40,000 regular troops into it, besides the 20,000 *Mohammedans* that were already in it, whom he had obliged to take up arms against all adventurers, whilst the governor was ordered to imprison by degrees all the Christians he was suspicious of.

Gerard founds
the monks hof-
pitallers there.

AMONG these was the celebrated *Gerard*, a *Frenchman* of *Provence*^m, who from the time that he came to visit the places of that city, had dedicated himself to the service of the hospital of *St. John*, and, for his singular piety, and tenderness to the pilgrims, had the care and management of that house committed to him, under the title of administrator. At the same time a *Roman* lady, named *Agnes*, a person of no less merit, took care of those of her own sex; and these two extended their charity not only to all pilgrims, but even to the Infidels who came thither for any relief; but much more so after the city was taken by the Christians, by whom he was set at liberty, and had the singular pleasure to see it enriched by the greatest donatives, and endowed with lands to a very great value; and the number of male and female hospitallers greatly augmented; and then it was that he formed the design, in conjunction with the lady *Agnes*, to persuade all, or as many of those devout brothers and sisters as were willing to renounce the world, and enter into a monastic life; and framed the rules of their order, which he soon after got to be approved and confirmed by pope *Paschal* II. who took them under his protection, granted them sundry great privileges, and appointed him rector of the hospital during his life; with an injunction, that, after his death, the brotherhood should proceed to the election of a new governor, under the same title of rector. Hence it is that some authors have reckoned him the first master of the order^o, though he was only the founder of it, and that title is given by all the knights only to his successor *Raymond*, according to the tradition which hath been generally received among them. However that be, the good old *Gerard* lived to a great age, dress, and other particulars, of this new order, the reader will find in the margin (H), as they were afterwards confirmed and improved by his worthy successor*.

Numbers of
sexes come into
the order.

1113.

Gerard dies;

and succeeded
by Raymond
Dupuy.

RAYMOND DUPUY, by the *Latins* called *De Polio*, a native of *Dauphiny*, a person of a very antient and noble family, was unanimously chosen to succeed him, under the title of *Master*; and is accordingly placed by most historians at the head of the grand masters of

^m BOUCH. Hist. de Provence, p. i. p. 32. & al. plur.

* BOSIO, & al. sup. citat.

^o GRAMMAY, BOSIO, MEGISSER, DAPPER, DAVITY, VERTOT,

(H) The good old *Gerard*, in the first institution of this order of hospitallers, had contented himself, it seems, with leaving them some few rules, or injunctions, such as, with the help of his good example, might inspire the fraternity with the deepest sentiments of charity and humility towards all, not only the Christian pilgrims, sick persons, and others more immediately under their care, but likewise towards all others, *Turks* and infidels not excepted. The dress he prescribed to them was black and plain, distinguished only with a white cross upon the breast. The lady *Agnes* being appointed prioress over the sisterhood, admitted the same dress among them; and both were, with the approbation of the pope, and patriarch of *Jerusalem*, installed into the order of *St. Augustine*, and bound themselves under the same vows (14); and these were all the rules that founder gave them.

But his successor was no sooner chosen in his place, than he perceived the necessity of adding some particular statutes, such as might not only render them useful to religion by the charitable entertainment of the Christian pilgrims, but likewise by freeing the roads from the banditti which infested them, and from the insults of the infidels, and to oblige them to take up arms upon all occasions, they should thenceforth be called to by their superiors, against the enemies of Christianity, by which they might become as it were a perpetual crusade, and a military corps to fight in defence of it, under the direction and standards of the

kings of *Jerusalem*, without however exempting them from their religious vows, and the other duties of hospitality (15).

There was the greater necessity for such a military order at this time, as the roads through that small new kingdom, which consisted only of the capital city and three or four more, were so infested both by *Turks* and *Saracens*, that there was no travelling from one place to another without the greatest danger of being massacred by those implacable enemies. The boroughs and villages were still more exposed to their cruelty, and wanted such brave intrepid men to scour and rid the country of them. And, if what some authors say can be depended upon (16), those monkish and other Christians that attended the three hospitals during the siege of that city, had found means to keep a correspondence with the besiegers; by which means, and the extraordinary conduct and bravery which they shewed on that occasion, they greatly contributed to the surrender of it; upon which account it was that *Godfrey* the new-made king bestowed such large revenues and privileges to those hospitals; and it is not at all improbable, that *Raymond*, who had been an eye-witness of their singular behaviour, and in all likelihood bore himself a part of it, might take the first hint of joining the military to the religious discipline, and of fashioning this new order with that twofold view, and rendering them thereby equally useful to two such valuable and necessary ends.

(14) Vitri Hist. c. 50. Fr. Menenius Equestr. Order. Grammay Afric. Illustr. lib. i. c. 4. Davity, Vertot, & al. sup. citat. (15) Ibid. ibid. (16) Ibid. int. al. Megisser, Beschreib de Ins. Malt.

- a the order⁹. This excellent man, though he saw himself at the head of such a numerous fraternity, could not forbear being sensibly touched with the distress and variety of dangers and miseries which the Christians of *Palestine* laboured under. Vast numbers of them groaning under a rigorous slavery under the *Turks* and *Saracens* of *Egypt*; their few cities in continual danger of being retaken from them, and made to feel the most dreadful effects of war; the towns and villages exposed to the continual incursions of their implacable enemies; their wives and daughters carried off and sacrificed to their brutish lust; many of their men forced to apostatize, to avoid death, or a worse slavery than death; the roads so infested by infidel banditti, as rendered all commerce and communication extremely hazardous: these, and other considerations of the like discouraging nature, and hinted at in the last note, wholly
- b engrossed his thoughts and cares from the very moment that he was raised to his new dignity. He set them forth at last in the most pathetic terms before the whole chapter; after which he proposed to them the project he had formed of constituting them into a military order, and obliging them to give themselves equally to the exercise of arms, as they did to the duties of hospitality and religion, as the most effectual means of supporting it with honour and safety against the insults and attempts of their surrounding enemies, especially as they were by that time become rich enough to hire secular troops to their assistance, and to fight under their command; a thing no less worthy of their high rank and birth than their present engagement and zeal for the defence of the Christian faith. The reputation he bore among them made them all look upon this proposal as a fresh mark of his care and concern
- c for the common faith, and for their honour and safety; but, on second thoughts, they began to doubt whether such a profession could be compatible with their old one. At length their zeal for the defence of the *Holy Land* easily over-ruled all these difficulties; and as the greatest part of them had fought under their new king, they were easily prevailed upon to resume their martial employment; for which the patriarch of *Jerusalem* granted them a dispensation, upon condition, however, that they should never bear arms against any but infidels⁹.

Who makes
new rules for
rendering the
order military.

- From this time, we are told, the order began to be divided into three classes; in the first of which were admitted those who, either by the nobility of their birth, or the rank they had formerly held in the army, were best qualified and intitled to fight in defence of religion, and of the *Holy Land*. The second class consisted of such as had exercised the sacerdotal function, either as parish priests, chaplains, &c. These, besides their usual attendance at church, or upon the sick, were obliged to take their turns to attend the army as almoners and chaplains. The third class consisted of such only as were neither of noble descent nor in holy orders, who were therefore stiled *serving brethren*, and appointed either to attend the sick and wounded, or in such other inferior offices as the knights of the first class should think proper to employ them in. These last were, in process of time, distinguished by a coat of arms different from the knights of the first and second class. Some authors tell us, that *Raymond*, and not *Gerard*, was the first who gave the order the black gown or mantle, with the white linen cross, with eight points, and appointed the
- d form and ceremonial of receiving the knights into it, and the oath they were to take at their admission; all which the reader will find in the margin (I). However that be, he got his
- e

The order di-
vided into
three classes.

1120.
rule

⁹ Vid. J. B. RONDINEL Regal. Hospital. BOSIO, MEGISSER, VERTOT, & al. ⁹ Auct. sup. citat. Vide & FAZEL de reb. Sicul. MENEN. equestr. ord. BYSSAC hist. de Malth. lib. i. p. 69, & seq.

(I) The candidate for the order is to appear before the high altar, with a lighted wax-candle in his hand, in a long gown, ungirt, in token of his being free, and, kneeling down, begs to be admitted; upon which a gilt sword is put into his hands, with the words, *In the name of the Father, Son, &c.* in token that he is to defend the church, subdue her enemies, and hazard his life for the Christian faith.

A girdle is put about his loins, in token of his being from thenceforth bound to keep the vows of the order. He waves the gilt sword over his head, in defiance of the enemies of the Christian faith, sheaths it up, after having first passed it under his arm to wipe it clean, in token that he will keep himself clean from all vice: upon which the person, who admits him, puts his hand upon his shoulder, and forewarns him not to indulge, or be lulled asleep in, vice, and exhorts him to be watchful against it, to be careful of his honour, and ready to perform all good works and good offices.

This done, they put a pair of gilt spurs on his ancles, in token that he shall be emulous of all laudable actions,

and trample gold and all worldly wealth under his feet, and not suffer himself to be corrupted by them.

He then takes up the lighted candle in his hand, and holds it all the time that mass is said or sung, and a sermon is preached suitable to the occasion; in which all works of piety, charity, and hospitality, particularly the redemption of Christian slaves, are earnestly recommended to him, together with the other duties of the order; such as obedience to his superiors, diligence in the functions of his profession, &c.

Sermon being ended, he is asked whether he is loaded with any considerable debts, married, or under a promise of marriage, or any-ways engaged to live under any other order or profession, or is sincerely desirous to be received into the order of *St. John*; and when he hath answered satisfactorily to all these questions, he is immediately received and admitted into the fraternity.

He is then led to the high altar, holding the missal, or mass-book, in his hand, and there makes his solemn vows upon it; after which he becomes intitled to all the

rule confirmed by pope *Calistus* II. and some of his successors, and ordered the white cross upon a red field to be displayed upon the standard of the order, with the approbation of pope *Innocent* about ten years after; from which time the order was distinguished into three classes above-mentioned, of *Knights*, *Chaplains*, and *Serving Brethren*, of the hospital of *St. John* of Jerusalem. He and his knights highly signalized themselves at the sieges of *Acra*, *Ptolemais*, *Barut*, *Tyre*, and *Sidon*, and last of all at that of *Ascalon*; in consideration of which signal service, pope *Anastasius* IV. granted the order an exemption from the jurisdiction of any eastern prelates^r.

The order divided into eight tongues

By this time the order had gained such esteem and reputation, and was so highly honoured and encouraged by all the princes and great men through all christendom, that many of the young nobility of *Europe* were emulous to come and serve under its banner. This obliged the master of it to make a farther division of it, answerable to the principal nations that were admitted into it, which were eight in number, as they were, and are still, stiled *tongues*; and were those that follow:

That of Provence.

1. THE first is that of *Provence*, which probably had the precedence, out of regard to *Gerard*, the pious founder; and to which is annexed the dignities of the grand commander, the grand prior of *St. Giles*, the grand prior of *Toulouse*, and bailiff of *Monsque*. The priory of *Toulouse* hath thirty-five, and that of *St. Giles* fifty-four, commanderies belonging to them.

Auvergne.

2. THE second is that of *Auvergne*, to which is annexed the dignity of grand marshal of the order, the grand prior of *Auvergne*, under which are four commanderies of knights, and eight of serving brethren, and the bailiff of *Curent*, now the bailiff of *Lyons*.

France.

3. THAT of *France*, which hath the dignities of the grand hospitaller, the grand prior of *France*, with 45 commanderies under him, the prior of *Aquitain*, with 65, the prior of *Champagne*, with 25, besides the bailiff of *Morea*, and the grand treasurer.

Italy.

4. THAT of *Italy*, to which is annexed the office of grand admiral of the order of *Rome*, whose jurisdiction extends itself over nineteen commanderies; that of prior of *Lombardy*, which hath 45; the prior of *Venice*, with those of *Barletta* and *Capua*, who have 25 between them; that of *Pisa*, which hath 26; and that of *Messina*, which hath 12 more; besides the bailiff of *St. Euphemia*, of *St. Stephen de Monopoli*, of the *Holy Trinity* at *Venice*, and of *St. John* at *Naples*.

Arragon.

5. THAT of *Arragon*, including that of *Arragon* and those of *Catalonia* and *Navarre*, to which belong the dignity of grand protector of the order, that of grand prior of *Arragon*,

^r *Auct. supra citat.*

the privileges granted to that order by the see of *Rome*. He is then reminded, that he must repeat every day fifty *Pater Nosters* and *Ave Mary's*, the office of our lady, that for the dead, together with another number of *Pater Nosters* for the souls of the deceased knights; and is shewn the habit which the knights are obliged to wear.

Whilst they are dressing him in it, a certain suitable memento is given to him, such as, in putting on the sleeves, that he is now bound to obedience; the white cross on the left side is to remind him, that he ought to be ready, on all occasions, to shed his blood for Christ, who shed his own for him; and the eight points of the cross, of the eight beatitudes, that will be the reward of his obedience. The black cloak, which is sharp-pointed behind, and hath a kind of sharp cowl or cape, is to remind him of the camels hair-coat which their patron *John the Baptist* wore; and the strings by which it is tied about the neck, and fastened under the shoulders, of the passion of our blessed Lord, and the singular patience and meekness with which he underwent it.—But this cloak is only worn on solemn days, or when sentence is pronounced upon a criminal of the order, or at the interment of a brother.

They likewise wear another cross upon their breasts, and hanging by a black and white silk string, that goes about the neck, and the ends reach down to the feet: for that which is called the *great cross*, and distinguishes the wearers of it by the title of *Knights of the great cross*,

is only allowed to those who have lived ten years in the island of *Malta*, and have performed four caravans or expeditions at sea, in the galleys of the order; and those, who are thus intitled, are obliged to petition for it, and make up their title to it, before the great council of the order, before it can be granted to them. And thus much may serve with respect to their particular dress: to which we shall only add, that those knights, who go to war, are allowed what they call a *supravest*, or upper coat, of a red colour, with a white cross, but plain, and without the eight points.

The public profession they make at the altar, at their admission, is to this purpose: “ I *A. B.* do here “ vow and promise to almighty God, to the blessed “ virgin *Mary*, and to *St. John the Baptist*, and with “ the blessing and help of God, to pay true and sin- “ cere obedience to the superior he shall appoint over “ me, and who shall be duly chosen by our religion, “ to renounce all property, and to live in constant “ chastity.” After which, as he withdraws his hand from the book, the person who officiates at his admittance, says to him, “ We receive and own you as “ a servant of messieurs the poor and the sick, and “ consecrated to the defence of the catholick church.” To which he replies, “ I acknowledge myself as such.” As for their form of prayers, their devotional offices, and other particularities, which we have not time to dwell upon, the curious may see them in the authors quoted in the margin (17).

(17) *Bosio hist. de Malta*, p. 1. c. 2, & 3. *Mcgiffen, Beschreib. de ins. Malta*. *Joh. Baptist Rerdincl. reg. hosp. S. Joh. Bapt. Fazet de reb. Sic. decad. i. l. 1.* *Mencel, equest. ord. Byssat, hist. de Malta*, *Davity, Dapper, Veriot, tom. vi. p. 16*, & seq.

alias

a alias castellan of the imposts, who presides over 19 commanderies, that of *Navarre* over 17, and that of *Catalonia* over 17, together with the bailiff of *Majorca*. It had formerly the bailiwick of *Caps*, or *Capez*, in *Barbary*, whilst the Christians were masters of *Tripoli*; but is now abolished.

6. THE sixth was that of *England*, to which belonged the dignity of turcopelier (K), or colonel-general of the infantry, together with the priories of *England* and *Ireland*, with 32 commanderies under them, together with the bailiwick of the *Eagle*; all which have been abolished since the reformation, and their revenues turned into another chanel.

b 7. THE seventh is that of *Germany*, where the grand bailiff and prior of *Germany* reside; Germany, the latter of whom is a prince of the empire, and hath under him, in *High* and *Low Germany*, 67 commanderies; but those that are situated within the *United Provinces* have been long since likewise dismembered from the order.

8. THE eighth and last is that of *Castile*, including the kingdoms of *Leon* and *Portugal*. To this is affixed the dignity of grand chancellor of the order, with the priories of *Castile* and *Leon*, which have 27 commanderies, and that of *Portugal* 31, together with the bailiwick of *Bovedo*. As for that of *Negropont*, it is in common between the tongues of *Castile* and *Arragon*.

c THIS division is still subsisting in the same form, excepting only that this last tongue of *Castile* and *Arragon* were substituted to that of *England*; and that those commanderies, priories, and bailiwicks, were at first affixed to the whole order in general, but have been since appropriated to the several tongues in the number and manner above-mentioned (L). *How far this division still subsists.*

By this time the whole order was grown so very numerous, powerful, and wealthy, and brought under such excellent regulations and discipline (M), that when the grand master

* De his vide RONDIN. regul. hospital. & al. supra citat. * VERTOT, l. i. p. 74, & seq.

(K) This title hath its origin from the *Turcomans*, who commonly called their light horse *Turcoples*; that being a name given in general to all the children that were born of a *Turkish* father and a *Greek* mother, but more particularly to such of them as were designed for the war (18).

It became afterwards a military dignity in the kingdom of *Cyprus* (19), from whence it passed into the order of *Malta*. But these gave that title only to the colonel general of their infantry. After the reformation, that dignity was joined to the grand master of the order by pope Gregory XIII. and given to *Hugh de Loubaux de Verdatte*, upon his confirming his election to that sovereign station, A. D. 1582 (20).

(L) It will not be amiss to explain the import and meaning of those three dignities.

We have already hinted, that the order chiefly subsisted upon the funds and donatives which were bestowed upon it by crowned heads and other great persons, and by wills and testaments of pious men, in most parts of *Europe*. This made it necessary for them to appoint proper officers from among themselves to reside near those parts, to take care of those revenues, and to convey them to the hospital of *St. John*, where they were appropriated by the grand master and chapter of the order to their proper use; viz. 1. for the maintenance of the hospital, that is, the knights, chaplains, and serving brethren, the pilgrims that come to visit the holy places, the poor, sick, wounded, maimed, and to defray all other charges of the hospital, the church of *St. Sepulchre*, &c.

2. To procure arms, ammunition, and other warlike necessities, for the guarding of the roads and country against the incursions of the *Mohammedans*, escorting the pilgrims to and from *Jerusalem*, and other services of religion.

And, 3dly, to buy, arm, and man, galleys, to scour the seas of pirates, in order to secure the commerce and pilgrimages to and from the *Holy Land*.

Those knights, therefore, that were appointed in the several parts of christendom, to take care of the revenues, were called commanders, from the tenor of their commission from the grand chapter, in the terms following: *Commendamus*, &c. We commit to your care such and such lands, &c. in such kingdom, province, &c. from which these kind of administrations or

commissions took the name of *Commendataria*, and the houses or communities, where those administrators resided, were called commanderies, and the principals of them commanders; which last were not so during life, but *durante bene placito*, or *quandiu se bene gesserint* (21).

But as these commanderies were found too often guilty of injustice, in appropriating too great a share of the revenue to their own use, by which the lesser quantity could be spared by them for the maintenance of the order, they were afterwards put under the care and visitation of superior officers, appointed by the chapter, and stiled *priors*, who were to visit and inspect a certain number of those commanderies committed to their care, and to become answerable for the right application of the revenue; from which their commissions took the name of *responsiones*, and they of *responsores*, who were thereby engaged to transmit to *Jerusalem*, either in money, arms, &c. the just and true quotas of each commandery, in conformity to the decrees and ordinances of the general chapter.

The bailiff and bailiwicks were only inferior sorts of commanders, who farmed the lands from the commanders, and were answerable to them for the rent and income of them. Of those bailiffs some were called *conventuals*; that is, resided in some of the convents belonging to the commandery, and had the care of a certain quantity of lands, and paid the income thereof to the commander, and had a stipend assigned to them of 60 crowns *per annum* for their maintenance, by the grand master *Lassic* (22). We say nothing here of the grand bailiff of *Germany*, which was a dignity of another and much higher nature; of which we may have occasion to speak in the sequel of this history.

(M) We may guess at the excellency of their discipline by one of their statutes, which passed in his time, with the approbation of the general chapter, as well as that of the patriarch of *Jerusalem*, his spiritual superior; by which every knight, who forsook his rank, gave way, or ran away, in fight, was to be *ipso facto* deprived of his cross, gown, and knighthood; which was such a terror to them, that they all fought with the utmost ardor and unexampled intrepidity to the last moment, both at sea and land; of which we shall give the most pregnant instances in the sequel of their history.

(18) *Will. Tyr. l. i. c. 7, 19, 24.* (19) *Lusignan hist. de Cypre, Albert Acq. l. 15. c. 3.* (20) *Vertot, ubi sup. l. ii. p. 266. & alibi pass.* (21) *Vide Pantalon hist. l. iii. p. 82. & auct. sup. citat. Vide & Vertot, lib. iii. vol. i. p. 520. & seq.* (22) *Vertot, vol. vi. p. 162, & al. sup. citat.*

Raymond of- *Raymond Dupuy*, who had now nothing more at heart than to render it more and more useful a
 fers his service to Baldwin. to religion, came to *Jerusalem*, to offer his and their services to young *Baudouin Du Bourg*, now king of *Jerusalem*, who was then in the extremest want of it, and had obtained the patriarch's approbation and blessing upon his generous design; he was looked upon by all as a person sent from heaven to their assistance, and his military corps as an invincible bulwark against the enemies of Christianity. They were not deceived; and the services which he and his knights did to the young king, both at *Jerusalem* and in other parts of the *Holy Land*, were so great and signal, that pope *Innocent II.* in the bull of immunity which he granted to that order, makes special mention of them: and that all *Europe* rang of them: which shews, by-the-by, that they began to signalize themselves in that religious war much earlier than our historians have taken notice of; since the bull, as we hinted a little higher, bears date 1130; that is twelve years after *Raymond's* installation, and the creation of this new military order. But as all these transactions have been already related in our account of that holy war, we shall refer our readers to it^w. b

Raymond re- In the mean time, *Raymond Dupuy*, who assisted at most of them, and was quite worn tures and dies. out with age, fatigues, and wounds, thought fit to retire to his own hospital of *St. John*, where he might be more at leisure to employ the short remainder of his life in preparing himself for a better; and, having governed that order near 42 years, expired in the midst of his brethren, in the 80th year of his age, greatly lamented by them, and by all Christendom^x, and with the just character of the most pious and greatest commander of that age.

1160.

2. Auger de He was succeeded by *Auger de Balben*, by the unanimous choice of the chapter. He was c
 Balben. of the same country of *Dauphiny* with his noble predecessor, and had been his constant companion in his military exploits, as well as one of his most intimate counsellors. Soon after his election, he was summoned to the synod held at the city of *Nazareth*, on account of the schism which had broke out in the church between pope *Alexander III.* and the antipope *Viktor III.* and their partisans; and, by his extraordinary wisdom and address, greatly contributed to persuade the king, patriarch, and bishops, to declare for the former as the most duly elected, and to excommunicate the latter. He was no less successful in putting an end to the famous quarrel which happened in the year after, about the succession to the crown of *Jerusalem*, after the untimely death of *Baldwin III.* by representing to the contending parties the inevitable danger of their untimely discord. He survived but a few d
 months the coronation of the new king, at which he assisted, being quite worn out with age, and died in the third year of his government^z.

3. Arnould de Comps.

He was succeeded by *Arnould de Comps*, a gentleman likewise of a very ancient and noble family in *Dauphiny*, and much advanced in years, who, nevertheless, was no sooner chosen to that dignity than he saw himself obliged to march, at the head of his knights, towards the frontiers of the kingdom, and suppress the incursions of Soltan *Adhed*, who, scorning to continue the tribute which his predecessor had engaged to pay to *Baldwin III.* was now ravaging all the frontiers of *Judea*, at the head of a numerous army of *Saracens*. He gained a great deal of glory in this expedition, by his quick and singular success. He died in the 4th year of his government; and was succeeded by

4. Gilbert D'Assalit.

GILBERT D'ASSALIT, or, as others stile him, *De Lailly*, an *Englishman*, as he is supposed by most authors, though with no very sure proofs; but, in other respects, a gentleman of singular courage and valour. Though it was his misfortune to be too easily prevailed upon by the king of *Jerusalem*, whether by bribes or his own ambition is variously reported, to assist him with all his forces, in his war against the *Saracens* in *Egypt*, and, to that end, borrowed the sum of 100,000 crowns from the *Florentines*, upon the credit of the order. He was so fortunate as to take the city of *Balbeis*, the ancient *Pelusium*; but, as we have formerly seen in the account of that war, his success neither answering his sanguine hopes, nor the vast debt he had charged his order with, he resigned his dignity, and embarked for *France* at *Joppa*, and arrived safe in *Provence*, and thence went to *Reuen*, where, notwithstanding his late misfortunes and disgrace, he met with a kind reception from *Henry II.* king of *England*; but embarking again at *Dieppe* for *England*, was unfortunately drowned, with several people that were in the ship, after he had governed the order about two years; being justly blamed for his ambition in engaging in that foreign war, contrary to the institutes of his order; and for his prodigality of its treasure, which he consumed in that short space^e. f

1167.

5. Castus.

His successor, *Casto*, or *Castus*, dying within less than a year after his election, we do not read of any remarkable thing that happened either to him or to the order; and it is very likely, that the ill success and disgrace which his predecessor met with in that war, deterred him from assisting the king of *Jerusalem*, though he was then carrying it on still, and was besieging *Damieta* with his land and naval forces, where he met with a stout repulse. g

^w Anc. Hist. vol vi. p. 613.
 TYRDIUS, lib. ii. c. 5.

^x BOSIO, & al. supra citat.

^z BOSIO, & al. ubi supra.

^e GUILLELM.

- a He was succeeded by *Jobertus*, a man of singular piety and charity to the poor, 6. *Jobert*. but of what nation is unknown. By this time the affairs of the kingdom of *Jerusalem* The sad state of the kingdom. were become so desperate, through the imprudence of the king, and the valour and success of the great *Saladin*, that both the knights templars and those of *St. John* were continually up in arms against the powerful enemies of Christianity. Their forces, now exhausted, required fresh and considerable supplies from *Europe*; to obtain which he sent two ambassadors thither, whilst he himself went to implore the assistance of the emperor at *Constantinople*, leaving the care of the kingdom to the grand master of those two orders; whilst *Melior*, a renegado templar, who had joined forces with *Saladin*, was putting all to fire and sword in *Syria* and *Palestine*. *Jobert*, with the assistance of his knights,
- b and in conjunction with the templars, marched against the renegado, and forced him to betake himself to the high mountains and defiles, and obliged the *Turcomans* to raise the siege of *Arach*, or *Krach*, and retire, just as the king arrived from *Constantinople*, but without having obtained the desired relief, either of troops or money, or any thing but fair promises from the emperor. Soon after this, another of the knights templars, named *Menil*, having been guilty of an open violation of the law of nations, by the murder of an ambassador of the chief of the *Affassins* to the king of *Jerusalem*, that prince caused him to be seized, and clapt into irons, with a design to have him sent bound to the prince of the *Affassins*, but died before he could accomplish it; for though the templar's life was saved by it, yet this deed he had committed greatly impaired the reputation of his order, whilst those of the The king of Jerusalem dies.
- c hospitallers greatly increased.
- AMATRI left the kingdom of *Jerusalem* to his eldest son *Baldwin IV.* then a minor, and a prince of a most sickly constitution, under whom the affairs of the Christians in *Palestine* declined from bad to worse. The grand master *Jobert* proved a constant friend and support to him both there and in *Syria*, and obliged the successful *Saladin* to retire Affass young Baldwin in Syria. with great loss and precipitation into his own dominions. But *Baldwin* having undertaken to build a citadel in one of his territories, on the other side of the *Jordan*, occasioned a fresh and fierce engagement; his army being closely hemmed in, quickly dispersed themselves, and the knights hospitallers and templars, who were the only troops that stood their ground, were mostly cut in pieces. *Jobert*, though covered all over with
- d wounds, found means to save himself by swimming over that river, and *Otho*, or *Odon*, grand master of the templars, was taken prisoner^f.
- ONE may easily imagine the distress of the Christians in those parts at this time; the king now relapsed into his leprosy, and incapable of governing; the two grand masters, his chief supporters, the one confined a prisoner of war by *Saladin*, and the other to his bed, on account of his many and dangerous wounds. Pope *Alexander III.* being informed of it, convened the third famed council of *Lateran* at *Rome*, at which many eastern patriarchs and prelates assisted, in which sundry complaints were exhibited by them against the too great privileges and encroachments of the knights hospitallers and templars (N), and some new regulations were made upon that subject; and by these, on the other hand, against the The sad condition of the kingdom.
- e harshness of the eastern ecclesiastics towards the laity, in allowing those that were infected with the leprosy, and lived in communities, the privilege either of entering into the public churches, and not to have any particular ones of their own; which was condemned by that council, and those unfortunate people permitted to have, in each of their communities, a church and church-yard, or burying-place. But the greatest complaint of those prelates was, that all the disasters and losses in *Palestine* were owing to the ambition and avarice of the military orders, whose chief aim was to heap up vast treasures, instead of following the examples of the late king *Amatri*, and of the late grand master *Affalit*, in endeavouring to secure the kingdom from the incursions of the *Egyptian* infidels, by the conquest of that province, and the reduction of *Damieta*, upon which all the rest depended; which shews, Council of Lateran. Reciprocal complaints of the knights and ecclesiastics.
- f that the enterprize of those two great men was far from being so ill-judged, as was at first

^f GUIL. TYR. BOSIO, BAUDOUIN, VERT. & al. sup. citat.

(N) This complaint, as it is couched in the acts of that council, runs in these terms. *Fratrum autem & ospiforum nostrorum vehementi conquisitione comperrimus, quod fratres templi, & hospitalis, aique professionis reli-giosæ indulta sibi ab apostolica sede excedentes privilegia contra piscisæum dignitatem multa præsumunt, &c.* (24).

That of the knights against those bishops and ecclesiastics is in these words: *Ecclesiastici quidam quæ sua sent, non quæ Jesu Christi quærentes leprosis, qui cum sanis*

habitare non possunt, & ad ecclesiam cum aliis convenire, ecclesias & cæmeteria non permittunt habere, nec proprio juvare ministerio sacerdotis, quod quia procul à pietate Chri-stiana alienum dignoscitur, de benignitate apostolica consti-tuimus, ut ubicunque tot simul sub communi vita congregati fuerint, quod ecclesiam sibi cum cæmeterio, & proprio vale-ant gaudere presbytero, sine contradictione aliqua permit-tantur habere (25).

(24) *Concil. Later. act. c. 9.* Baudouin, & al. sup. citat.

(25) *Ibid. cap. 25. Vide Vertet. lib. ii. tom. i. p. 229, 231. sub. not. Vide &*

given out, though the ill success of it occasioned its being set aside, and so generally cried a down^e.

Margath
ceded to the
knights.

HOWEVER that be, this reciprocal animosity of the clergy and laity did not hinder *Reginald*, lord of the strong castle of *Margath*, on the confines of *Judea*, from making a present, or rather an exchange, of that important fortress to the order of *St. John*, who immediately caused new fortifications to be added to the old, besides its eminent situation on a high, steep, and almost inaccessible rock (O). Yet did not this valuable acquisition compensate the much greater loss of the grand master *Jobert*, who, according to the generality of writers, died of grief, from the melancholy situation and daily decay of the kingdom of *Jerusalem*.

7. Roger des
Moulins.

JOBERT was succeeded by *Roger des Moulins*, or *de Molinis*, a person of singular valour and prudence, who applied himself immediately after his election in carrying on the war against *Saladin*, and in reconciling some differences between the patriarch and the prince of *Antioch*, about some temporals he obtained from pope *Lucius III.* and a fresh confirmation of the rules and statutes of the order, to which were tacked several considerable privileges. He was scarcely returned from *Antioch* before he received the doleful news of the dreadful massacre of the knights of the order that were settled at *Constantinople*, and had been all murdered there by the *Latins*, except a few who escaped by sea, and brought the dreadful tidings^b. The distressed condition the kingdom was then in, the incapacity of the king's either acting or marrying by reason of his leprosy, and the cabals which resulted from it, having made it necessary to send an embassy to the pope, in order to obtain a new crusade, the grand master *Des Moulins*, together with that of the templars, were chosen to accompany the patriarch of *Jerusalem* to *Rome*; from thence they went to *France* and *England*, the ill success of which expedition we have elsewhere shewn. At his return he continued still to be at the head of his knights in all their engagements with *Saladin*; and it was in one of them that he ended his government by a most glorious death, having his horse killed under him by the treacherous count of *Tripoli*, who had gone over to the *Saracens*, and was then fighting in disguise. Upon his fall, he was quickly surrounded by those barbarians, who dispatched him with a multitude of wounds, whilst a great number of his knights came and lost their own lives in striving to save his; so that when the fight was over, and the knights came to the field of battle to look for the body of their grand master, they found it, after much seeking and toil, quite covered with heaps of *Turcomans* and *Saracens*, whom his sword had sent before him into the other world. His remains were immediately conveyed to *Acra*, where he was buried with all the pomp and grief which were due to so great a captain and champion for the Christian faith; but though the knights lost so valuable a grand master, they had the comfort of seeing above 15,000 of the enemy lying dead on the field of battle, which was fought on the 27th of *May*^c.

Slain by the
Saracens.

8. Garner of
Syria.

Dies of his
wounds.

THE enemy being still in the heart of the kingdom, and ready to engage them in a short time, the chapter thought fit to elect the brave *Garner* of *Neapoli* in *Syria*, in the room of their deceased grand master, who signalized himself in that desperate battle, which was fought on the 11th of *July* following, wherein *Guy de Lusignan*, king of *Jerusalem*, was defeated and made prisoner, the holy cross taken by the enemy, and most of the knights either slain on the spot, or afterwards in cold blood by *Saladin*. *Garner*, after having fought till he was covered over with wounds, happily escaped his fury, by flying to *Ascalon*, where, in a few days, he died of them, after he had enjoyed his dignity two months and ten days.

9. Emengard
D'Aps.

Jerusalem taken
by Saladin.

THE small remainder of the knights chose, in his room, *Ermengard*, or *Emengard D'Aps*, who was with great difficulty prevailed upon, at that unhappy conjuncture, to accept of the dignity. And no wonder; for he entered upon it on the 20th of *July*, and the victorious *Saladin* took possession of the city of *Jerusalem* on the 19th of *October* following, who drove all the knights hospitallers out of that metropolis, and soon after all the *Latins* out of *Palestine*, toge-

^e Auſt. ſup. citat. ^b Vide Auſt. ſupra citat. BAUDOIN hiſt. lib. ii. c. i. & al ubi ſup.

^c GUILLELM. TYR. cont. lib. i. c. 5. BOSIO, ubi ſup.

(O) This important fortress is ſituated in *Phœnicia*, near the frontiers of *Judea*, upon the river *Valania*, and about a mile from the city of the ſame name. It ſtands on a high and rugged rock, and is very ſtrong by art and nature (26). Some authors have pretended, that *Saladin* was ſo exaſperated at its being ceded to the knights of *Jerusalem*, that he went immediately, and ſo cloſely beſieged it, that they were forced to ſurrender it to him after a long and deſperate defence; that the grand maſter *Jobert* was taken priſoner, and caſt into a dungeon, where he was ſtarved to death,

in revenge for his having made ſo long and vigorous a defence, by killing ſo many of his forces; and as for the ſmall remainder of the gariſon, they were all cut in pieces by his order. Thus far thoſe writers, who are contradicted by a much greater number of others, who take no notice of its ever having been taken by *Saladin*, or any others, from the knights, who kept it till they were driven out of *Syria*; and, on that account, the grand maſter above-mentioned broke his heart at the diſmal proſpect of the Chriſtian affairs in theſe parts (27).

(26) See *Vertot*, tom. i. lib. ii. p. 233.

(27) *Vertot*, ubi ſup. *Bosio*, *Baudoin*, & al. ſupra citat.

a ther with all the other military orders that had been instituted for the preservation of the holy city, with an exprefs prohibition ever to return into it. The grand master, seeing himself and order stripped of their ancient habitation, transported himself and them to the great fortrefs of *Margath*, lately mentioned, after having, at their own charges, redeemed about 1000 Christian captives out of the hands of the conqueror. Thither likewise was quickly removed the bishoprick of *Valania*, to be in greater safety from the insults of the enemy. Here the order continued only till the taking of *Acra* by the Christians four years after, in which they had their share of the glory, and removed presently after thither, and made it the place of their residence; from which they came to be stiled knights of *St. John D'Acra*. On the following year, *Ermengard*, the last grand master of the knights hospital-
b lers, ended his days, after he had the pleasure of seeing the grand enemy of the Christians, *Saladin*, defeated by them¹.

1191.

The order re-moves to Acra.

He was succeeded by *Godfrey de Duiffon*, or, as others call him, *De Donjon*, a native of *France*; who had the good fortune, during the time that the true lasted between the Christians and *Saladin*, to see many noblemen and gentlemen of several nations, who had acquired great estates in those parts, bequeath them to his order, before their return into *Europe*; by which means they and the templars became administrators, and masters of that part of the kingdom, which still remained in the hands of the Christians: upon which they chose *Amatri de Lusignan*, then king of *Cyprus*, king of *Jerusalem*; but as *Duiffon* well knew of how little consequence this would be to the Christians, unless they could recover that metropolis, he tried all possible means to prevail upon them to attempt the reduction of it out of hand. But by that time their interests were so divided, that his advice could have no effect; and he died very soon after the celebration and rejoicings occasioned by the marriage of *Isabella* with the king of *Cyprus*. He obtained, during his grand mastership, several considerable privileges from pope *Celestin III.* and some of his successors, particularly a bull from pope *Gregory VIII.* enjoining the Christian prelates to excommunicate all those who should attempt to deprive or wrong, in any-wise, the knights hospitallers of any of their lands, or to extort any tythes or other dues whatsoever, in contempt of the privileges granted to them by several of his predecessors^m.

10. Godfrey de Duiffon.

Advices the taking of Jerusalem.

1194.

He was succeeded by *Alphonso de Portugal*, descended from the royal family of that kingdom; but from what branch of it, we are not told. This gentleman convened a general chapter at the old castle of *Margath*, soon after his election, where several wise and wholesome statutes were agreed to for the better reformation of the order, now become very remiss, beginning it upon himself, his household, and equipage; and for the better reducing the order under a kind of an aristocratical government; some of which still subsist; but others being disliked by the knights, as too severe and rigorous, and he become odious to them for his too proud and stiff behaviour, he divested himself of his dignity in less than a year after, and sailed for *Portugal*, in hopes to be crowned king there; instead of which he was poisoned by his brother, and died on the 1st of *March 1207*ⁿ, or, as others pretend, in a civil war against his rival. Before he abdicated, he had obtained sundry considerable privileges and immunities to his order, which might have procured him more regard, if his intended reformation had not reduced it into a kind of anarchy and rebellion, in which the major part publicly refused to obey him any longer, and, by their living in open defiance to his statutes, obliged him at once to abandon both his project and dignity.

11. Alphonso de Portugal.

Becomes odious, resigns, and is poisoned.

GODFREY, alias *Geofrey Le Rat*, a Frenchman, and then grand prior of *France*, was chosen in his room; in whose time died the great *Saladin* at *Damascus*, which gave a new life both to the order and to all the Christian princes in the east, the truce still subsisting under his successor *Safadin*, by which they had a very agreeable respite. But that was soon after interrupted by the dreadful quarrel which happened between his order and that of the templars, which was like to have proved fatal to both. The latter, it seems, had driven out by main force a vassal of the hospitallers from a castle he held of them near that of *Margath*; of which injury he had no sooner complained to them, than they, without any farther ceremony, dispatched a number of their knights, who went and scaladed the place with sword in hand, and drove them away. This quickly inflamed both orders to such a desperate degree, as came little short of a civil war, in which the friends of both interested themselves, and made two considerable parties, equally inflamed against each other. There being then no sovereign to curb their resentment, the patriarch and some of the bishops at length found means to persuade them to a suspension of arms, and to refer the controversy to the determination of the holy see.

12. Geofrey Le Rat.

A great quarrel between him and the templars.

Brought before the pope.

¹ Auſt. ſupra citat.
^{om.} i. p. 329, & ſeq.

^m Vide NABERAT de privileg. ſub Godfrey, p. 28.

ⁿ Idem ibid. VERTOT,

POPE *Innocent III.* sat then on the chair, when the deputies of both orders came to lay a the matter before him; who, by a preliminary sentence, ordered the hospitallers to resign the castle to the templars for one month; after which the owner of it should be permitted to prefer a complaint against them, and have the cause tried before proper magistrates, or decided by such judicious and impartial arbitrators as the chiefs of both orders should mutually agree upon. The pontiff, moreover, wrote letters to the grand masters, exhorting them to set aside all their jealousies and feuds, so dangerous to Christendom, and so acceptable to the *Turks*, and others of their enemies, and to abide by the decision of the judges, under pain of excommunication, and of his highest resentment; and, in that to *Godfrey Le Rat*, he highly blames the violent method they took in favour of their vassal, tells him that he had chosen to have the matter decided by arbitration, rather than to have it brought b before him, to avoid being obliged to pronounce such a sentence against the delinquents, as must have covered them with confusion, and exposed them to the world.

How decided.

THE dispute was at length decided in favour of the hospitallers, and the pretensions of the templars declared to be unjust. The castle was restored to the right owners, matters were at least outwardly compromised to the satisfaction of both sides, and a good harmony restored between them. The pope wrote to both, recommending the interest of the king of *Cyprus* to them, and concludes with threatening those that proved refractory with his highest indignation †. But there was very little likelihood that things should continue in that amicable situation, if what an author * tells us be true, that the knights templars had then no less than 19,000 manors, besides other revenues and privileges, belonging to them; c whereas the hospitallers had no more than 9,000; and we shall find accordingly by the sequel, that this fire of jealousy and envy was only kept under for a time, in order to blaze more fiercely upon every fresh occasion, till they were totally suppressed. But to return:

Vast number of manors belonging to both orders.

Made king of Cyprus.

Obtains sundry immunities from the pope.

ABOUT six or seven years after this accommodation died *Amalric de Lusignan*, without having any children by his last wife *Isabella*; so that the kingdom of *Cyprus* devolved to his son *Hughes* by his former wife; upon which account, and the many feuds which then universally reigned in that island, he bequeathed the government of it to the knights of *St. John D'Acra*. Soon after this, his wife *Isabella*, queen of *Jerusalem*, dying, left her daughter *Mary*, whom she had by her former husband, under their guardianship, in conjunction d with the knights templars. *Godfrey Le Rat* obtained, during his government, sundry fresh privileges from the popes *Celestine III.* and *Innocent III.* and more particularly from our king *John P.*

His counsel opposed by the templars.

THE ambassadors which had been sent into *Europe*, to obtain fresh succours, being returned, fraught with promises of a speedy and warlike armament by sea and land, under the command of the famed *John de Brienne*, the grand master, who doubted justly whether any such vast reinforcement could be really sent from thence, was yet of opinion to take the advantage of the fear which this report had thrown the infidels in, for renewing the truce with them. His counsel met with general approbation, except the master of the templars, who opposed it, it seems, for no other reason than because it was proposed by him, and had e interest enough to cause it to be set aside⁹. The grand master died soon after, and was succeeded by

13. Guerin de Mountagu.

Admits the king of Hungary into the order.

GUERIN DE MOUNTAGU, a *Frenchman*, of the province of *Auvergne*, who, soon after his election, greatly assisted the *Greeks* in *Lesser Armenia* against the *Turcomans* and *Saracens*; in recompence of which signal services, the king bestowed the city of *Sales*, together with the castles of *Camard* and *Newcastle*, upon him and his order. During his mastership, *Andreas* king of *Hungary*, coming to *Acra*, or *Ptolemais*, and beholding the decent order and charitable œconomy of the knights hospitallers, bestowed several lands, castles, and other donatives, upon their hospital, besides an income of 500 marks *per ann.* to be paid out of the salt-works of *Saloch*. He likewise took the habit and cross of the order, into which he was f admitted by the same grand master. Pope *Honorius* confirmed all those donatives to the hospital, and bestowed several other privileges upon it; as did some of his predecessors and successors. The same was done by the *French* kings *Lewis VIII.* and *IX.* who likewise confirmed all the donatives which had been granted to the order by *Richard I.* king of *England*. Pope *Gregory IX.* likewise confirmed all the privileges and immunities which had been granted by his predecessors, and added some new ones to them. It was likewise during his government, that *Damieta* was taken by the knights, after a long and stout defence.

GUERIN enjoyed his dignity somewhat above 23 years; and, upon his demise, was succeeded by

† BOSIO, ubi sup. MEGISSER, BISSAT, BAUDOIN, VERTOT, & al. sup. citat. ann. 1244. in *Henr. 3.* VERTOT, tom. i. c. 13. p. 338. c. iii. p. 206. VERTOT, &c.

* M. PARIS, ad p. NABERAT, ibid. p. 31. 9 SANUT,

- a BERTRAND DE TEXI, who, following his predecessors steps, was no less attentive to the interests of Christendom than to those of his order (P). There never was indeed more need of vigilance than now; when, by the abdication of *John de Brienne*, the kingdom was like a ship without a pilot; and by the recalling of the *Teutonic* knights, to suppress the dreadful devastations of the pagans in *Prussia*, the state had lost a considerable prop; so that it had hardly any other supporters left than the knights hospitallers and templars. The emperor *Frederick*, as then king of *Jerusalem*, had indeed promised them, at his departure thence, to send them his son and successor *Conrad* with a very powerful reinforcement; but, having occasion for all his forces elsewhere, he quickly forgot his engagements to those two orders, which obliged them to muster up all their prudence and strength to defend it against such powerful enemies as it had on all sides. *Texi*, accompanied by *Bertrand de Goss to the* *Barras*, knight of the order, and grand prior of *St. Giles*, went on an embassy to the emperor, *emperor.* to remind him of his promises. But all he could obtain from him was a confirmation of the privileges and immunities granted to the order by his predecessors, with the addition of some new ones. The grant is dated from *Verona*; and pope *Gregory*, following his example, complimented the order with a new bull, some months after, charging all patriarchs and prelates in Christendom to excommunicate, as he doth in that bull, all those who shall vex, molest, or in any way injure, that order, either in their persons, revenues, &c. It is dated *Nov. 24*, of the same year^u. *Bertrand de Texi* died on the next year at *Ptolemais*, some say *Dies after the* of grief at the stinging reproaches which the court of *Rome* had loaded him and his knights *arrival of the* with, for the particular esteem which they had shewn for the great *Vatases*, then emperor of *Nice*. However that be, he had the satisfaction, a little before his death, of hearing of the *duke of Cornwall.* arrival of *Richard* duke of *Cornwall*, brother of king *Henry III.* of *England*, in *Palestine*, *1240.* with an army of 40,000 men^w.

- He was succeeded by *Guerin*, or *Gerin*, whose surname and country is not mentioned by any author, and who is omitted out of the list by *Megisser*, tho' so particularly recorded by the rest, for his and the Christian army's total defeat in the battle they fought against the *Chorasmians*, who were ten to one superior in number, and in which such slaughter was made, of the two orders in particular, that only twenty-six, some say sixteen, of the hospitallers, and thirty-three templars, escaped with their lives. The two grand masters were killed at the head of their troops, according to some authors (Q); but, according to others, only that of the templars, whilst *Guerin* had the misfortune to be taken prisoner, and to be sent in chains to the sultan of *Egypt*, with other prisoners of note; so that it is not known whether he was ever redeemed, or died in slavery. This disaster happened to him about three years after his election to the dignity; and he was succeeded by *15. Guerin.*

- BERTRAND DE COMPS, an old experienced officer, and a native of *Dauphiny*; who, tho' he saw his order so much thinned by the late dreadful slaughter of its knights, yet being applied to for help by the prince of *Antioch*, who was then invaded on all sides by swarms of *Turcomans*, made no demur to put himself at the head of his remaining forces, and to march to his assistance. The master of the templars did the same with his; and a long and furious engagement ensued between them and those infidels, in which both sides behaved with great intrepidity. *Bertrand*, enraged at an opposition he had not been accustomed to, rushed in foremost at the head of his knights, into the enemy's ranks, forced his way through them, and put them to flight; but, in this last effort, he received so many wounds, that he died of them soon after, in the fourth year after his election^x. During the four years of his government, he obtained four different bulls from pope *Innocent IV.*; the one condemning and excommunicating all those who, in contempt of the privileges granted by his predecessors, had invaded any of them; the other three were much of the same stamp^y; being as little regarded by the rest of the world as those of his predecessors. *Engages the* *Turcomans.* *Dies of his* *wounds.* *16. Bertrand de Comps.*

^u NABERAT, ubi sup. p. 34.^w BOSIO, & al. sup. citat.^x BOSIO, MEGISSER, & al. sup. citat.^y NABERAT, ubi sup. p. 36, & seq.

(P) This grand master is omitted by *Rondinel*, and some other authors, who place, immediately after *Guerin de Mountagu* above-mentioned, the other *Guerin*, without a surname, and reckon him the 15th grand master of the order, from *Gerard*, as the first who bore that title (29). But *Bosio*, and the generality of other authors, leaving *Gerard* out, and beginning from *Raymond de Polio*, or *Dupuy*, mention this *Bertrand de Texi* as the 14th in the list from him, who succeeded the first *Guerin*, anno 1230, and died in 1240 (30).

(Q) *Vertot* quotes a letter written by *William de*

Chatcauneuf, knight of the order, who was himself at the bloody engagement, and was some years after chosen grand master of the order, to the lord *de Merlay*; in which he ascribes this incursion of the *Chorasmians* to the league which the Christians had made with the sultan of *Damascus* against them of *Egypt*. The account which he gives of the fight is, that the two grand masters were slain in it, and only himself, and fifteen more of the knights of his order, had escaped from the slaughter (31).

(29) *Rondinel statut. tabul. 4. Davity, &c.*(30) *Bosio, Megisser, Beschreib des insul. Malt. Fazel, Davity, Doffer, Laudoin, Vertot, & al. plur.*(31) *Hist. of Malta, vol. i. lib. 3. p. 482.*

17. Peter de
Villebride.

THE chapter chose in his room *Peter de Villebride*, a gentleman no less esteemed for his piety than for his singular valour; in the beginning of whose government, *Lewis IX.* once known by the title of *St. Lewis*, arrived at the head of a powerful crusade, to which pope *Innocent IV.* had invited, by a special bull, all the Christian princes of his church. *Lewis* came and received the cross and habit from the grand master, and engaged to accompany him in all his expeditions, at the head of his order. The better to acquit himself of his promise, he caused all the novices of the order that were in *Europe*, and all the cash of the priories, &c. belonging to it, to be conveyed into *Palestine*, in order to march with this reinforcement to join the king at the siege of *Damietta*. He likewise made very strong efforts to prevail upon the sultan of *Egypt* to treat with him about the redemption of Christian slaves, which were by that time become very numerous; and, if he could have succeeded in it, it would have proved very serviceable; but the sultan, who was privately in league with the emperor, who hated them no less than he, absolutely refused it, and dismissed the commissioners with very severe, though just, reproaches, of their former perfidy. The ill success of the siege we have already seen; and need only observe here, that, upon his being taken prisoner with the king, the chapter caused him to be redeemed at a great price; but he did not long survive his return to *Ptolemais*, where he died in the third year of his government (R); and was succeeded by

Taken prisoner,
redeemed,
and dies.

1251.
18. William
de Chateau-
neuf.

WILLIAM DE CASTELNAU, alias *Chateaufneuf*, a French gentleman, of the *Auvernian* tongue, an ancient knight, and so strict an observer of their religious discipline, that, if we may believe the French writer of *St. Lewis's* life^a, he condemned the knights to eat upon their cloaks, spread upon the ground in their hall or refectory, for having had a squabble with some of the Frenchmen of that king's retinue, as they were hunting an antelope near *Ptolemais*. In his time, that monarch having caused the fortifications of *Ptolemais*, *Joppa*, *Cæsarea*, and some other places, to be repaired, and greatly improved, returned into *France*, and left the care of that country to the new grand master, about three years after his election; who accordingly fortified the monastery of *Mount Thabor*, now abandoned, in the form of a strong citadel; as he did likewise the castle of *Bethany*, which was granted to him by pope *Alexander IV.* with all its revenues, and some others, and put a sufficient number of forces and ammunition into each of them, particularly into that of *Caraa*, in the country of *Tripoli*, which belonged to the order, and that of *Affur*, bordering on the conquests of the *Saracens* in the *Holy Land*; in which last he put 100 of his knights, with a good number of hired troops, to suppress the inroads of those infidels.

Fortifies
several places
in the Holy
Land.

Greatly fa-
voured by the
pope.

POPE *Alexander IV.* not content with confirming and augmenting the immunities and privileges of the order, besides *M. Thabor* and the castle of *Bethany* above-mentioned, with all the revenues belonging to them, added several other grants, in order to keep all their fortified places and garrisons in the best repair; which he accordingly did: but all these pleasing prospects were forced to give way to a more gloomy and discouraging one, which forced itself upon him; viz. that of seeing all the fair promises made to him of a speedy and considerable succour from *Europe* come to nothing; the grief of which, in all probability, shortened his days^b. He died in the ninth year of his mastership; and was succeeded by

Dies of grief.

19. Hugh
Revel.

Reforms se-
veral abuses.

HUGH REVEL, a native of *Dauphiny*, and of an ancient and noble family, who, by his wise and extraordinary conduct, greatly contributed to raise the lustre of his order, and his new dignity, at least with respect to the temporal state of it. He summoned a general chapter of the whole order at *Cæsarea*, where the abuses, which had crept into its several commanderies, were examined, and priors set over them to visit and inspect them, and transmit the revenues of them duly over into the public treasury. The same chapter passed a law, forbidding the knights to make wills, or leave legacies, or even any gratuities, to their domestics, without the leave of the grand master, as being inconsistent with their vow of poverty^c.

THESE few wholesome regulations were the more necessary at this time, not only to reform those several abuses which were grown to a monstrous height, but likewise to enable the order to procure, at their own charge, those succours which they had long expected in vain

^a JOINVILLE, apud Vertot, tom. i. p. 515, & seq.
PER, VERTOT, & al.

^b BOSIO, MEGISSER, BAUDOUIN, DAVITY, DAPPER, VERTOT, & al. ^c BOSIO, FAZEL, MEGISSER, BAUDOUIN, VERTOT, & al.

(R) Among other fresh privileges and immunities granted to this grand master, during his short government, by four successive bulls, the last of them, dated March 24, 1250, exempts his order, and the servants of it, from being summoned or sued before any ecclesiastical court whatsoever: and the archbishops and bishops of *France* are thereby enjoined to forbid their

deans, archdeacons, vicars, and other officers, to summon or sue any of them, or their domestics, upon any account whatsoever. The same prohibition is likewise directed to all counts, viscounts, barons, provosts, bailiffs, and other officers of secular justice; as likewise against laying violent hands upon their persons, &c. and all under pain of excommunication (32).

from the *European* princes ; the want of which had occasioned the affairs of religion to go from bad to worse. By these means, and other wise precautions of the grand master, we shall find them still acting, upon all occasions, with their accustomed bravery and zeal, under all the difficulties occasioned by the remissness and indolence of those crowned heads whose duty and interest it was to have supported them.

REVEL was hardly entered into the third year of his dignity, before *Bendocdar*, the bitterest enemy that the Christians in *Palestine*, especially those of his order, ever had, was raised by the *Mamluks* to be sultan of *Egypt*, and threatened the two orders with expulsion from that country. He accordingly began with the castle of *Affur*, or *Asbur*, one of their strongest fortresses, which the late grand master had fortified and garrisoned with 100 of his knights, besides some other troops, who all maintained their ground with the most intrepid bravery, until they were all cut to pieces ; inasmuch that the sultan could not enter the place but by going over the dead bodies, with which all the avenues to it were covered. Next year the sea-port of *Gaffa*, or *Joppa*, the castles of *Beaufort* and *Carac*, underwent the same fate, and the garrisons were all massacred without mercy to the last man. *Antioch* was surrendered by treachery, and nothing was left but the dismal prospect of the total loss of the *Holy Land* ; when *Revel*, in conjunction with the master of the templars, now honoured with the additional title of *grand*, like his noble colleague, by pope *Clement IV.* found means to induce the sultan to make a truce, in hopes that, in a short time, they might obtain some succours from *Europe*. They agreed to pass over together to *Italy*, in order to promote, by their interest, *Tibald* archdeacon of *Liege*, then in *Palestine*, to the papal chair, which had been vacant near three years ; not doubting but, as he had been an eye-witness of the dismal condition of Christianity, his piety and zeal would stir him up to employ all his interest and authority to procure some considerable reinforcement to these two orders, who were now the only supporters left of that tottering state.

The knights cut in pieces at Affur, &c.

Make a truce with the sultan.

Revel goes into Europe.

He did so, and, with a readiness suitable to their hopes, invited them both to assist at the general council of *Lyons*, which he convened soon after his exaltation ; and, as that could not meet till three years after, he employed that time in writing circular letters, to exhort the Christian princes, by a timely supply, to prevent the total loss of the *Holy Land*. We shall not repeat here the result of that august assembly, nor sundry other cross events that happened in *Palestine* during that time, which the sultan would not have failed of turning to his advantage, had he not been prevented by death before the truce was expired^f. But in the mean time the grand master *Revel*, quite worn out with age, fatigues, and, which is still worse, with cares and grief, departed this life in the 18th year of his government, and on the year after the death of *Bendocdar*.

Assists at the council of Lyons.

He was succeeded by *Nicholas de Lorgue*, a gentleman of a sweet and insinuating disposition, whose first care, after his election, was to restore the harmony which had been long interrupted between his order and that of the templars, and to appease the feuds and animosities which reigned among the various nations that were settled in the city. In which he not only had the mortification to find all his endeavours eluded, but likewise to see the truce all on a sudden broke by *Sais Melech*, the successor of *Bendocdar*, before it was expired, and the important fortress of *Margath* assaulted, and surrendered to that treacherous prince, who caused it to be taken and razed to the ground, to deprive them of all hopes of their ever recovering it. His grief for the loss of so considerable a place, as well as for the success of the infidels in those parts, so sensibly affected him, that he took the advantage of a second truce with them to repass into *Europe*, to solicit for some fresh succours ; but all he could obtain was about 1500 men, most of them either banditti, or of the lees of the people, without either courage or discipline. Even the then pope *Nicholas IV.* refused to assist him with money towards their pay ; and with this poor reinforcement he was forced to return to *Ptolemais*, the sight of which rather contributed to increase than allay the discontents and despairs of the fraternity. As for *De Lorgue*, the cold reception he met with in *Europe*, joined to the deplorable condition they were reduced to, so effectually touched his heart, that it quickly brought him to his grave, in the 10th year of his government, and prevented his surviving the loss of that important place, and of the *Holy Land*, which he clearly foresaw to be near at hand.

20. Nicholas Lorgue. 1278.

The sultan takes Margath.

Lorgue returns.

His death.

He was succeeded by *John de Villiers*, a Frenchman, during whose whole government the affairs of religion went still worse and worse, by the loss of *Tripoli* in *Syria*, of *Tyre*, *Sidon*, *Baruth*, and, last of all, of *Ptolemais*. With regard to this last, it may be observed, that the breach of the second truce was owing chiefly to the garrison of it, or rather to that reinforcement which was thrown into it by the late grand master *De Lorgue*. We have already hinted what a wretched crew of scoundrels they were, ill disciplined, and worse paid ; so

21. John de Villiers. Tripoli, &c. taken from the Christians.

^f Vide auct. sup. citat.

that they made no scruple to fall out as occasion offered, and to live on the plunder of a Christians as well as *Saracens*, without distinction. The sultan in vain sent to demand satisfaction for these depredations; the jealousy and divisions which reigned in the place, which was then without a proper governor, and inhabited by a mixed multitude of all nations and conditions, most of them independent of each other, and living in a kind of anarchy, gave no room to expect any redress or remedy; and even the patriarch, the pope's legate, and chiefs of the clergy, had withdrawn themselves into a separate quarter of the town. Thus whilst discord, envy, rapine, murder, and every destructive irregularity, were suffered to reign in the place, that vast multitude, which, united, might have withstood all the efforts of the enemy, became a sacrifice to their implacable fury, and brought on the loss and dreadful catastrophe of that unhappy city^h, as well as the total expulsion of the Christians, b and particularly of this order, out of *Palestine*.

The knights
sail to Cy-
prus, and set-
tle at Limisso.

THE grand master, and those few knights that survived this irreparable loss, embarked with all possible speed, as well as the templars and those of the *Teutonic* order, and dispersed themselves by several routes. Their example was followed by those who were left in the few castles that remained untaken, but which they found they were unable to maintain themselves in. The hospitallers, however, being still in hopes that some fresh crusade might enable them once more to settle in the *Holy Land*, resolved to fix themselves as near it as they could; and, having obtained leave of the king of *Cyprus* to take shelter in his island, he assigned to them the city of *Limisso* in that island, where they gradually arrived one after another, as they could best avoid the pursuit of the *Saracens*. A doleful sight it c was to see them land, after the dreadful fatigues and dangers they had sustained during that siege; and though most of them were covered with wounds, yet were they still more grieved at their hearts that they had outlived so great a loss. Here, however, they settled for the present; and the grand master convened two general chapters, one year after another, to consult on the properest means of bettering, if possible, their now almost desperate condition, and preventing the total extinction of their order. He likewise sent to the pope *Nico-* las IV. the melancholy news of the loss of *Palestine*; who immediately dispatched his nuncios to all the *European* princes, to exhort them to set aside all their mutual feuds, and turn their thoughts and efforts towards the recovery of it. In the mean time *Villiers* had the comfort to see the first general council filled with a vast number of knights of all nations, d old and young, who came readily to *Cyprus* from all parts, none excusing himself from being at it on that emergent occasion, insomuch that there never had been seen so numerous an assembly since the foundation of the order.

Villiers sends
to the pope
for help.

Some object
against staying
at Limisso.

Their advice
rejected.

THE master's speech, which drew tears from the eyes of all its hearers, was followed with an universal protestation both of old and young, that they were all ready and impatient to venture their lives for the recovery of the holy places. The misfortune was, that the city of *Limisso* had suffered so much from the *Arabian* and *Saracen* corsairs, that it was now reduced to a wide open borough, exposed on all sides; on which account some of the assembly proposed to seek for a more safe and convenient settlement in some part of *Italy*. This proposal, however, was rejected with scorn by the grand master and the senior knights, as inconsistent e with the intent and meaning of some of their late statutes, which obliged them to keep as near the *Holy Land* as possible, in order to be at hand, whenever an opportunity offered, to take up arms for the recovery of it; upon which it was agreed to make the best of the place they were in, and to look no farther.

Villiers re-
sumes the old
duties of the
order.

Sends galleys
upon the cruise.

THE first care of the grand master was, to get proper accommodations for the sick, wounded, lame, &c. as was usually done before; and as there was not room enough in the place to entertain so great a multitude of knights and their retinue, it was further agreed that a certain number of those galleys, which had brought them thither either from *Europe* or *Palestine*, should be armed and fitted out, and commanded by turns by a proper number of knights, whose chief business it should be to scour the sea, and escort the pilgrims that f still went to and from *Palestine*. Upon which many of them of different sizes began to sail from several ports of the island, and, at their return, brought in considerable prizes which they made of the *Turkish* corsairs, who were watching to intercept those pilgrims in their passage thither or homewards. These helped to augment the number of their vessels; to which they added some new ones, which they ordered to be built, by which means they began again to make some figure at sea, which served also to keep the knights in action, and to train up and enure the young ones at once to war and navigation.

Convenes two
new chapters.
1292.

IN the mean time the grand master *Villiers*, finding the preparations in *Europe* for an armament in their favour to go on extremely slowly, employed his time in making several new and very necessary statutes and regulations. After which, having obtained leave of the g

^h Vide auct. sup. citat.
& seq.

ⁱ BOSIO, MEÛISSER, LUSIGNAN Hist. de Malt. VERTOT, tom. ii. l. 4. p. 9.

a king, he set himself about fortifying the city of *Limisso*, in order to secure it from the attempts of *Melech Nazar*, who had succeeded *Melech Zaraph*, who would not otherwise fail of assaulting him in so open and defenceless a place. Pope *Celestian IV.* being at length chosen to the papal chair, and apprised of their loss of all the lands which they had held in *Palestine*, made it his first care to shew them some marks of this affection; and, though he was soon after cheated out of his dignity, his successor *Boniface VIII.* shewed himself no less generous to them, by the bulls which he fulminated against the kings of *England* and *Portugal*. These princes, after the loss of the *Holy Land*, had sequestered their lands and revenues, to what they called more pious and charitable uses than the supporting those knights in pride and luxury, for which reproach they had given but too much occasion; but those bulls, notwithstanding their specious pretences, obliged those two princes to obey, and to revoke their sequestration. The misfortune was, that the king of *Cyprus*, no less haughty than that pontiff, conceived such a jealousy against the whole order, which claimed an independence on any but the pope, that he absolutely refused to suffer them to settle in his dominions, unless they would submit to pay him a certain tribute yearly as his vassals, with which they were obliged to comply, in spite of the pope's thundering bull against it, in which he stiled it a horrid and detestable extortion. In the mean time the grand master *De Villiers* died at *Limisso*, quite worn out with grief and fatigues, in the sixth year after his election ^{Makes new regulations.} ^{De Villiers dies.}

c THE chapter chose in his room *Odon des Pins*, alias *Odo de Pinibus*, a native of *Provence*, a person already advanced in years, but fitter for the monkish offices than for those of such a warlike order, and perhaps more devout and retired than was consistent with it. His affected indolence, and the neglect of sending their galleys in search of fresh captures, soon brought upon him the general dislike of the whole order, which chiefly subsisted by them. Complaints were therefore made to the pope against him, by the greatest part of them, who at the same time begged leave to depose him. He was thereupon summoned before that pontiff; but died before he reached *Italy*, in the second year of his government, and was succeeded by ^{22. Odon des Pins.} ^{1294.} ^{Dies in his way to Rome.}

d WILLIAM DE VILLARET, of the tongue of *Provence*, at that time residing in his own priory of *St. Giles*; but who, upon the news of his election, chose to visit in person all the places in the several tongues of *Provence*, *Auvergne*, and *France*, in most of which he made several wholesome and needful regulations, before he set out for *Cyprus*. In his time pope *Boniface VIII.* confirmed the old rule of the order, which had been lost during the siege of *Ptolemais*, but the counterpart of which was still extant in the *Vatican* library. That pontiff at the same time conferred upon this order the abbey of *Vennosa*, in the kingdom of *Naples*, which he had suppressed on account of the irregularities of the nuns belonging to it. *Villaret*, having thanked his holiness for these two signal favours, set sail for *Cyprus*, where he was received by the whole convent with universal joy, and where they had waited with impatience for his arrival, in hopes that his presence would give fresh life to a new project which they had formed for driving the *Saracens* out of the *Holy Land*, by making a league with *Guzan*, now at the head of the *Mogul Tatars*. He likewise received several other considerable privileges from pope *Benedict X.* and *Philip the Fair* of *France*. ^{23. William de Villaret.} ^{Gets the old rule confirmed, with other grants from the pope and king of France.}

e BUT the grand master had a much more important project in his head, which yet he kept wholly to himself, till he had assured himself of the feasibility of it. The ill treatment which he and his order had received from the king *Cyprus*, in a great measure forced him into it. It was no less than the conquest of the island of *Rhodes*, where the lords of *Galla* had, from governors, erected themselves into sovereigns of it, and had peopled it with *Turkish* and *Saracen* merchants, who admitted all the corsairs of those nations into their ports, where they rode safe from the pursuit of the galleys of his order. His first care was to take an exact survey of its ports, fortified places, garrisons, and number of its inhabitants; but not finding himself in a condition to attempt it with the small force he had, he sailed back to *Limisso*, with an intent to go thence to *Rome*, and acquaint the pope with his design on that island, and to procure by his means some fresh assistance from the *European* princes; but, whilst he was preparing for that voyage, he was seized with a lingering disease, which put an end to his project and to his life, on the 12th year of his grand mastership; so that he lived to see the dreadful catastrophe and final destruction of the knights templars ^{1308.} ^{Prevented by death.}

f HE was succeeded by his brother *Foult de Villaret*, who, being well acquainted with all his designs, and the plan he had laid for facilitating so noble a project, and a person of no less courage and conduct for executing of it, was the fittest to supply his place. He sailed accordingly from *Limisso*, accompanied by a great number of his knights, who were no less ^{24. Foult de Villaret.} ^{Sails into France.}

^k BOSIO, MEGISSER, BYSSAT, LUSIGNAN, BAUDOUIN, VERTOT, & al. ubi sup. p. 49. ^m Auct. sup. citat.

¹ N. FERAT, ubi sup.

Confers with
the pope and
French king.

tired than he with the frequent insults of the *Cyprian* monarch, in the galleys of the order, to go and confer with the pope *French* king, both then in the city of *Poitiers*, to examine the case of the knights templars, and to propose to the then master of them, who was there likewise, the uniting of the two orders under one chief or grand master. To this he answered, that the same proposal, having been formerly made at the council of *Lyons*, under *Gregory IX.* was set aside upon several invincible obstacles which were urged against it, and, amongst the rest, that the monarchs of *Spain*, who were at perpetual war with the *Moors*, and derived their chief strength from the military orders established in their own dominions, would never permit that the *Spanish* knights, who were solely dependent on him, should become subject to any authority but his own: and, 2dly, that it would be highly unreasonable, and even dangerous, to oblige that military order to observe the severe discipline of the templars, with regard to their religious obligations and vows, which they had no proper call, nor grace given, to observe; so that such an union would rather be a disservice than a means of recovering the *Holy Land*, which was what the Christian powers had most at heart, and esteemed the most meritorious action they could contribute to, or exert themselves in ^a.

His project
of seizing
Rhodes
approved.

A crusade
proclaimed.

UPON the whole, the project was set aside, and that of the grand master *Villaret* approved of, exchanging the isle of *Cyprus*, where they were exposed to the attacks of the *Saracens* from without, and to the insults and extortions of the king from within, for that of *Rhodes*, where they would be able to fortify themselves against the one, and be near at hand to attempt the recovery of *Palestine*, whenever a fair opportunity offered. But as the conquest of that island was an enterprise above their present strength, a fresh crusade was proposed and agreed to, to assist them with a sufficient force to effect it, without discovering however the particular design of it, which it was their interest to conceal with all possible secrecy. The pope's bull for it granted such plenary indulgences, and other considerable privileges, to those that should engage in or contribute towards it, that volunteers came in shoals from all parts of *Europe*, especially from *Germany*, to enlist themselves; and the very women readily parted with their jewels to contribute towards the expences of it; so that the vast sums which were collected quickly enabled them to procure arms and ammunition, and vessels to carry over a great army, so great, we are told ^b, that, for want of a sufficient number of transport ships, and to prevent the too great confusion it might cause, the grand master and his knights contented themselves with singling out the stoutest and best accoutred; and, taking leave of the pontif, sailed with them for the island of *Cyprus*, where they arrived safe, and without coming near that of *Rhodes*, to avoid raising any suspicion. Here he stayed no longer than till he could get his knights, and all the arms and effects of the order on board, and then set sail again on his intended expedition.

Sails back
with his fleet
to Cyprus.

Refused the
investiture of
Rhodes.

Lands on the
island.

UPON the ungenerous refusal which the emperor *Andronicus*, who mortally hated the *Latins*, made him of the investiture of *Rhodes*, tho' he had hardly any thing left in it but a castle, and some shadow of authority, the grand master, who easily foresaw the issue of this negotiation, instead of staying longer at *Macry*, where he only stopped to take in fresh water, sailed directly for that island, and quickly landed his forces, provisions, and warlike stores, in spite of the opposition which the *Greeks* and *Saracens*, who then inhabited it, could make against them; so greatly were they fallen, by this time, from the valour and noble spirit for which they had been so justly famed in former days ^c. Not that they immediately submitted to the invaders without resistance, for there was scarcely a day in which they did not make some effort to drive them out, especially as the emperor *Andronicus* supplied them with fresh forces, in hopes that the island would easily submit to him as soon as the *Latins* were destroyed out of it; and this contest lasted near four years, though authors have given us few or no particulars of it, except what relates to the taking of its capital, without which the grand master clearly foresaw the island would hardly be subdued.

Lays siege to
the capital.

THE siege was actually carried on with surprising bravery, the knights emulously running themselves into the greatest dangers to hasten its reduction; but as the besiegers made a no less vigorous defence, he thought it expedient to turn it into a blockade; in which however he quickly found himself so closely surrounded by the *Greeks* and *Saracens*, that he could get no supply of either forage or provisions for his army.

Repels the
Saracens.

HAVING at length obtained a supply of fresh provisions by means of some large sums which he borrowed from the *Florentines*, and sufficiently refreshed his own men, he came out of his trenches, and attacked the *Saracens*, with a full resolution either to conquer or die. A bloody fight ensued, in which he lost a great number of his bravest knights, whilst the inhabitants fought against them with the utmost fury, as against invaders of their lands, families, and liberty. At length the *Saracens* gave way, and abandoned the field of battle, to gain their ships, whence they went and spread the news of their defeat among the islands ^d.

^a Bosio, & al. sup. citat.

^b Ibid. ibid.

^c See Anc. Hist. vol. iii. p. 131, & seq.

- a of the *Archipelago*. The siege was immediately after renewed with fresh vigour; the assault given through a thick volley of arrows, and other missive weapons, from the ramparts, and the standards of the order quickly after displayed upon them. The *Greeks*, and other Christians, that were found in the place, had their lives and liberties given them, but the *Saracens* were all cut in pieces. The taking of the city was followed by that of the castle of *Lindo*, situate on the eastern coasts of the island, near which are two convenient bays, especially that which still retains its ancient name of the *Bay of Serpents*. Other fortifications, and at length that whole island, gradually underwent the same fortune; so that they got full possession of it in less than four years time. In memory of this signal transaction, so glorious and advantageous to the order, and to all Christendom, they took, and retained
- b as long as they kept possession of the island, the name of knights of *Rhodes*, and it is by that name that we must distinguish them thro' the following section.
- Taken Rhode by assault, and the possession of the island*
The name of Rhodians taken by the knights.

S E C T. II.

The history of the knights of Rhodes, from their first settlement on that island, to their being dispossessed of it by Soliman, emperor of the Turks.

- c **T**HIS famed island having been fully described in our Antient History*, with respect to its situation, extent, climate, soil, product, &c. we shall not trouble our readers any farther about it here, except where it hath since received any considerable improvement either in its fortifications, navy, or commerce, since it became subject to these new masters. But as the reduction of it by them was followed by that of eight or nine more of a smaller size and importance, formerly called *Rhodian* islands, but most of them mere barren rocks, we shall just give a short account of those which proved the most useful to the order in the sequel, and barely mention what is found most remarkable in them, before we resume the thread of our history. These are known by the names of, 1. *Nisara*, antiently, *Nisyros*; 2. *Lero*; 3. *Calamo*; 4. *Episcopia*; 5. *Calchis de Simia*; 6. *Tilo*; and 7. *Cos*, alias *Lango*.
- d *NISARA* is distant from that of *Cos* last-named about two leagues, and about the same distance which it is from the continent of *Caria*. It had formerly a temple dedicated to *Neptune*, some hot baths, and a good haven; and, upon its surrender, was now given in fief by the grand master to *John* and *Bonavil Assaliers*, two brothers, who had signalized themselves at the siege of *Rhodes*, upon condition they should forthwith build a new galley of 25 oars, man and equip it at their own charge, and go on board it themselves when and where-ever the grand master should order them.
- Island of Rhodes.*
Seven other small islands described.
- LERO* is about eighteen miles in compass, yet is one continued rock, on the summit of which was a castle, which defended the harbour from the plundering corsairs.
- Calamo.*
- e *THAT* of *Calamo*, though still much larger, being near forty miles in circumference, is likewise a mere continued barren rock: yet did the knights find in it the ruins of a considerable city, whose inhabitants probably subsisted on their commerce, the soil being altogether dry and barren. Those of *Episcopia* and *Tilo* are still more inconsiderable. That of *Chalce* or *Calchis de Simia* hath little remarkable in it, except that it produces some good wines, and breeds up a vast number of goats. The inhabitants are famous for having a sort of small light frigates, which sail and row with such prodigious swiftmess, that no ship can overtake them. This island was likewise famous for breeding up excellent swimmers and divers, who dived for sponge; and there was a law among them, that none should be permitted to marry till they could dive twenty fathom deep. On the summit of this island the grand master ordered a very high tower to be erected, from the top of which one could see a great
- f way any vessel that appeared at sea, of which they were to give notice to the order, either by their beacons, or by dispatching one of their swift frigates to *Rhodes*. But the most considerable of all is that of *Cos* or *Lango*, which is near four miles long and about two in breadth, and moreover famed for being the native place of the great *Hippocrates* and *Apelles*. Its soil is fertile, and produces great variety of fruit. The knights found in it a small city or town, situate by the sea-side, at the bottom of a large bay, and at the foot of a high mountain. The haven was then commodious and wide, but the mouth of it hath been some time ago so choaked up with the sand thrown into it by the waves, that none but small vessels can sail into it, whilst those of a larger bulk are obliged to ride in the road near it, which hath a good bottom and anchorage.
- Excellent divers.*
Cos, or Lango.
Fertile Soil.

* BOSIO, MARMOL, Afric. l. ii. sub an 1397. BAUDOUIN, histoire des Cheval. de Jerusl. l. iii. c. 2. & seq. VERTOT, & al. Vol. iii. p. 129.

Castle.

Commerce.

ON this island the grand master ordered a stout castle to be built, with strong towers and other bulwarks, and left it under the government of one of the knights, who laid the foundation for a commerce in the island: this became so considerable under his successors, that the town began to make a great figure, and the island was looked upon as a second *Rhodes*; insomuch that it was raised to the dignity of a bishop's see under that of *Rhodes*, and erected into one of the bailiwicks of the order^b.

Fortifications of Rhodes repaired.

Othman defeated before it, with great loss.

WHILST the grand master was receiving the homage, and establishing his authority, in the several islands above-mentioned, the fortifications of the capital were repaired and improved according to his order; so that at his return he sailed with his galleys into the harbour with great pomp, amidst the shouts and acclamations of his order. He had not long enjoyed the fruits of this new conquest, before the *Saracens*, who escaped from the sword of his troops, by regaining their ships, raised up a potent enemy against him. It was *Osmir*, alias *Othman*, of the race of sultans of that name, who then reigned in *Bithynia*; and, whether to revenge the blood of the slain *Saracens*, or out of dislike of having so warlike and enterprising an order so near his own dominions, resolved at any rate to drive them out of that island. After the several conquests he had by this time made in *Lycia*, *Caria*, and other parts of the *Greek* empire, he bent his whole naval strength against this place; and made such dispatch in his preparations, that he was able to lay siege to that capital before the walls and other fortifications of it were fully repaired. His fleet was numerous, his troops were stout and warlike, and accustomed to conquer under his banners; yet did his good fortune fail him in this attempt. The intrepid valour of the *Rhodian* knights proved such an effectual bulwark against all his efforts, that he was forced to raise the siege, and retire with a great loss of his men; which he had no sooner done, than the grand master ordered the walls to be strongly terraced, and new out-works to be added to the old, to secure that capital from future attempts.

The commerce of it restored.

Becomes a most flourishing city.

HIS next care was to open such a commerce with it as might render it no less rich and flourishing than strong. To this end he invited all that had retired into different parts of *Greece* to come and settle there; which they did quickly in vast multitudes. He also made the port of *Rhodes* a free one to all nations, which drew likewise a vast concourse of merchants thither; insomuch that that city gradually arose to such degree of opulence, as to become one of the most flourishing in all *Asia*, as well as one of the most secure and commodious havens for all the crusades that came from *Europe*, to the great joy and satisfaction of all the Christian crowned heads, and the singular honour of the knights hospitallers, who, by the taking of this important island, gave the world a proof, that, in the loss of the *Holy Land*, they had never resigned their hopes and desire of recovering it again; in which they shewed themselves much superior in zeal and bravery to their rivals the templars, who so readily abandoned those holy places to the fury and tyranny of the enemies of Christendom, to indulge themselves in ease and luxury, and a life quite opposite to their vows, and the design of their institution. This was, at least, the general outcry against them, whether deservedly or no, all over *Europe*, but more especially at the courts of *France* and *Rome*, and what hastened their ruin and total extinction, as well as the bestowing of all their lands and revenues on the knights of *Rhodes*.

Lalleman made visitor of all the priories of Europe.

THEY appointed *Robert Lalleman*, of the *Black Castle*, a person of known prudence and integrity, and who had been for some time great commander of the order, their attorney-general, with a competent number of other knights his coadjutors, and sent them with full power to take possession of all those estates, and to give proper discharges for them. The said *Lalleman* was likewise appointed, by the same chapter, general visitor, inquisitor, administrator, steward, and reformer of the order on this side of the sea, and ordered to make a thorough reformation of all the abuses which had crept in, during the late troublesome times, with regard to the application of the revenues of every priory, &c. or in any other instance; with full power to judge and condemn all delinquents of what rank and quality soever, to deprive them of their respective dignities and trusts, and nominate others in their place. He was moreover empowered to admit fit and worthy persons into the order, and to invest them with the proper habit and other insignia of it. This commission is dated *October 27, 1312*; and was the more politically concerted, as the execution of it would at once silence the complaints which had been made against their order, with regard to those abuses, at the council of *Vienna*, by the creatures of the *French* king, who wanted to seize on the best part of the estates of the templars; and as it would prevent pope *Boniface*, who had engaged to become himself their visitor and reformer, and to see all such abuses rectified, from nominating some of his own creatures to that office. However that be, *Lalleman* and his coadjutors found the greatest difficulty, when they came into *Europe*, to get those estates out of the hands of the tenacious administrators; and it was not accomplished till after a

^b De his, vid. int. alios, VERTOT, tom. ii. l. iv. p. 91, & seq. vid. & BOSIO, MEGISSE, & al. sup. citat. good

a good number of years, and much trouble and fatigue. It proved, however, quite otherwise Edward II. of England resigns those in his dominions; in *England*, where *Edward II.* not only published an express order to his officers to put the said *Lalleman*, and other commissioners, in possession of all the lands which the templars held in his dominions, but likewise sent letters to his barons, to hasten the execution of his orders, and to use their utmost power and authority in protecting those commissaries; and not only to see the lands themselves, but even the produce of them, such as corn, fruits, &c. to be delivered unto them. The original of both these letters are preserved in the *Tower* to this day, which shew, that this prince was above following the example of other crowned heads, in appropriating any of them to his own use, in prejudice of that order ⁿ.

b We observed, that the success which the young knights had in their cruises at sea had Luxury, &c. introduced by Villaret; introduced such luxury and remissness, that the grand master was forced to have some statutes made against it. This abuse was by this time rather increased than lessened, not only by the additional augmentation of their revenue, but what was still more surprising, by the example of *Villaret* himself, whose carriage, from an able and prudent general, was so strangely altered since his late conquest of the island, and his other successes, that he was sunk into the follies of the younger sort, and become despicable to all the ancients, on account of his new and extravagant way of living. His person was always surrounded with a vast attendance, and crowds of fawning parasites; his table served with most exquisite and far-fetched dainties. He bestowed the vacant commands on his worthless favourites, in prejudice of those, who, by their seniority and merit, were much better intitled to them; c and shut up all avenues to remonstrances or complaints, denying them access to his presence; or, if he vouchsafed audience to any, it was with the most discouraging haughtiness. He even retrenched the usual allowance of the house, and other necessities to the knights, serving-brothers, and domestics, yet ran the house deeply in debt; for these, and such other despotic irregularities, he was first summoned to appear before the chapter, which he disdainfully refused to comply with, so that they came at length to a resolution to depose who is deposed. him.

THE malecontents had at their head *Maurice de Pagnac*, a strict but fair observer of the religious discipline, who, under pretence of freeing their order from such an arbitrary governor, found means to get himself elected in his place. Their next aim was to seize on his d person; and, as that was now become in some measure inaccessible, they offered a very considerable reward to one of his valets de chambre, to let them into his apartment in the dead of night; but he, instead of accepting of their offer, acquainted his master with what had been resolved against him; who, under some pretence, withdrew himself from the city, and retired to the castle of *Lindo*, situate on the eastern coast of the island, which he seized; and, Flee to Lindo. having fortified himself in it, sent to signify to the chapter, that he appealed to the pope against their act for his deposition, or any other they might pass against his person and dignity.

ALL those overt-acts of tyranny failed not to turn the hearts of the most moderate against him, and to induce them at last to agree to his deposition. The pope, *John XXII.* had a e full account of all these transactions sent to him, who immediately deputed thither *Bernard de Mareze*, prior of *St. Caprius*, and *Bosolo*, his own chaplain, with orders to make a strict inquiry into them, to suspend the two grand masters, and to summon them to appear before him, whilst *Gerard de Pins* was appointed by his holiness to preside over the order until the matter was determined. They were likewise ordered to seize on all the money, jewels, plate, &c. of *Villaret*, and to convey them, with an exact inventory of the whole amount, into the treasury of the order, to be applied in the payment of the various sums that had been borrowed from the bank of *Florence*. The two grand masters, according to the pope's order, set sail for *Avignon*; but, in their way thither, *Villaret* was received with such marks of respect, as gave his competitor, *de Pagnac*, little hopes of getting the better of him. After f several audiences which that pontif granted to each of them, and frequent hearings before the greatest lawyers and cardinals, the deposition of *Villaret* was condemned as too hasty and illegal; by which *de Pagnac* easily foresaw that his own condemnation would be the next step; to avoid the disgrace of which he privately retired to *Montpelier*, where he soon died Pagnac withdraws, and dies. of a deep melancholy, which saved the pope the trouble of pronouncing sentence against him.

To preserve, however, his authority over the order, he restored *Villaret* to his former dig- nity, but not without having previously bound him in private to resign it again within a Villaret re- stored; year, upon condition that he should be invested with one of the richest priories, where he might live in splendor and plenty the remainder of his days. The conditions were exactly g fulfilled on both sides; *Villaret* exchanged his grand mastership for a good priory, and went abdicates, and dies. to spend the remaining four years of his life at his sister's castle of *Teyran* in *Languedoc*, and

was buried in the great church of *St. John* in *Montpelier*, where a stately marble monument^a was erected to him, which sets forth his great exploits, without mentioning his abdication.

Gerard de
Pins defeats
Orcan at sea.

1321.

We observed before, that the two visitors, whom the pope had sent to *Rhodes*, had left *Gerard de Pins*, grand general of the order, and an old experienced warrior, governor of the island during the absence of the two masters. This gentleman saw himself soon after attacked by a powerful fleet, consisting of eighty sail of pinks, brigantines, and other vessels, well armed and manned (A), under the command of the famed *Orcan*, alias *Urban*, the son of *Othman*, a prince who had spent most of his time in the field, and had by this time subdued the provinces of *Myfia*, *Lycania*, *Phrygia*, and *Caria*, the last of which was divided from the island of *Rhodes* by a narrow channel. It was the neighbourhood of these that made his father attempt the driving of the knights out of it, as hath been hinted above, at an unlucky time. But now the opportunity appeared to him altogether favourable, from the reigning divisions, remissness, and luxury, which had crept into the order, the absence of the grand master, as well as of the greatest part of their galleys, which were then either upon the cruise, or elsewhere employed; insomuch that when news were brought that the *Othman* fleet was designed against that island, *Gerard de Pins* had no more than four galleys belonging to the order, and about five *Genoese* trading vessels, with some few pinks and brigantines of smaller sizes. These, however, he manned with soldiers and inhabitants, and set sail against the enemy, who, though vastly superior in number, yet being less accustomed to sea than land fights, were easily defeated with considerable loss. The *Rhodians* sunk a great number of their frigates and flat-bottomed vessels, took several more, brought away a great number of prisoners, and dispersed the rest. He sailed next to the island of *Episcopia*, where he put all the old *Rhodian* inhabitants mentioned in the last note to the sword, to prevent their ever recovering their antient habitations.

1323.

25. Helion de
Villeneuve
chosen grand
master.

WHILST these things passed at *Rhodes*, the knights, who were still at *Avignon*, being convoked by the pope, and exhorted to peace and unanimity, proceeded to the choice of a grand master to succeed *Villaret*, who had now abdicated according to his agreement. No man could have a better title to it than the brave *Gerard de Pins*, who had so greatly signalized himself in defence of their island; yet the pontif had such an influence on that servile chapter, that the choice fell upon one of his own creatures, named *Helion de Villeneuve*, who, in gratitude to him, sold him some fine seats and lands belonging to the order, in the neighbourhood of *Cabors*, the capital of *Quercy* in *France*, the pope's native country, where he afterwards settled his obscure family, by which means he made himself still surer of his interest and protection in this his new dignity.

Holds two
chapters.

HE stayed about two years at the pope's court, during which time he convened a general chapter at the city of *Montpelier*, to reform the abuses which had introduced themselves into the order during his predecessor's government, particularly the remissness of its discipline, the general luxury that reigned among the gayer sort, and, above all, the non-residence of the knights, vast numbers of whom were dispersed through divers parts of *Europe*, and buried in their commanderies. To recall these, therefore, to their principal house at *Rhodes*, an act was passed, in which those were declared incapable of rising to any of the dignities of the order, who did not reside a certain number of years in it, and in that time did not engage in some martial expedition at sea or land, for the service of religion, &c. Other statutes were made in this and the subsequent years, to ascertain the different privileges of every class. After having made these regulations, the grand master was detained some months longer by a fit of sickness, which seized him just as he had prepared every thing for his departure, and set sail for his government as soon as he was recovered of it.

Returns to
Rhodes.

BUT whilst he was employed in making these regulations for the good of his order, his absence had made room for new ones; so that he found, upon his landing, almost every thing wanted to be rectified. The greatest part of the commanders had left the place upon some pretence or other; the garrisons, for want of being duly paid, were grown shamefully thin; the walls and other out-works were gone to decay; and the same disorders had

^a Auct. sup. citat.

(A) Some authors tell us (1), that this politic prince manned part of his fleet with the old inhabitants of that island, and made them take their families with them, in hopes that they would engage the more heartily in the recovery of their antient lands and habitations; but to that end, left those families in the little island of *Episcopia* lately described, which he made himself master of in his way to that of *Rhodes*, and took the stoutest

men along with him, to assist him in the conquest of this, as soon as he had defeated the small forces of the order, of which he thought himself sure. His politics, however, failed him, as well as his hopes; and he, who had been hitherto so successful and victorious at land, had the mortification to see his numerous fleet defeated by a much inferior force at sea (2).

(1) *Giowan Villani*, p. 118, ap. *Vertot*, tom. ii. lib. iv. p. 181, & seq. citat.

(2) *Iidem ibid*, & al. sup.

a spread themselves in other places under his government; so that his whole time and care *Rectifies disorders there.* were taken up in repairing and strengthening the fortifications, raising new forces, and augmenting his garrisons, which he maintained, it seems, during the rest of his government, at his own charges; and the island was likewise beholden to him for a stout bulwark which he caused to be erected at the head of one of the suburbs, out of his own privy purse. He took the same care of the smaller islands, which he now caused to be visited by proper inspectors, and put under the government of such of his knights as he thought would contribute most to their strength and welfare; and who acquitted themselves accordingly of their commission with such faithfulness and diligence, that they were all quickly after put in a good condition of defence; and their inhabitants so well employed, that there was scarcely one poor
 b one left among them. To all this we may add, that the great concourse of knights, which *The island flourishes a-* his presence and late wholesome statutes brought into the capital, soon resumed their maritime excursions, and brought plenty and wealth into its capital, and raised it to its pristine *gain.* splendor. They moreover kept those seas free from corsairs; and the coasts of *Cyprus* and *Lesser Armenia*, which used to be infested by that piratical crew, were now quite free from them. His charity and munificence extended themselves to the poorest objects, whether pilgrims or others, who were lodged and provided for in a sumptuous hospital erected for that purpose, and had all their wants both of soul and body plentifully supplied.

WE come now to a more surprising transaction which happened under this grand master, and which we relate only on the credit of some sober authors¹, though others have made no *Gozan destroys a large crocodile.* scruple to call it a mere fable; the reader may pass what judgment he pleases upon it; but, as it hath a relation to some other parts of this history, we cannot dispense with giving a short account of it. Among the many venomous creatures that infested this island, there was a monstrous large one, of an amphibious nature, which harboured in a subterraneous cavern at the end of a large morass, and had made dreadful havock among the small and large cattle, and even among the neighbouring inhabitants; they gave it the name of dragon, but it was more probably either a crocodile or a sea-horse of the first magnitude; and several *Rhodian* knights had lost their lives at different times in endeavouring to destroy it, fire-arms not being then in use, and its skin being proof against any other weapon; upon which account the grand master had expressly forbidden making any further attempts against it,
 d under severe penalties. They all readily obeyed, except a *Provençal* knight, named *Deodat de Gozan*, who, less regardful of the prohibition, than of the horrid depredations of the monster, resolved at all hazards to rid the island of it.

THAT he might achieve it the more safely, he went out several times to take a distant view of it, till the want of scales, which he observed under his belly, furnished him with an effectual plan for destroying it.

HE first retired to his native castle of *Gozan*, that he might pursue his project with greater secrecy; and there got an effigy of the monstrous creature, made as exact in colour, shape, and size, as he could, in wood and pasteboard; after which he set about instructing two young mastiffs how to attack him at that tender part, whilst he did the same on horseback
 e with his lance, and in his armour. This exercise he continued several months; after which he sailed back to *Rhodes* with them, and two of his domestics, and, without shewing himself to any one, went directly to the place, and attacked the furious beast, ordering his two servants to stand on the neighbouring hill, and, in case they saw him fall, to return home, but, if victorious, or unluckily wounded, to come to his assistance. On the first onset he ran with full force against it, but found his lance recoil back, without making the least impression on its skin; but whilst he was preparing to repeat his blow, his horse, affrighted at its hissing and stench, started so suddenly back, that he would have thrown him down, had he not as dextrously dismounted, when, drawing his sword, he gave the monster a desperate wound in the softest part of the belly, out of which quickly flowed a plentiful stream
 f of blood. His faithful dogs no sooner saw it than they seized on the place; and held it so fast, that he could not shake them off; upon which he gave the knight such a violent blow with his tail, as threw him flat on the ground, and laid his whole body upon him; so that he must have been inevitably stifled with his weight and stench, had not his two domestics come immediately to his assistance, and disengaged him from his load. They found him so spent and breathless, that they began to think him dead; but, upon throwing some water on his face, he opened his eyes, and glad was he when the first object that saluted him was the monster dead before him, which had destroyed so many of his order.

THE news of this exploit was no sooner known, than he saw himself surrounded with vast *Is degraded and imprisoned for it.* crowds of inhabitants, and met by a great number of knights, who conducted him in a kind of triumph to the palace of the grand master; but great was his mortification here, when,

¹ THEVENOT, VOY. p. i. c. 3. BAUDOUIN, l. iii. c. 4. DAVITY, VERTOT, t. ii. p. 192, & seq. & al. mult.

instead of applause and commendations, he received a severe reprimand, and was sent to a prison by him, without being permitted to speak for himself, or any one to intercede for him. A council was quickly called, in which that severe governor highly aggravated his crime, and, with his usual austerity and sternness, insisted upon his being punished with the utmost severity for his breach of obedience and discipline, which he maintained was of more dangerous consequence than all the mischief which that and many more such monsters could do. At length, with much intreaty, he was prevailed upon to content himself with degrading him, and *Gozan* was accordingly stripped of his cross and habit, an indignity which he esteemed more rigorous than death. He continued some time under this disgrace; after which *Villeneuve*, who was of a generous temper, and an admirer of valour, having asserted his authority by that severe example, readily yielded to have him received again, b and likewise bestowed many signal favours on him; whilst the people, less sparing of their praises than he, paid him the greatest honours every-where; the head of the monster was fastened on one of the gates of the city, as a trophy of *Gozan*'s victory, which was still to be seen there in Mr. *Thevenot*'s time; and the knights, no less grateful, and sensible of this signal service, readily chose him their grand master upon the demise of *Villeneuve*, as we shall see in the sequel. However, even in his life-time he bestowed several considerable commanderies upon him, and made him his lieutenant-general and bosom counsellor; rightly concluding, that a person, who had displayed such extraordinary valour and conduct for the safety of that island, could not fail of shewing the same against any of the enemies of Christianity m.

Is restored to favour.

The peaceful state of the order produces luxury, &c.

By this time the island was so well fortified and garrisoned, and the seas so well guarded by the *Rhodian* gallies, that the *Mohammedans* had not dared to make any attempts against it either by sea or land, and this by degrees introduced a general remissness. The cruises were neglected, because they could make but few prizes; many of the knights left the island, and returned to *Europe*, because they found no further opportunities to exert their martial spirit; and many of them neglected to send their respective quotas, or, as they were stiled, responsions, under pretence that the peaceful calm the island enjoyed made them unnecessary; and the far greatest part of them every-where rioted in luxury and sloth, at the expence of the order, to the great scandal of those who had been witnesses of the quite opposite life, for which their order had been so justly esteemed.

The pope's letter to the grand master. His compliance with it.

POPE *Benedict XII.* who had succeeded *John XXII.* received frequent complaints against them, that the bestowing of the estates of the templars had infected them with the same vices; but, whilst he was taking the properest means to reduce them to their antient discipline, he was suddenly taken off. His successor *Clement VI.* was likewise informed of the considerable damages which the corsairs of *Africa* had done to the islands of *Cyprus*, *Candia*, and others of the *Archipelago*, whilst those who should have protected them were indulging themselves in ease and luxury. That pontif, weary of the frequent complaints which he received from different quarters, wrote a very severe letter to the grand master about it; the result of which was, the calling of a general chapter, in which it was resolved, that six gallies should be fitted and manned accordingly at the port of *Rhodes*, and maintained at the charges of the order. They likewise made sundry wholesome regulations relating to the dress, table, retinue, &c. of the knights; and appointed three grand visitors to carry them to his holiness, with their humble request that he would back them with his apostolical authority, in order to render them more effectual. The pope was highly satisfied with their ready compliance, and dispatched soon after four of his gallies to join with theirs, and other allies, in order to drive the *Turkish* corsairs out of *Smyrna*, which was then in their hands. We have elsewhere shewn the success of that expedition, in which the *Rhodian* knights behaved with the greatest bravery. The grand master no sooner heard of their having gained that important place, than he caused a fresh supply of forces, arms, and provisions, to be conveyed to it. He applied the short remainder of his days in fortifying the island, f and the grand palace, which last he surrounded with stout walls and stately towers, and other public buildings; he likewise erected particularly a stately church, richly endowed; and departed this life on the 27th of *May*, in the 23d year of his government, to the regret of the whole order, who had given him the epithet of the happy grand master n.

Public works.

His death.

26. Deodat de Gozan. 1346.

HE was succeeded, as we hinted a little higher, by *Deodat de Gozan*, who lately delivered the island from a destructive monster. His election being something singular, the reader will not be displeased if we give him a short account of it. The chapter being much divided about the choice of a new master, the more religious part being for one who should keep up the ancient discipline, and the rest less solicitous about that than about having a martial captain who should revive the cruising trade, and lead them to the acquisition of g wealth and honour; when it came to his turn to give his vote, he expressed himself in the

m BAUDOUIN, DAVITY, VERTOT, & al. supra citat.

n Auct. supra citat.

- a following terms: Upon my entering into this assembly, I took a solemn oath not to propose any knight but such as I thought the most worthy of filling up that important post, and the most affectionate to the general good of the order; and, after having seriously considered the present state of ^{Nominates himself to the grand master-ship.} Christendom, and the continual wars which we are bound to carry on against the infidels, the steadiness and vigour required to prevent the least remissness in our discipline, I do declare that I do not find any person better qualified for the well governing of our order than myself. He then began to enumerate his former exploits, particularly that of destroying the dragon; but insisted more especially on his behaviour ever since the late grand master had made him his lieutenant-general; and concluded with addressing himself to the electors in these words: ^{Speech to the chapter.} You have already had a proof of my government, and cannot but know what you may expect from it; I am therefore persuaded that you cannot, without doing me an injustice, refuse me your votes.

ONE may easily imagine the surprise the whole chapter was in when they heard him nominate himself; and some of them could not forbear observing what pity it was that what he had said in support of his own pretensions had not come from any other mouth than his own; but the reflexion displeased the rest, and, upon an impartial comparing his real merit with that of the other candidates, he was elected by the far greater majority, to the no small joy of the Rhodians, who looked upon him as a hero, and as their deliverer. ^{Is chosen by a great majority.}

- IT was not long before his credit and singular prudence gave a new life to the Christian league against the Turks, and his interest procured the command of the fleet to the grand prior of Lombardy, a knight of known valour and experience, who went soon after and surprised that of the Turks, near the small island of Embro in the Archipelago, before the enemy supposed them to be sailed out of their ports; so that they were scattered all over the island. ^{Defeats the Turks at sea.} We have elsewhere given an account of that noble action, where the Rhodian admiral took about 120 of their pinks, brigantines, and smaller vessels, put their larger galleys to flight, and brought away above 5000 slaves out of that island.

- THIS great victory was followed soon after by another, which he gained in Lesser Armenia over the Saracens of Egypt, who had made themselves masters of a great part of the country. The king of it had applied to Gozan for some assistance, who, looking upon him as a Christian prince, though a schismatic, made no difficulty to equip a powerful fleet, with a considerable body of infantry, which he sent under the command of some of his bravest knights, who, having joined the Armenian forces, immediately engaged the enemy. The fight was fierce and obstinate on both sides for some time, the Saracens not dreaming of any other enemy than the Armenians, whom they had often defeated; but, when they came to try the valour and bravery of the Rhodian forces, they dwindled into mere cowards and runaways. The greatest part of them were slain in the heat of the action, and a great number of fugitives taken prisoners; together with all their baggage, and the victors did not leave the country till they had driven the invaders out of all their conquests. ^{Defeats the Saracens.}

- IN the mean while the Christian league being broke by the parsimony of the pope, and the war between the Venetians and Genoeze, that pontiff sent the grand master a letter, to persuade him to accept of the truce which the grand signor offered. To which he nobly answered, that though he saw himself abandoned by all his allies, yet the rules and oath of his order would not permit him to enter into any treaty with the enemies of Christianity; and till it pleased God to raise him some new allies, he was determined at least to stand on the defensive. ^{The Christian league broke.} Having now more leisure upon his hands, he set about examining the accounts of the order, and wrote pressing letters to all the commanders and priors, who had been tardy in sending their respective quotas or responses, to transmit all their arrears without delay. ^{The grand master's answer to the pope.} Amongst them some very remarkable ones were directed to the priors of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, in which he severely reminds them of their breach of faith, for having neglected to send their respective contributions ever since their loss of the Holy Land, though they could not be ignorant of their present establishment in the isle of Rhodes, and continued in a shameful inactivity all this time, to the great dishonour of their profession; adding, that if they did not immediately transmit, with their respective arrears, a detachment of their youngest knights, they should find in him a master that knew how to punish their disobedience, as well as how to treat those with the tenderness of a father, who complied with their duty, and his commands.

- IN the next year pope Clement VI. who had granted the order some privileges and immunities, in return for some favours they had shewn to his nephew the viscount of Turenne, wrote him a letter of thanks, but at the same time acquainted him in it, that the doge and senate of Venice greatly complained of his suffering several of his knights to engage in the war between the Genoeze and them, contrary to the intent of their institution, which permitted them to bear arms only against the enemies of the Christian faith. To this Gozan ^{His letters to the priors.}

° BOSIO, BAUDOUIN, & al. sup. citat. & alio. VARTOT, t. ii. p. 227, & seq.

P BOSIO, ubi sup. t. ii. l. xviii. & al sup. citat.

° BOSIO,

Answer to the
pope's com-
plaint.

replied, that, in an order which consisted of such a variety of nations, it was not to be wondered at that some private persons should shew a particular zeal for their own country, and that he doubted not but there were as many such on the *Venetian* as on the *Genoesè* side; which, however, he said, was highly disapproved of by the order, as well as by himself, neither of whom had taken any part between those two contending powers^a.

Refuses to as-
sist Matthew
Paleologus.
1552.

Begs leave of
the pope to re-
sign;

but is refused.

Fortifies
Rhodes.

Repeats his
request.

Death, and

epitaph.

27. Peter de
Cornillan;
reforms abuses.

Ordered by the
pope to aban-
don Rhodes.

That pontif's
message,

and threats to
him.

ACCORDINGLY, when that pontif's successor, *Innocent VI.* some time after earnestly exhorted him to engage in favour of *Matthew Paleologus*, against the emperor *John* the son of *Andronicus*, and even sent that prince with the letter, earnestly pressing him to assist him to recover the crown, tho' all the pretence he had to it with that pontif was, that he engaged, in case he was reenthroned, to reunite the *Greek* to the *Latin* church; an old snift, which those princes made use of to obtain the assistance of the *Latins*; *Gozan* made no difficulty to refuse intermeddling with their difference, as inconsistent with his order; but, to avoid that pontif's granting him a dispensation for it, he wrote him word moreover, that the treasury of the order was in a manner exhausted through the avarice of the priors in *Europe*, who sunk the revenue into their own coffers, and were upheld therein by their princes, especially in *France, Castile, Arragon, &c.* To this he added, that his extreme old age rendered him incapable of governing so extensive an order, and made his authority to be less regarded; upon which account he begged earnestly that his holiness would permit him to resign it to some more able and active person. *Innocent*, instead of complying with his request, which he told him his own merit and great services to Christianity would not permit him to do, exhorted him by fresh letters to bear courageously the burden of government, till Providence should think fit to ease him of it. Upon which he resolved to dedicate the short remainder of his life in fortifying the city and island of *Rhodes*, and causing a convenient mole to be built in the latter for the ease and safety of the gallies of the order. But, whilst he was thus usefully taken up, his mind was sensibly affected both with the pope's refusal, and still more with the decay of discipline, which he saw with grief to augment every day, without being able to remedy it. This made him renew his request to the pontif; which he did in such strong terms, and backed with such powerful reasons, that he at length consented to his abdication.

BUT, whilst his bull for it was dispatching at that court, *Gozan*, quite worn out with old age, fatigues, and affliction, resigned his life, greatly regretted by the whole order, and much more by the inhabitants, who respected him as their father and deliverer. He expired on the 7th of *December*, in the 7th year of his government; his funeral obsequies were performed in a manner answerable to his merit, and an epitaph engraven upon his tomb, with only these words, *Draconis extirpator*, or *The destroyer of the dragon*^b.

PETER DE CORNILLAN, or CORMILLAN, of the same county of *Provence*, some say *Dauphiny*, a grave and austere person, was chosen his successor; who, immediately after his election, convened a general chapter at *Rhodes*, to reform some grievous abuses which were crept in, particularly that of using the grand master's seal without his knowlege or order, in sealing orders and acquittances, which were afterwards sent to the treasury; to avoid which fraud for the future, a statute was passed, that such orders, acquittances, and other matters relating to the finances, should no longer be sealed with his seal, but with that of the convent, and in full council. Another, and no less prejudicial, abuse committed by those priors, in assuming the right of nominating to the commanderies, to the prejudice of seniority and merit, was likewise redressed, by restraining that privilege to the grand master and his council. His thoughts were, however, taken off from this laudable and useful work, by an order, no less preposterous than selfish, which he received from the pope, to abandon *Rhodes*, and to go and settle himself and his order on some part of *Terra Firma*, near the *Turkish* dominions, either on the side of *Palestine* or *Anatolia*, in order to prevent the *Turks*, who by this time had conquered part of the latter, seized on *Nicea, Bursa, and Nicomedia*, and had already passed the *Hellepont*, from settling in *Negropont*, and thence penetrating farther into *Europe*; a wild and most impolitic project this! but from which that infatuated pontif, dismayed at the rapidity of *Othman's* conquests, could not be diverted by any reasons that could be offered against it. But to give it the greater weight with the grand master and chapter, he sent three of the most considerable knights of the order to them, with orders to represent, in the strongest terms, the grievous complaints which had been made to him against their shameful inactivity and lethargy, at a time when the *Turks* had ravaged the greatest part of *Greece*, and were now threatening *Italy*; and to charge them immediately to set about transplanting their settlement to some country nearer the *Holy Land* (a thing, he said, which his three immediate predecessors, *John XXII. Benedict II. and Clement II.* had tried in vain to move them to, for the good of Christendom), and to assure them, that in

^a Ibidem ibid.

^b BOSIO, ubi sup. BAUDOUIN, l. iii. c. 4. VERTOT, ubi sup. p. 134, & seq. & al. ubi sup.

a case they refused to comply with his commands, he would not fail of taking all proper measures to oblige them to it, and bestow the immense riches of the templars, which so shamefully lulled them in inactivity and wanton ease, upon a new military order that would much better answer the end of their institution.

To this severe and threatening message the grand master meekly answered, that he could not thus hastily abandon an island which had cost some of the best blood of the order, without the general consent of his brethren; and that he would summon a grand chapter of them, to consult about it; but the pontif, rightly judging that the fortifications, riches, haven, navy, &c. would prove an invincible obstacle to their consent, if that chapter was held at *Rhodes*, immediately ordered it by an express bull to be held at *Nismes*; which bull, he told them, they were to look upon as an irrefragable testimony of his will, however his former orders might have been misinterpreted by ill-designing minds, that they should forthwith seek a new settlement near the frontiers of the infidels. The result was, that the perplexity into which this new and positive order threw the grand master, between his duty to his brethren and his obedience to the pope, put a speedy end to his life, in the 18th month after his election; in whose room the chapter chose

ROGER DE PINS, alias DE PINIBUS, of the tongue of *Provence*, a person of an illustrious family in *Languedoc*, and nearly related to *Otho de Pins*, formerly grand master of the order, and of the famed *Gerard de Pins*, who had lately gained that signal victory over *Orcan* the son of *Othman*, during the absence of the grand master, of which we lately gave an account. The pope, however, as intent upon his project as ever, to prevent all delays and opposition from the knights, ordered the grand chapter to be held at *Avignon* instead of *Nismes*. By good fortune some hint was given him in the mean time, that *Morea* would be a much more convenient place for the *Rhodians* to settle in than in the neighbourhood of *Palestine*, where it would be impossible for them to defend themselves against the formidable forces of the *Turks* and *Saracens*. The pope immediately approved the proposal; and the knights, in order to gain time, appointed commissaries and other officers to treat about it with *Robert* the tutelar emperor of *Constantinople*, and *James* of *Savoy*, prince of *Piedmont*, who both laid claim to that peninsula. However, the grand chapter thought it expedient at the same time to suppress some abuses loudly complained against, and chiefly relating to the misapplication of sundry revenues of the templars appropriated to charitable uses, and to order them to be restored to their antient chanel, in order to put a stop to all such complaints.

NEITHER did this assembly scruple to prefer some no less grievous ones against that pontif, who abused his authority over them, rather in oppressing than protecting them, and took upon him the bestowing some of the richest commanderies and priories on a favourite *Arragonian*, named *Heredia*, to the great prejudice of seniority and merit. Upon which the grand master thought fit to send some ambassadors to intreat his holiness to recall his nomination, and to consider the great injury he did to their order; but they found him inflexible as well as his favourite, whom they were likewise ordered to induce, if possible, to desist from his pretensions; instead of which, his insolence carried him so far, as to pocket up the whole income of those priories, without transmitting any part of his responsions to the order. To have preferred fresh complaints against such a powerful favourite, would have only obliged the pontif, whom it was their interest to manage at such a juncture: however, to avoid so pernicious an example becoming a precedent in process of time, the grand master convened afresh a general chapter at *Rhodes*, where this and the like abuses were guarded against by proper regulations. Soon after which he died, on the 27th of *May*, in the 10th year of his government, after having, by his prudence and credit, dexterously avoided the fatal blow which the pontif had levelled against the whole order, caused all the statutes of the order to be translated into *Latin* and confirmed anew, and almost exhausted his private estate, sold all his plate and jewels, and even moveables, to supply the pressing wants of the sick and indigent during the whole time of a grievous pestilence and famine, which had raged through all the east, for which they gave him the emphatic epithet of *Almoner*.

HE was succeeded by *Raymond Berenger*, descended from the illustrious family of that name in *Dauphiny*, who signalized the beginning of his government by the number of gallees which he equipped against the *Egyptian* corsairs which infested those seas, and all the coasts of the island of *Cyprus*, where they committed the most dreadful ravages. *Berenger*, not content to destroy many of them on the open sea, ventured even to go, in conjunction with those of the king of *Cyprus*, and burn them in the very port of *Alexandria*. The fleet consisted of above 100 sail of different bulks and nations, most of which had been hired for that expedition, without however communicating his design to any but pope *Urban V.* now raised to that dignity. They accordingly set sail with this great armament, and arrived in less than five days at the walls of that capital. They immediately began to scale them with

^a Bosio, & al. sup citat.

Burns Alex-
andria.

the most obstinate courage, and in spite of the strenuous opposition of a numerous garrison, a which, with their missile weapons, boiling oil, and other destructive means, destroyed them almost as fast as they mounted. We have elsewhere given an account of this surprising action, in which the grand master lost a vast number of his knights, and the *Cypriots* of their troops; but brought home an immense plunder, and a great number of slaves, after having burnt that noble city, which he could not keep longer, on account of the approach of the sultan, who was in full march against him, at the head of a powerful army.

His next expedition was against that of *Tripoly* in *Syria*, which he sacked and plundered; and on the next year was sent, by order of the pope, into the island of *Cyprus*, to suppress some intestine feuds which had happened in that island, of which commission he acquitted himself with his usual prudence and success.

Desires to
leave to abdi-
cate, and is
prevented.

BUT upon his return to *Rhodes* he had the mortification to learn, that the order could hardly obtain any supply from the responses in *Europe*, through the avarice of the priors and commanders; which he took so much to heart, that he desired leave of the new pontif, *Gregory XI.* to abdicate; but the pope, who knew his merit too well to consent to it, found a proper expedient to relieve him of his cares, by summoning a general chapter of the order at *Avignon*, to consult of the properest means for redressing that grievance, at which he should however be exempted from assisting, on account of his extreme old age, and be only obliged to send thither an account of them, together with such other regulations as he thought most conducive to the revival of their antient discipline. By this means several

Abuses reform-
ed.

Chapters when
complete.

Berenger dies,
1373.

30. Rob. de
Julliac; re-
forms abuses.

Defends
Smyrna.

wholesome statutes were enacted in that assembly, pursuant to the memorial which *Berenger* had caused to be sent to them; one of which was, that, in all future elections of a grand master, instead of the usual method of taking the votes of all the knights, each tongue should chuse two electors from among themselves; with respect to the sovereign council of the order it was likewise resolved, that it should not be looked upon as complete, unless there were in it eight conventual bailiffs, three grand priors, the president of the infirmary, and at least two knights of each tongue, with the grand master at their head, who, as president, and in regard to his dignity, should alone have two votes; and that this grand council, when thus complete, should alone have the disposal of the vacant priories and commanderies^b. These statutes, having been approved by the pope, were transmitted to the grand master, to his no small satisfaction; which however he did not live to see the fruits of, but died in the same year, after having governed the order about eight years and six months^c.

HE was succeeded by *Robert de Julliac*, or *Jully*, grand prior of *France*, and then residing in his priory; who no sooner received the news of his election, than he went to pay his respects to the pope at *Avignon*, before he embarked for *Rhodes*. The first thing he did after his arrival, was to turn out all the receivers on his side of the water, who had been tardy in their trust. He next was obliged to take upon him the defence of the castle and lower town of *Smyrna*, which had been taken during the time of the Christian league, as hath been hinted before, and which that pontif now forced him to take under his protection, and as now properly belonging to his order; charging him, under pain of excommunication, to send forthwith a sufficient number of his bravest knights thither, with a competent number of forces and other provisions for its defence. It is surprising to read with what emulous readiness a great number of the *Rhodian* knights offered themselves to go and defend that place, as soon as the grand master, at his arrival, acquainted the chapter with the pope's positive commands, notwithstanding the imminent danger that attended it, and the unlikelihood of the *Turkish* sultan's suffering them to remain long in possession of a place in the heart of his dominions, and which they had with such singular valour wrenched out of his hands.

THE very reverse was more to be feared at this juncture, in which *Soliman*, the warlike son of *Orcan*, now on the throne, had in less than two years made himself master of the greatest part of *Thrace*, and of the city of *Adrianople*; and his no less fortunate successor *Amurat* had extended his conquests still farther, and was at that time at the head of a powerful armament, the weight of which, tho' none could certainly know where it would fall, yet seemed to threaten both *Smyrna* and the isle of *Rhodes*. The grand master failed not to inform the pope of all these preparations, who thereupon convened a chapter of the principal commanders of the order, to meet at *Avignon*, in the month of *March* following, in which it was resolved, that 500 knights, and the same number of esquires, or serving brethren, should forthwith repair, the former to *Rhodes*, who were all to be nominated by the priors, and the latter to be chosen by the knights so nominated; soon after which the grand master died, and was succeeded by

His death,
1375.

31 Ferd. de
Heredia;

Ferdinand de Heredia, the pope's great favourite, mentioned a little higher, and who was then in his government of *Avignon*, and was elected to that dignity rather on

^b Vid. RONDINEL. Aët. Ord. titul. 13. VERTOT, ubi sup. p. 258, & seq. supra citat.

^c Ibidem ibid. & Aust.

- a account of his great interest with the pope, of whose firm favour and friendship they stood now more in need than ever, than for any affection they could have for a man whose ambition and avarice had done so much injury to the order. They were however agreeably surprised soon after to find him become, from one of the greatest oppressors, one of the most generous benefactors to it. He had been married twice, in hopes to inherit his brother's estate, who was of one of the noblest and richest families in *Arragon*, but had no children by his wife, when he was at length disappointed by her having two sons; upon which, his last wife being dead, he easily got himself admitted into the order by his address, and had attained by degrees to the dignity of castellan of the imposts, one of the highest and most profitable offices, next to that of the grand master. Not content with it, he, by his intriguing genius, gained such an influence over his holiness, that he did hardly any thing without his advice, and had raised him to one of the richest priories in *Spain*, without the grand master's knowledge, though it was properly in his and the chapter's gift. But when he came himself to be raised to that dignity, his mind took a quite different turn, and it became his chief ambition and delight to promote the interest and honour of the order, as well as to maintain the privileges of his place as grand master, as we shall see in the sequel.
- b His first care, after the news of the election had reached him, was, to provide himself with such a noble fleet as might at once support and give lustre to his new dignity. Accordingly he embarked, attended with nine large galleys, and a great number of adventurers whom he had taken in pay at his own charge. He was just ready to set sail, when he was obliged, at the earnest request of *Gregory XI.* who had just then succeeded *Urban V.* in the papal chair, to suspend his journey for some time, in order to accompany him from thence to *Rome*, whither he designed to sail as soon as possible, not only in hopes that his presence would quell the troubles that then reigned in *Italy*, but also to prevent another pope being chosen there, if he tarried any longer at *Avignon*^d. He embarked accordingly at *Marseilles*, in the grand master's galleys, who commanded them in person, and was accompanied by the grand priors of *St. Giles, England, and Rome*, and arrived safe at *Civita Vecchia*, whence the grand master accompanied him in great pomp to his own capital, bearing himself the standard of the order before him on horseback, through the loud acclamations of the people^e.
- d HEREDIA, in haste to return to *Rhodes*, embarked soon after for that island, where he was impatiently expected by the whole convent. In his way he met with the *Venetian* fleet near the coasts of *Morea*, that republic being then at war with the *Turks*, who had taken the city of *Patras*, famed for its silk commerce. The *Venetian* admiral went into his galley to intreat him to assist him in the recovery of so important a place from the hands of those infidels. The two fleets, being joined, sailed directly to it, where having landed their forces, *Heredia* immediately began to scale it at that place where the walls had been most damaged in the late siege, and made himself master of it without any great opposition, the *Turkish* governor having reserved the best part of his garrison for the defence of the castle. This last, which was situate on the highest part of the city, was likewise besieged in form with the same bravery and success. The *Turks* made indeed a vigorous defence; but this served only to whet the impatience of our knights, and much more that of their grand master, who no sooner saw a sufficient breach made by his engines, than he mounted it the first, sword in hand, without minding whether any of them followed him; and, having gained the top, flung himself down, more like a young candidate for glory and preferment, than like one that was at the summit of both. Here he was immediately encountered by the governor, and a bloody single combat was fought between them, in which *Heredia* had the good fortune to run his sword through the body of his enemy, and laid him flat at his feet. In the mean time the rest of the knights came pouring down to his assistance, immediately after which followed a general slaughter of the garrison, who were all put to the sword^f.
- e THE success of this enterprize soon enlarged the views of the grand master, who now began to propose the conquest of the whole peninsula. *Corinth* was the next place that was agreed upon to be attacked, the situation and fortifications of which he resolved to reconnoitre in person. But, unfortunately for him, being unprovided with a sufficient escort, he fell into an ambush of the *Turks*, who killed all his attendants, and sent him prisoner to the sultan, without suspecting that he was more than a knight of the order. The three grand priors, who, as we hinted above, accompanied him from *Marseilles* through this whole expedition, as soon as they heard of his being taken, sent forthwith to offer the restitution of *Patras* for his ransom; but the sultan, who had been informed who his prisoner was by some deserters, rejected the offer with scorn; and sent them word, that as he was still master of the rest of *Morea*, he knew how to recover that city in less time than they had spent in tak-

why chosen by the chapter.

His great sway with the pope.

Provides a noble fleet.

Accompanies the pope to Rome.

Joins the Venetian fleet.

Patras taken from the Turks;

and the castle by assault.

Heredia taken prisoner.

^d Vide ant. sup. citat.^e BOSIO, BAUDOUIN, VENTOT, & al. sup. citat.^f Aust. sup. citat.

ing it. This mortifying repulse, joined to the disgrace of leaving their grand master a prisoner in the hands of infidels, induced them to send a second offer of a considerable sum, besides the surrender of *Patras*, for his ransom, and engaged to remain hostages in his hands till that was paid. But though the *Turks* readily agreed to it, the grand master, then closely confined in the castle of *Corinth*, no sooner heard of it, than he as generously rejected it:

His singular
generosity.

Leave me, my dear brethren, said he, in his answer to them, *leave a superannuated and useless old man to die in bonds, whilst you who are young and active reserve yourselves for the services of religion.* At length, when those who were permitted to speak to him had tried in vain, by their tears and intreaties, to obtain his consent, he replied, *If such a large sum must be paid for my ransom, let it not be out of the treasury of our order; my family hath been sufficiently enriched by my means to give me that testimony of their gratitude.* One might have expected that the *Turks*, sordid as they are, might have been moved by such a singular instance of generosity; but all the effect it had upon them, was, that they sent him into a closer prison in *Albania*, and condemned him to a severer confinement, where he was kept above three years, during which he was at full leisure to make the most serious reflections on the instability of human affairs ^a.

Closely confined

In the same fatal year in which he was taken prisoner, died *Gregory XI.* on the 2d of *March*, whose death was followed by that dreadful schism between *Urban VI.* and *Clement VII.* of which an account hath been given in a former volume, and of which we shall only say here, that it caused another in the order, part holding for the former, but indeed the grand master, and the greatest part of the knights, for the latter; but more especially after *Heredia* was returned from his captivity, out of which he had been redeemed by the sums which his family furnished him with; for he then, at the head of the whole convent, publicly declared for *Clement VII.* in revenge for which, *Urban*, by his own authority, deposed him, and nominated one *Richard Carracciolo*, grand prior of *Capua*, to his dignity; so that there were now two grand masters in the order, as well as two pontiffs in the church; but, if we except those of the *Italian* and *English* tongues, and some few commanders in *Germany*,

Ransomed.

Finds the trea-
sury exhausted.

all the rest as steadily adhered to *Heredia* as the others did to *Clement VII.* A much greater abuse had crept into the order during his imprisonment, which he quickly discovered when he came to examine the public accounts; for in that small space of time the commanders and priors had assumed such a kind of independency, and made themselves the judges of what portion of their responsions they should transmit to the public treasury, without any farther regard to the orders of the council, than what they deemed sufficient for the present exigencies. Many of those of the north had quite desisted from keeping up their respective quotas; all which had run the order so greatly in arrear, that he saw himself obliged to take a journey to *Avignon*, where *Clement VII.* resided, to beg of that pontiff to interpose his authority, in order to oblige those faithless stewards to refund their ill-gotten wealth, and to clear up all their arrears; but, before he set out, the council obliged him to a solemn oath, that he would faithfully transmit into the public treasury all the sums which he should receive from the respective priories above-mentioned; and that he would not dispose of any vacant benefices until his return to *Rhodes*. For still further security, they appointed a certain number of knights, whom they knew to be very zealously attached to the interest of the order to accompany him, under pretence indeed of his making a greater appearance, but in reality to be watchful of all his motions; but that precaution was no less needless than their apprehensions were groundless, as the sequel plainly shews ^b.

Goes to Avig-
non.

At his arrival at *Avignon* the pope appeared sensibly touched at the melancholy account he gave of the state of their treasury, through the avarice and ambition of their faithless stewards; and much more so, when he told his holiness, that he had forbore pressing them too hard for their arrears, lest that should induce some of them to turn schismatics to save their unrighteous mammon. Three chapters were thereupon summoned successively, one at *Valentia* in *Dauphiny*, the second at *Avignon*, and the third at the castellanery of imposts for *Spain*, in all three of which the grand master presided; and partly by his pathetic discourses and behaviour, and partly by the danger he represented the order, and even Christendom, to be then in, thro' those abuses, more especially at this juncture, when *Bajazet*, now upon the *Turkish* throne, seemed to threaten both *Smyrna* and *Rhodes*, he made such an impression upon them, that many of them immediately offered themselves to attend him back to *Rhodes*, others engaged to remit all their arrears to the treasury, and several other wholesome regulations were made in each of these chapters; after which the grand master founded two rich commanderies in *Spain*, and endowed them out of the vast estates which he had formerly heaped up, by way of restitution. His co-rival *Carracciolo*, not to be behind-hand with him, did ^c

3 chapters
held in France.

Reclaims the
knights by his
speech, &c.

^a BOSIO, BAUDOUIN, lib. iii. cap. 7. VERTOT, t. ii. p. 293, & seq.

^b BOSIO, BAUDOUIN, l. iii. c. 5. VERTOT, t. ii. l. 5. p. 306, & seq. DAVITY, DAPPER, & al. sup. citat.

^c BOSIO, BAUDOUIN, l. iii. c.

- a much the same in *Italy*, and died soon after. *Boniface IX.* however, who had succeeded *Urban* at *Rome*, declined appointing him a successor, whether for fear of his being rejected His co-victual dies. by the order, or out of regard to *Heredia*, for whom he had conceived a singular respect, and contented himself with appointing a relation of his own to be his lieutenant *pro tempore*. *Heredia* being returned to *Avignon*, and finding the arrears and subsidies which had been promised to him at those three chapters to come in but slowly, sacrificed another considerable part of his own estate in sending at different times some of his gallies to *Rhodes* and *Smyrna*, with fresh supplies of arms, provisions, vast sums of money Sends supplies to Rhodes and Smyrna. to pay their forces, and a good number of knights and other troops to assist in the defence of those two places. He held afterwards another council at *Avignon*, wherein it being
- b represented, that the walls and circuit of *Smyrna* were by far too large, and would require a much more numerous garrison in it than the order could well maintain, they came to a resolution, that they should forthwith be reduced in proportion: to that end, the admiral of *Germany* was ordered by the grand master to see it done accordingly, and had 4000 florins assigned to him for that end out of his own coffers.

In the *March* following of the same year in which *Carracciolo* died at *Rome*, died also the grand master *Heredia* at *Avignon*, in an extreme old age, after having enjoyed that dignity Dies at Avignon, 1396. nineteen years and eight months, with the greatest reputation". His remains were afterwards conveyed to *Capso*, and buried in the church of that commandery which himself had founded, and which became from that time a chief bailiwick of the order. He left

c behind a good number of excellent regulations, both for the reformation and retention of the ancient discipline, which the reader may see among the other statutes of the order^o, and which testify his zeal for religion, and the interest of his order, and his great wisdom and capacity for the government of it.

- On the first news of his death the grand chapter at *Rhodes* chose for his successor *Philibert* 32. Philibert de Naillac. *de Naillac*, grand prior of *Aquitain*, a person equally respected for his valour and prudence. We have elsewhere seen what a powerful league the Christian princes had entered into against that formidable force of sultan *Bajazet*, in consequence of the crusade which the pope had published the year before. *Philibert* was scarcely elected to his new dignity, before
- d he was earnestly pressed by that pontif, and other princes, to join with them in it, as he Enters into the Christian league. accordingly did with great readiness, and immediately ordered his quota of gallies to be equipped, and to join those of the *Greek* emperor, and the *Venetians*, under the command of the famed *Thom-Mocenisco*, whilst himself prepared all things in order to meet the land forces at the head of his chief commanders, and a great number of *Rhodian* knights, at the general rendezvous in *Hungary*. They had scarcely joined them, before *Sigismund*, then on the *Hungarian* throne, and at the head of the allied army, sent to compliment him on his arrival, and to invite them into his own quarters, declaring, that he designed to fight at their head; and, as he was no less pleased with their noble appearance, than satisfied with the valour and merit of their commander, placed him and his chief officers near his own pavilion. The rest of the confederate army was very numerous, and made also a gallant
- e shew, and was commanded by some of the most experienced generals in *Europe*; and yet *Bajazet*, then in *Anatolia*, had taken such precautions to stop all intelligence from them, that they did not even know where his own lay; insomuch that when he was got within a day's journey from *Nicopolis*, which they were then besieging, they, supposing him to be still in *Anatolia*, were scattered about the place without fear, discipline, or mistrust.

- We have already given a large account of the ill success of that expedition, and fatal combat, which proved rather a general rout to the Christians than a regular fight. The *Rhodians*, whose history we are now chiefly concerned in, quickly rallied under their grand Defeated and flies to Rhodes. master, about the person of king *Sigismund*, and fought with the utmost bravery. The greatest part of them died sword in hand; and that prince and *Naillac* must have undergone the same fate, if Providence had not thrown a fisher's boat in their way, into which they escaped through a thick cloud of arrows from the enemy, and rowed to the mouth of the *Danube*, where the Christian fleet, which was not far off, gladly received them. They both went on board one of the *Rhodian* gallies, whence they sailed directly for that island, where they were received, if not with shouts of joy, yet with all the respect due to two such great persons. *Sigismund* embarked soon after for *Dalmatia*, and left the grand master to bewail the loss of so many brave knights, and to set about the most effectual means to retrieve his disgrace and misfortune.
- f

- SOME time after arrived at *Rhodes* the despot of *Morea*, *Theodore Palologus*, where he was likewise honourably received; and it was at this interview that he proposed to the grand master and his chapter the selling of that peninsula to them, to which they readily
- g consented. He was, in virtue of this agreement, to deliver up to them *Corinth*, *Sparta*, and Morea sold to the order by Theo. Palologus.

^a Vide ant. sup. citat.

^o RONDINEL. Statut. Ordin. pass. BAUDOUIN, ubi sup. & al.

Commissaries
sent to take
possession of
Corinth.

Sparta refuses
to admit them.

Theodore
sails to Sparta.

A new agree-
ment made.

Smyrna be-
sieged by Ti-
mur;

taken and
razed.

Naillac builds
the castle of St.
Peter, &c.

the other principal cities of the province, and they to pay him the price agreed on in money ^a and jewels before his departure^t. The grand master immediately sent proper commissaries to go and take possession of those places, who were accordingly received by the magistracy and inhabitants of *Corinth* with great demonstrations of joy, not questioning, but, under the protection of so powerful and warlike an order, they should thenceforth be freer from the incursions of the *Turks*. But it proved otherwise at *Sparta*, where the treacherous *Greek* bishop, an enemy consequently to the *Latins*, so instigated the citizens against them, that they forthwith dispatched some deputies to inform the commissaries, that they were resolved to admit none of them into their city; and that if they offered to come nearer, they should be treated as enemies. Some other less considerable places, however, gladly followed the example of the *Corinthians*, and received them with marks of honour; but as they were not ^b provided with a sufficient number of forces to oblige *Sparta* to submit, they returned back to *Rhodes* time enough before the despot had left the island; and, upon his being informed of the repulse they had met with from that city, he refunded some small part of the money, and set sail directly for that place. His subjects, glad of his return, received him with all the marks of joy and duty, assuring him, that they should be still ready to shew him the same obedience and loyalty that he had experienced in them during such a number of years, provided he forbore treating with the *Latins*, and admitting any into his government: but intimated to him at a distance, that they would prefer being subject to the *Turks*, or any other power, rather than to that of the pope, or any other *Latin* prince.

By all this he easily found, that it would be next to impossible to make them consent to ^c his agreement with the *Rhodians*; but he was no less concerned about refunding the money which he had received from them for that city, which, as his circumstances then stood, he could hardly spare. On the other hand, the grand master, hearing nothing from him upon the subject, sent him some of the most considerable knights of the order to compromise the matter; and, after sundry voyages to and fro, and many other demurs, it was at length agreed, that the order should restore the city of *Corinth* to him, in consideration of which *Paleologus* should deliver up to them the country of the *Sun*, and the barony of *Zetona*, both in the same province of *Corinth*, besides 46,500 ducats in money, 22,000 of which he then paid in ready coin^s.

WHILST these things had been transacting, the grand master, who foresaw the danger ^d *Smyrna* was in of being quickly attacked by the conquering arms of *Timur Beg*, or *Tamerlane*, had taken all proper means to put it into a state of defence, supplied it with arms, and all necessary provisions, and sent thither *William de Mira*, at the head of a good number of knights, to command in it, and put all the fortifications of that place in the best condition to withstand a siege; of which he acquitted himself so faithfully, that *Bajazet* himself allowed it to be impregnable. But after his signal defeat, of which we have elsewhere given an account, *Timur*, whose rapid successes made him think no place capable of standing out against him, pitched upon it for the first scene of the war which he had declared against the *Rhodians*, as being the only people, who, though sworn enemies to the *Turks*, had refused to submit to him. He would much rather have begun with that of *Rhodes*, though ^e no less strongly fortified, as it was the centre and seat of the order, and would have yielded him more laurels and richer spoils; but, wanting shipping to transport his troops, he rather chose to begin with *Smyrna*, whose spacious haven, he hoped, might in time furnish him with a sufficient number of them. We need not here repeat his success against that place, though it was no less gallantly defended by the *Rhodians* than attacked by his own troopsⁿ; the taking of which, especially as the conqueror, according to custom, caused it to be razed, was rather an advantage than a loss to the *Rhodians*, as it had been forced upon them by the fee of *Rome* so much against their will; but the slaughter of such a considerable number of knights, whom that barbarian caused to be butchered, was what sensibly affected the grand master and the whole order. However, to retrieve as much as possible so great a ^f loss, the grand master formed the project of seizing upon an old castle, situated in the bay of *Ceramie*, upon that coast, about 12 miles from the island. He went himself on board his fleet, and sailed along the coasts of *Caria*; and, entering into the castle in which *Timur* had left a small garrison, he made himself master of it. But as he did not find it strong enough for his purpose, he caused a new one to be built, upon the rocky point of a peninsula that extended itself into the sea, and called it the castle of *St. Peter*; and the *Turks*, since they became masters of it, gave it the name of *Budroo* castle^w. He spared neither cost nor labour to have it strongly fortified both on the land and sea side; after which he caused a large fosse to be digged into the rock around it, into which the sea water could

^t BOSIO, l. iv. BAUDOUIN, l. iv. c. i. VERTOT, t. ii. l. 6. p. 335.
auct. sup. citat. ^w Vide auct. sup. citat.

^s BOSIO, & al. ubi sup.

ⁿ Vide

easily

a easily come. A stout garrison was put into it, and a certain number of vessels of different sizes were constantly kept in the harbour, which, upon the least signal, were ready to join the galleys of *Rhodes* and *Lango*, and by that means shut up mouth of the river *Caria* to all the corsairs and pirates, whilst the castle itself served as a place of refuge for all Christian slaves that made their escapes from the neighbouring countries.

Soon after this arrived at *Rhodes* the *Genoese* admiral, marshal *Boucicault*, with seven large vessels and nine galleys, in his way to *Cyprus*; the occasion of whose sailing to this last island with so great a force, was, the war of the *Genoese* with the *Cyprian* king *Janus*, of which an account hath been given in a former volume. But though the grand master gave him a noble reception at his landing, and entertained him with great splendor during his stay with him, yet he made no scruple to declare his mind freely to him with respect to his design against the *Cypriots*, which, he told him, would prove the most effectual means of opening a way to the *Saracens* into that island, which had hitherto proved so strong a bulwark against them, and a staple to all the *European* shipping. He begged of him at the same time, and in the strongest terms, that he would permit him to sail thither before him, not doubting but, with the blessing of God, he should find means to restore peace between these two nations. The admiral, having given his consent, ordered his capitana, and two other galleys, to be got ready, and embarked forthwith for the island of *Cyprus*. At the same time *Boucicault* went on board his own; and, that he might not continue idle during the grand master's absence, went and ravaged the country round *Alexandretta*, then called *Lescanderonos*, or *Scanderona*, on the coasts of *Syria*, and made himself master of some places there, as we have elsewhere shewn. The grand master proved no less successful in the mediatorial office he had undertaken. His great credit and unexpected presence quickly terminated all the differences between these two nations in an amicable manner, as we have seen in their respective histories.

THE peace was no sooner concluded than the grand master and marshal *Boucicault* set sail from that island, and, in their way homewards, jointly ravaged the coasts of *Syria* and *Palestine*, at that time in the hands of either the *Saracens* or the *Tartarian* troops, which *Timur* had left there to guard them. They made likewise an attempt to surprise the city of *Tripoli*; but, to their disappointment, found the avenues to it on the sea-side guarded by 15,000 men belonging to that prince, among whom were 600 of his horse, which appeared all clad in velvet and golden tissue, if we may credit the writer of that admiral's life. Yet was all this numerous appearance so far from deterring the *Rhodian* knights from landing, that they strove who should cast himself first into the sea with their swords in hand, and the water up to their chin. These, backed by about 3000 of the *Genoese* forces (a small number against 15,000), marched against them with such surprising fury, that they drove them to the very walls of the city, where they were intrenched up to the neck behind their barriers and fascines. But though to us it must appear no better than a bravado, if not a piece of martial madness, to have carried their attempts farther against such a number of forces so barricadoed, and backed by so strong a garrison, yet such was the ambition of the grand master and *Genoese* admiral, that they would not depart till they made a fresh assault against them, in which there was a deal of blood shed, and many a death's wound given on both sides, till the enemy, who, being five to one more numerous, and of course must suffer the greater loss of the two, were prudent enough to secure themselves from their fury by withdrawing, some into the adjacent orchards and gardens, and others into the city. However, as they had not troops enough to form the siege of the place, they agreed to go and try their fortune against *Barut*, alias *Berytus*, a wealthy staple sea-port on the *Phœnician* coasts, in which a great number of Christian merchants, especially the *Venetians*, had their rich ware and country houses. As they were sailing thitherwards, they observed a light vessel sailing out of the haven, and endeavouring to gain the sea with more than usual speed, but which was soon brought back by one of their galleys which they sent after it. Upon examining the captain of it, they could get nothing out of him, but that he was a Christian and a *Venetian*, till they began to threaten him with the torture; upon which he confessed, that he had been dispatched from *Venice* into all the sea-ports of *Phœnicia*, *Palestine*, and *Egypt*, to give them notice, that the Christian fleet, commanded by the grand master of *Rhodes* and the admiral of *Genoa*, was at sea, that they might take their precautions against them; at which both the *Rhodians* and *Genoese* were so exasperated, that they were for throwing him into the sea, but were prevented by their officers. This did not prevent their pursuing their design on *Barut*, which they plundered and burnt. Their next descent was on *Said* or *Zaid*, which they found likewise strongly guarded, and where a violent storm hindered their landing all their forces, so that those that were got on shore were attacked on all sides with great fury by the *Saracens*.

They

War between
Cyprus and
Genoa.

Naillac sails
to Cyprus.

Alexandretta
ravaged by
Boucicault.

Naillac medi-
ates a peace
between Cy-
prus and Ge-
noa.

Makes an at-
tempt on Tri-
poli..

Meets with a
stout opposition.

Attempt on
Barut.

Lidda and
Zaide luckily
escape.

They defended themselves with no less bravery during the five hours the storm lasted, and then retired to their respective ships, within view of the enemy. They were like to have fared worse in their next attempt upon *Lidda*, by the *Greeks* called *Diospolis*, in *Palestine*, where, upon their landing some of their troops to reconnoitre the place, they observed only about 3000 *Turks*, at some distance from the sea, whom therefore they determined to attack by the next rising sun; but, upon their returning to their ships, they saw no less than 30,000 more, who lay in ambush in an adjacent wood, and sallied out sword in hand against them; which lucky discovery prevented the rest from landing, and being all cut in pieces^a.

Returns to
Rhodes.

Surprising
strength of the
Rhodians.

FINDING, therefore, the coasts so well guarded every where, and the season now far advanced, they agreed to separate. *Boucicault* sailed away to *Famagosta*, and the grand master to *Rhodes*, where he soon after received a visit of thanks from the admiral, furnished his fleet with plenty of provisions, and, after having regaled him with a view of the whole island, sent him home full of admiration at the vast strength of it, the fortifications of the city, the great quantity and variety of gallies and other vessels riding in the harbour, and the surprising number and gallantry of his knights, by whom those seas were so well guarded, that scarce any corsairs dared shew themselves on them; all which was the more admirable, at a time when the schism, which so long rent the church, had proved no less detrimental to the order, by the advantage which the grand priors and commanders took from it to withdraw, and appropriate those quotas and responsions which they ought to have transmitted into the public treasury: for the suppressing of which grievous abuses they were, as we have had frequent occasion to hint, obliged very often to have recourse to the pope, and other crowned heads, to hold chapters in different places of *Europe*, and to other measures no less burdensome and chargeable to them^c.

Makes an ad-
vantageous
peace with the
sultan.
1409.

How dreaded their power and interest were become by this time among their enemies, may be gathered from the overtures of peace which the haughty sultan was glad to make them, by a particular embassy to *Rhodes*, by the advantageous articles of which in favour of the order, and the Christians in *Palestine*, one may plainly see that the grand master accepted his offers in a great measure upon his own terms. The happy turn which the affairs of Christendom took about this time did not a little contribute to his obtaining such an advantageous peace, namely, the unanimous zeal which appeared in the greatest part of the cardinals, as well as crowned heads, to put a final end to the schism, by reducing the church to the obedience of one head. It was to that end that the famed council of *Pisa* was convened, of which an account hath been elsewhere given, to which the grand master was solemnly invited, and the guard of the conclave committed to his care. But what gave him the greatest satisfaction was, to see the choice of a pontif fall upon so worthy a person as the cardinal of *Milan*, since named *Alexander V.* who, though born of the very lowest rank, yet was possessed of all the eminent virtues which could adorn that supreme dignity.

His project for
uniting the
Christian prin-
ces in a league.

THE first thing he did was, to acquaint the new pontif with a project which he had formed of sending a solemn embassy to the principal courts in *Europe*, in order to unite them into a league against the *Turks*, whose overgrown power was now so happily curtailed by the late overthrow of *Bajazet*, and the rapid successes of the great *Timur*. The pope not only applauded and approved of his design, but engaged, that, if he succeeded in it, he would declare himself chief of it, and be at the greatest part of the expence. He moreover sent a nuncio to *Rhodes*, to acquaint the order with his election to the papal chair, though *Naillac* was still with him, as a mark of his singular regard for the whole order^d.

Sends an am-
bassador to
France and
England.

IN order to put the same effectual end to the schism which reigned in the order, as well as to restore the ancient discipline, responsions, &c. and reform divers others abuses, the grand master convoked a general chapter at *Nice* and afterwards at *Aix* in *Province*; and, as he thought his presence would be of great service, he was preparing himself for his departure thither, when the pope thought fit to engage him in a design more advantageous to religion, which was, to send him on an embassy to the kings of *England* and *France*, who were then at war, in order to induce them by his address to conclude either a peace or a long truce. *Naillac* highly relished the proposal; and the more readily accepted of the offer, as it might prove a means to engage those two great monarchs to join in his projected league against the *Turks*. Having therefore impowered the council above-mentioned to chuse three of their number to preside in his room, he set about getting all things ready for his embassy. The misfortune was, that though that chapter agreed upon some wholesome regulations for suppressing sundry flagrant abuses, particularly with regard to the priories and responsions; yet the schism reigned as much as ever among them, notwithstanding the

The schism still
reigns among
them.

^a BOSIO, BAUDOUIN, VERTÔT, & al. ubi supra.

^c Vide auct. sup. citat.

^d Ibid. ibid.

a new pope's election, the two deposed popes, *Benedict XIII.* and *Gregory XI.* refusing to acknowledge the council of *Pisa's* authority, and the priors, &c. still taking part with one or the other of them, that they might have some pretence for detaining their respective responsions^c.

ALEXANDER V. died in *May* following, at *Bolonia*, and was succeeded by *Balthassar Cossa*, *The new pope* then legate, or, as he is more rightly stiled^f, tyrant of that city, a person equally insatiable^{dies} in his avarice, and his other debaucheries, and suspected to have caused his predecessor to be poisoned, to make way for his election^g, in which he took the name of *John XXIII.* *John 23. a* The *Rhodian* order, in common with the rest of Christendom, became very great sufferers^{great tyrant to the order.} both from his bad example, and his detestable avarice; insomuch that he caused a bull to
b be published in favour of one of their commanders, whom he permitted to marry; notwithstanding his vow of chastity, and, by his own authority, appropriated his commandery to himself, and sold it soon after to a youth about 14 years of age, whom he dispensed from taking either the vows or habit of the order. He carried his tyranny so far, as to seize upon all the priories as soon as he heard they were become vacant, and disposed of them afterwards to the highest bidders, without any regard to their character or merit; or the rights and privileges of the order, which, by such frequent arbitrary seizures, saw itself on the eve of being totally ruined^h. This at length obliged the council of *Rhodes* to send him a letter, full of the bitterest complaints, and with that laudable freedom which became their exalted station and dignity, representing to him the wrongs which both they and all
c Christendom must unavoidably receive from his tyrannic conduct. The result of which was, that, through fear of their laying open all his villainies to the general council then sitting, he thought it expedient to relax from some of his arbitrary proceedings, and to recall the grant of some of the commanderies he had formerly sold, without however refunding any of the price to the purchaser.

HE was at length deposed by the council of *Constance*, as we have elsewhere shewn, at *Deposed and* which the grand master was present, and honoured with the guard of the conclave, assisted *Martin cho-* by *Frederic* marquis of *Brandenburgh*, *William* count of *Lunenburgh*, *Bruno* baron of *Verona*; *sen in his stead.* and *Otho Colonna* elected in his room in *November*, who took the name of *Martin*, and on the 25th of *April* following dissolved the council. *Naillac*, being now discharged from his
d office, would gladly have proceeded immediately to *Rhodes*, where his presence was earnestly wished for by the whole order; but his extreme desire to see the very seeds of that long and unhappy schism wholly extirpated, prevailed upon him to stay and lend a helping hand to so laudable a work; so that he contented himself with transmitting over to the convent 18,000 crowns out of his own cash, to supply its present exigencies, and then called a grand assembly to meet at *Avignon*, where he could more conveniently assist. This *A chapter con-* assembly, which consisted of the ancientest priors, receivers, and commanders, of *Italy*; *vened at* *France*, and *Savoy*, came to a resolution, that a general chapter of the order should be *Avignon.* convened at *Rhodes*, at which all those, who had hitherto refused to submit to the authority of the grand master, should be summoned to appear, in order to be regularly tried
e according to the laws and statutes of the order, and be punished according to their respective violations of themⁱ.

THIS resolution had soon after the desired effect; the grand master, who was to take *Florence* in his way to *Rhodes*, in order to confer with the new pope about his projected league against the *Turks*, saw himself met at *Bolonia* by a considerable number of recusants, who now entreated his pardon, and their re-union with the order, promising an intire obedience to his orders for the future, and a prompt payment of all their arrears. He ordered them accordingly to meet him at *Ancona*, whence they set sail, and arrived safely at *Rhodes*, *A general one* to the inexpressible joy of all the rest of the fraternity. The general chapter was soon after *at Rhodes.* opened, in which every one expressed an emulous readiness to comply with all his desires; and to agree to the several regulations he proposed to them for the reviving of the ancient
f discipline, the extinguishing the least sparks of schism, and restoring the order to its ancient *The schism ex-* discipline and opulence. These new statutes he took care to convey to the pope with all *tinguished.* possible diligence, and seemed now to wait only for the joyful news of their being confirmed by that pontif, who, on his part, did not let him wait long for that satisfaction, but sent them back to him, ratified with his approbation, with the highest encomiums upon them and him. His receipt of them was quickly followed by a fit of sickness, which carried him off in a good old age, and in the 25th year of his grand mastership^m.

HE was succeeded by *Antony Flaviano*, of the priory of *Catalonia*, and grand prior of *Dies 1421* *Cyprus*, a native of *Arragon*; in the beginning of whose government, the tranquility which *33. Antony Flaviano.*

^c Vide auct. supra citat.

of their lives.

^b Vide auct. & al. sup. citat.

auct. supra citat.

^f GOBIDIN in Cosm. æt 6. c. 30.

^g See PLATINA PAGI, and other writers

ⁱ BOSIO, BAUDOUIN, VERTOT, & al. ubi sup.

^m Vide

had been so happily settled in the order, as well as in the church, was again disturbed by the successive attacks of the *Turks* in *Asia*, and of the *Saracens* in *Egypt*. The former had by this time retrieved their affairs to a wonderful degree, both in *Europe* and *Asia*, under the reigns of *Mohammed* I. and his successor *Amurat* II. the latter of whom seemed to turn his thoughts towards *Morea* and the isles of the *Archipelago*. The dread which seized the inhabitants made their petty sovereigns apply to the grand master for succour, who readily equipped some gallies of the order to cruise about those seas, and get what intelligence they could of the sultan's intentions; but whilst he was making all the necessary preparations against any attempt from so powerful an enemy, he saw himself in much more imminent danger from another quarter, namely, from *Egypt*, where the *Mamelucs* had raised to the throne the famed *Circassian Al Nazer Al Dabar*, a warrior much more skilled in naval affairs than any the order had hitherto been engaged with. We have already given an account of this new *Egyptian* dynasty, at whose head this prince now was, who, to keep his new subjects employed, had declared war against *Janus* the *Cyprian* king, then in strict alliance with *Rhodes*. This obliged him to suspend the succours he designed for *Morea*, and at the same time to try all possible means to mediate a peace between the *Saracens* and the *Cyprian* monarch. *Al Dabar*, who only measured his pretensions by his power, refused to listen to a peace, unless *Janus* became his vassal and annual tributary, which he no less haughtily rejected; so that there being now no way but that of the sword to decide the contest, *Flaviano* sent him what vessels, men, and money, he could spare. We have seen the sad result of this war, which ended in the defeat of the effeminate *Cypriots*, the loss of a great number of *Rhodian* knights, and the captivity of the *Cyprian* monarch, who was carried prisoner into *Egypt*.

AT the news of this disaster, the grand master, fearing the loss of the whole island, sailed thither with fresh succours, with a promise to continue there, provided they resolved to die sword in hand in defence of their country; instead of which, they chose the way of negotiation, as the most suitable to their native indolence, whilst the *Egyptian* sultan was still finding some pretences to delay it, in hopes that his forces would make themselves masters of the island before any thing was concluded. This obliged the *Rhodian* knights that were sent thither to redouble their efforts to stop their progress, whose singular valour upon this occasion so exasperated their general, that, in revenge, he destroyed their grand commandery in that island, which was the richest that belonged to their order, pulled down all their houses, cut down all their trees, and totally ruined that noble bailiwick. *Al Dabar*, no less provoked at the *Rhodians* than his general, was easily induced by his sycophant court to attempt the conquest of their island, which they deemed to be now destitute of defence, because so many of her knights were gone to defend that of *Cyprus*. Flushed with these hopes, which he vainly imagined would open a way to his subduing all the other islands of the *Archipelago*, he renewed his negotiation with the *Cypriots*, but demanded no less than 120,000 golden florins for their sovereign's ransom, which he knew he was in no capacity to pay. This extravagant demand, however, far from discouraging, induced the grand master, who wanted at any rate to see him at his liberty, to supply him with the greatest part of that sum out of the public treasury; and a peace was soon after concluded between them.

ALL this while the treacherous *Al Dabar*, though he knew that the peace concluded between him and the late grand master *Naillac* still subsisted, was endeavouring to amuse *Flaviano* with proposals for renewing it, whilst he was making the greatest preparations for invading him. But the grand master, who had his spies every-where, and even among those of his privy-council, was so well apprised of all his designs, that he neglected no means nor precautions to elude them. The misfortune was, that the *Cyprian* war had so exhausted his treasury, that he was obliged to have recourse to the usual though tedious remedy of calling a general chapter, and at the same time to apply to the pope *Eugenius* IV. and several other crowned heads, for assistance¹. The chapter, however, met with more readiness than could have been expected, considering that the grand priors, commanders, and bailies, of the order, had, during the late troubles, not only relapsed into their old abuse of appropriating the revenue that should have been sent into the public treasury, which had in a great measure exhausted it, but had moreover refused to maintain the number of knights which were quartered upon them, which had obliged a great number of them to disperse themselves among their friends and relations. However, the grand master sent every-where his summons with such diligence, and in such pressing terms, that he was enabled to hold quickly after one of the largest and noblest assemblies that had been seen for a long time in his capital of *Rhodes*.

¹ BOSIO, BAUDOUIN, l. iv. c. 2. VERTOT, t. ii. l. vi. p. 423, & seq. & al. ubi sup.

^a THIS chapter was opened on the 23d of *May* by *Flaviano* himself, with a most affecting representation of the imminent danger which threatened both the order in particular, and Christendom in general, from the growing power of the *Turks* and *Saracens*, and much more so from the ambition and avarice of the then grand priors and commanders, whose accounts and long-winded arrears he ordered to be faithfully laid before them, as well as the state of his exhausted treasury. The consequence of which was, that they expressed <sup>Sundry great abuses reform-
ed.</sup> the most zealous unanimity to set about redressing all those disorders, and restore the ancient discipline by new regulations and penalties; in doing which, they made such laudable dispatch, that the grand master had time sufficient to make all necessary preparations against any invasion either from *Turkey* or *Egypt*. A new statute was likewise made, in order to

^b fix the knights to their respective residences, and to have the young ones trained up in the military discipline, expressly obliging all the priors and commanders to entertain what number of them was assigned to each of them, under the penalty of being deprived of their dignities, and degraded from the order; so that by this wholesome law every prior and convent became as it were a nursery of young warriors, ready to supply the room of those that died in the field, or to be sent upon any expedition which the grand master should think proper. A new bull was likewise expedited to him soon after, forbidding <sup>Knights for-
bidden to loiter
at Rome.</sup> expressly any of the knights to go to *Rome* without his or the procurator general's leave; by which another great abuse was prevented, *viz.* their seeking to raise themselves by the pope's favour and recommendation, rather than by any real merit. In such pious and excellent

^c regulations did *Flaviano* employ that leisure time which the truce with the sultan allowed him, and particularly in the erecting a most sumptuous infirmary at his own charge, when death put an end to all his labours on the 29th of *October* in the 17th year of his grand ¹⁴³⁷ mastership. He sent, a little before his death, the sum of 200,000 ducats into the public treasury, which were the fruits of that exemplary œconomy with which he had all along endeavoured to inspire all that lived under his government. He obtained likewise several considerable privileges to the order from the popes *Martin V.* *Eugene IV.* and *John XXIII.* as well as from *Philip* duke of *Burgundy*, the duke and duchess of *Lorrain*, and other crowned heads, which the reader may see in the authors quoted in the margin;

HE was succeeded, with the unanimous consent of the electors, by *John de Lussic*, grand <sup>34. John de
Lussic.</sup> prior of *Auvergne*, during his residence in that priory; who no sooner received the news of his election, than he set out for the isle of *Rhodes*, where he was informed, by his predecessor's spies, of the preparations that were making in *Egypt* against the order, with which *Amurat III.* the *Turkish* sultan, seemed well pleased, on account of the Christian league lately formed against himself. The better to penetrate into his designs, the new grand <sup>In fear of the
Turks.</sup> master sent the grand prior of *Rhodes* on an embassy to him, both to notify his election, and to renew the truce with him; but could draw nothing from that politic monarch but reciprocal compliments, in such general terms as plainly gave him reason to judge that a rupture was not far off. He dispatched at the same time his own nephew, *William Lussic*, with two galleys, to inform himself what was doing in *Egypt* and on the coasts of *Barbary*;

^e who quickly returned with the disagreeable news, that they would instantly have the whole force of *Egypt* armed against them. The grand master thereupon lost no time to equip eight of their best galleys, and a proportionable number of transports and other vessels, well manned and armed, and to put that and the other islands under his government in the best state of defence he could.

ON the other hand, *Al Dahar*, with a fleet of 18 galleys, and a good number of other <sup>Al Dahar de-
stroyed one of
their castles.</sup> vessels, appeared on the coasts of a little island, or rather rock, belonging to the order, situate at about 100 miles east of *Rhodes*, and about two or three from the *Lycian* coast. The *Rhodians* had built a castle upon it, from which the island took the name *Castel Rosso*, or *Red Castle*: this the *Saracens* took and demolished, without any opposition that we can

^f learn; and, having made the inhabitants their prisoners, sailed directly for that of *Rhodes*, where they appeared on *September* following. The grand master made no scruple to meet them at sea, and to offer them battle; but they, surprised to see so many ships about him, which they supposed to have been far enough off upon the cruise, instead of accepting the challenge, retired into a creek, and, facing about with their vessels, contented themselves with keeping them at a distance with the great fire of their artillery. They continued cannonading each other till night, when the *Rhodians* returned to their harbour, with a design to attack them on the next morning, but, to their surprise, found that they were sailed away in the night. They appeared next before that of *Lango*, where the marshal, who was ready to receive them, sailed directly against them; and, being posted under the

^g cannon of the castle, made them a fresh offer of battle; to avoid which, the enemy tacked about, and made for an island belonging to the *Turks*, but which was almost abandoned;

* Vide auct. supra citat. * VERTOT, ubi sup. NABERAT, Privil. p. 67, & seq. * Vide auct. supra citat. and

and there fastening his ships to one another with their prows outwards, raised a strong a battery upon them to repulse the *Rhodian* ships, if they offered to attack them; but as neither the superiority of their number, nor their strong situation, could deter the mareschal from it, he only took the precaution of planting his artillery upon such flat-bottoms as took in the least water, and then fell upon them. The attack was very fierce on both sides, and did not end but with the day-light; by which time the enemy had lost above 700 men, and the *Rhodians* only about threescore; but the mareschal had received no less than five wounds in the action; notwithstanding which, he would have renewed the fight by the next break of day, had not a lowring storm, which seemed to threaten him, obliged him to sail back to *Rhodes*, which gave the enemy an opportunity of giving him the slip.

Is defeated before Lango.

Sails away.

Lustic fortifies Rhodes.

THE sultan, provoked at his ill success, and forced to make new preparations, tried in b the mean time to amuse the grand master, who on his side lost no time to fill his magazines, fortify the island, and to summon all the knights of the order, that were able to bear arms, to its defence. He likewise sent ambassadors to most courts in *Europe*, as well as to that of *Rome*, to acquaint them, that he was on the eve of being besieged in his capital; and that, if they neglected to assist him at such a crisis, he and his knights would have no other recourse left, but to bury themselves under its ruins. But whether those princes suspected the truth, or that their zeal for crusades was quite extinguished, he could obtain little else from them but faint promises; so that all the fruit he reaped from so many ambassies, was only a league offensive and defensive with the *Greek* emperor, *John Paleologus*, which yet proved in the end of as little service as any of the rest, that prince's whole dominions being c by this time reduced to his bare metropolis, and that so closely blocked up on all sides by the *Turks*, that he had no succours that he could spare him.

Defeats the Saracens before Rhodes.

AT length, after sundry negotiations and treaties, carried on merely to gain time, the *Egyptian* fleet appeared in full sight of the island, in the month of *August*, and forthwith landed 80,000 men, besides a large body of cavalry, which were the choicest forces of *Egypt*, who all marched directly to the capital, whilst the fleet kept the haven blocked up, to prevent its receiving any succours. All that the writers of this remarkable transaction have thought proper to transmit to us concerning it, or that could be found in the *Rhodian* chancery, amounts only to this; that the place was battered with a numerous artillery, and many fierce attacks made against it, in which the besiegers were always repulsed with great d loss; and that the *Egyptian* general, having pursued the siege till the greatest part of his army was destroyed, saw himself obliged to raise it, and reembark with the poor remains of his forces for *Egypt*, and to carry himself the news of his ill success to his master.

Peace concluded.

THIS signal advantage over those infidels was no sooner spread in *Europe* by young *Lustic*, whom his uncle had sent to notify it to the pope, than it procured a fresh reinforcement of the bravest youths from *France*, *Italy*, *Germany*, &c. whom it had inspired with fresh zeal, and who came in good time to enter into the order, and share in the glory of defending it. But as this timely supply of young warriors must of course increase the expence to the convent, the grand master convoked a new chapter to meet at *Rhodes*, on the 25th of *July* next, in which, among other things, it was agreed, that the grand master might e negotiate a peace with *Egypt*, which was soon after set on foot by the means of a *French* merchant, named *Jaques Cœur*, in *English*, *James Heart*, a man who carried on a most extensive commerce, and who, by his credit and address, soon brought it to a conclusion; but how, or upon what terms, we are left in the dark; only we are told, that the *Rhodian* commissioners, upon their return from *Egypt*, brought away a considerable number of Christian slaves, who had been taken during the war; immediately after which, an order was sent to the grand prior of *St. Giles*, and to the grand receiver of *Provence*, for the reimbursement of *James Heart* above-mentioned, which bears date *February* 8, 1446, all the charges he had been at in that negotiation.

Nich. V. condemns his measures as arbitrary.

His noble answer to him.

THIS joy was soon after disturbed by a severe letter which he received from pope *Nicholas* f V. in which that pontif highly censured the arbitrary liberty he had taken in augmenting the responsions of the priories and commanderies of the order, and punishing those who did not comply with his exactions, which had been represented to him as unjust, and contrary to the statutes of it. *Lustic* was no less nettled at the calumny, and easily cleared himself and his council, by sending him a fair account of the whole matter, signed by all the members of the chapter; and at the same time to shew that he was not to be frightened from his firm adherence to the statutes by such misrepresentations, earnestly begged of his holiness not to give so much credit to his informants, seeing their living at such a distance from *Rhodes* (not only that they might indulge themselves in a shameful neglect of their discipline, but, which was still worse, to avoid the dangers to which the rest were obliged to g expose themselves against such powerful enemies which they had to do with) made them

* Vide ant. sup. citat.

* Bosio, & al. sup. citat.

- a very unfit judges of the exigences of the order to support such an expensive war: besides that their non-residence gave an ill and dangerous example to a great number of others, and deprived the order of their service, and induced them to prefer an idle and effeminate life to the strict and religious discipline which was invariably kept up in the convent. The case, in short, was so fairly stated before the pope, that he was forced to appear satisfied; at least outwardly, with it. But that did not hinder those sycophants, who had their powerful friends, not only in the college of cardinals, but even in the grand master's council, from continuing in an open defiance of their statutes, and fomenting a kind of anarchy among their brethren, not only at *Rome*, but in several other parts of *Europe*. To suppress so strange an abuse, the general council saw themselves obliged to have recourse to as strange an expedient, and such a one as would, upon any less emergency, have been thought not only inconsistent with, but dangerous to, such a republican government as theirs was, viz. to invest the grand master with a kind of dictatorial power, by putting the sovereign authority, and the disposition of the finances of the whole order, solely into his hands^a.

The grand master offered the supreme power.

- LUSTIC, however, did all that lay in his power to dissuade them from it, alleging sometimes its being contrary to their institution, and at others his extreme old age; and it was not without great difficulty that he was prevailed upon to accept of it; and with this proviso, moreover, that this change should last no longer than three years, at the expiration of which the council should resume its pristine authority. This expedient soon produced a good effect through the order, and a prompt payment of all the arrears, a renewing of the ancient discipline, and many other wholesome regulations, which we have no time to enumerate. After this, he sent an embassy to *Amurat II.* who, as we hinted a little higher, had refused to explain himself to his former ambassadors about renewing the truce; but being now threatened by the powerful league in which the king of *Hungary*, the vavvods of *Transylvania* and *Walachia*, and, above all, the brave *Scanderbeg*, king of *Albania*, were strictly joined with the sopher of *Persia* against him, he gladly accepted the offer: and glad he well might be that the order did not join in that powerful league, seeing his ill success against it shortened his days so soon after. His successor *Mohammed II.* shewed no less readiness to do the same; and, though with very different views, yet was glad to continue at peace with *Rhodes*, till he could bring his perfidious projects to maturity, and gladly renewed the truce with *Zinot*, who was sent by the grand master to compliment him on his succession to the *Ottoman* throne. At the conquest of *Constantinople*, of which a full account hath been formerly given, this proud conqueror became so elated, that, without any regard to his late engagements, he sent an ambassador, or more properly a herald, to *Rhodes*, to demand of the grand master to acknowledge him as his sovereign, and to pay into his treasury the annual tribute of 2000 ducats, and, in case of refusal, to declare war against him in his name^b.

Accepts of it on some conditions.

Renews the truce with the Turks.

Mohammed's haughty summons to the grand master.

- To this haughty demand, the no less brave than prudent *Lustic* answered, that the order, at whose head he was, being a religious one, which acknowledged no other superior but the pope of *Rome*, and the city and isle of *Rhodes*, in which he commanded, having been purchased by his predecessors with valour, and the lives of so many noble knights, he was ready to sacrifice his life, rather than betray the privileges and independency of his order, with which he had been entrusted at his election. At the same time, as he rightly judged that his answer would be soon followed by a dangerous war, he had immediately recourse to the pope and *European* princes for a speedy assistance, and dispatched the commander *Aubuston*, a person every way qualified for such an important commission, into *France* and *Italy*, to make the most pressing instances for it.

His noble answer.

- In the mean time the grand master, quite worn out with old age and fatigues, departed this life on the 19th of *May*, in the 17th year of his government, and was succeeded by *Gaubert*, or *James de Milly*, on the 1st of *June*, whilst he was residing in his grand priory of *Auvergne*; and who made such timely dispatch, that he arrived safely at *Rhodes* on the 20th of *August* following, though not before the order had felt the first effects of *Mohammed's* resentment, who, impatient to be revenged of an order which he detested above all his other enemies, had already sent a fleet of thirty gallies to ravage all their coasts. But whilst he was making the most effectual preparations to extirpate their very name, a powerful league was forming against him in *Europe*, of which *Calistus III.* had declared himself the head, and had gradually brought into it the kings of *Hungary* and *Arragon*, the duke of *Burgundy*, the republics of *Genoa* and *Venice*, and some other princes of *Italy*, and, last of all, the new grand master of *Rhodes*; whilst *Charles VII.* of *France*, who was in no condition to join it, contented himself with transmitting considerable sums to *Rhodes* for the use of the order, by their ambassador *de Aubuffon*^c. This grand confederacy quickly obliged the sultan to suspend his preparations against the *Rhodians*, and to turn his arms another way. We need not repeat here

His death. 1454.

James de Milly.

A powerful league against the sultan.

^a BOSIO, BAUDOUIN, DAVITY, VERTOT, & al.

^b BOSIO, & al. sup. citat.

^c BOSIO, BAUDOUIN, VERTOT, & al. sup. citat.

the mortifying repulse which he met with before *Belgrade*, from the renowned *Hungarian* a king, since the reader may see a full account of it in a former volume; the result of which was, that, being more exasperated against them than ever, for having taken the advantage of his absence to ravage the coasts of his dominions, block up several of his sea-ports, and do him very considerable damages both by sea and land, he immediately equipped a powerful fleet, with about 18,000 land-forces on board, with orders to carry fire and sword into all the islands belonging to the order ^c.

Mohammed turns his arms against Rhodes.

THESE made their first descent accordingly on the isle of *Cos* or *Lango*, and raised their strong batteries against its castle, where, having made what they thought a sufficient breach, they mounted it with their usual eagerness, not doubting of carrying the place with ease. They met, however, with such an unexpected opposition from the besieged, and were so b terribly annoyed in the attack, from the huge stones, boiling oil, and melted lead, which came pouring upon them, as soon-forced them to abandon it; and, being closely pursued by a timely ally, were glad to gain their ships with greater precipitation than they had landed out of them. Their next attempt was against that of *Simia*, formerly described, where they undermined the castle with a design to blow it up; but their project was discovered time enough to be prevented by a countermine from within, in which the *Rhodians* cut in pieces both the miners and all the forces that were ordered to support them. The rest, having recovered their ships, sailed directly for *Rhodes*, and there landed a few forces to reconnoitre the island. These, finding all things quiet, advanced to a populous town, but weakly guarded, named *Archangel*, of which they gave notice to their admiral, who c immediately put a sufficient number of his forces in flat-bottomed boats, who surprised the place, killed all that made head against them, and carried off the greatest part of the rest prisoners. In their retreat they committed much the same ravages in those of *Lerro*, *Calamo*, *Nizara*, and *Lango*, where they likewise destroyed most of the vines and fruit-trees, made a great number of prisoners, and returned to *Constantinople*. The worst of it was, that the *Turkish* sultan gave no other chance to those unhappy captives, but either to be butchered upon the spot, or to turn *Mohammedans*, the greatest part of whom, being base enough to chuse the latter, became in time the most pernicious guides to the *Turkish* corsairs ^d.

Defeated in Cos and Simia.

Ravages the rest of the island.

The sultan forces the captives to turn Mohammedans.

THIS sad disaster, which had in a great measure depopulated those islands, obliged those knights who were entrusted with the government, not only to have them better guarded for d the future, but to admonish their fresh colonies to keep the fortifications in better repair, and to add new ones to them, particularly to the unhappy town of *Archangel*, such precautions being become so much more necessary at this time, not only on account of their war with the *Turkish* sultan, but as they found themselves upon the eve of a new one with that of *Egypt*, an enemy no less powerful and irreconcilable to their order than the haughty *Mohammed*. Before they could be well prepared against those two powers, they saw themselves invaded by a third, on account of the protection which the grand master had given to the lawful queen of *Cyprus* against the bastard *Lusignan*, whom both *Mohammed* and the *Egyptian* sultan had set on the throne out of hatred to all the *Latins*. The latter of these had moreover, contrary to the law of nations, arrested the *Rhodian* ambassador, and seized all e the vessels belonging to the order, on the very same account, whilst *Mohammed* refused all overtures of peace with *Rhodes*, from the same resentment.

Rhodes invaded by the Venetians.

The grand master the occasion of it.

Are found in the council.

IN this dismal situation the grand master was, when the *Venetians* (who had obliged the bastard above-mentioned to marry one of the senator's daughters, and soon after, as is commonly supposed, caused him to be taken off, that they might govern the island in his widow's name) made a powerful descent into, and ravaged, the island of *Rhodes*, in a more dreadful manner than ever the *Turks* or *Saracens* had done; soon after which, they came with a fleet of forty galleys, and blocked up the port, and threatened the city with a siege ^f. Their pretence, however, for this rupture, was in part given by the grand master, who, by way of reprisals for the retention of his ambassador by the *Saracens*, had ordered two rich *Venetian* galleys, freighted with merchandizes for *Egypt*, to be seized, the goods to be confiscated, the *Saracens* to be made slaves, and the *Venetians* that were in them to return home; so that this second fleet was sent to demand a restitution of all these, threatening, in case of refusal, to ravage all the islands belonging to the order. In this dilemma, some haughty spirits of the *Rhodian* council were for rejecting the *Venetian* demands with scorn; but the grand master, who foresaw the dreadful consequence of such a step, chose rather to submit to the restitution, than hazard the loss of so many subjects at such a critical juncture ^g; for, besides their having so many powerful enemies ready to fall upon them from without, their condition was not much more promising within. The partiality of so many *French* grand masters, who had lately succeeded one another, and bestowed the greatest priories and commanderies on those of their own nation, to the prejudice of those of the other tongues, who

^c BOS O, BAUDOUIN, VERTOT, & al. ibid.

^f Ibidem ibid.

^g Ibidem ibid.

^d Ibidem ibid.

a claimed an equal right to them, had kindled a kind of civil war in their own council; inso-
much that they seldom met to deliberate on the most important exigences of the order, but
their debates were immediately disturbed and soured with complaints. These malecontents,
as the *French* writers stile them¹, went so far, that the procurator for the tongue of *Arragon*
threw down an act of appeal at the grand master's feet, and in an abrupt manner retired
with the rest, not only out of the council, but out of the city. The grand master left no means or promises untried to allay the storm, and, by his lenity and address, brought the
greater part into a better temper; which did not last long, as we shall soon see. He died
soon after of the gout, on the 17th of *August*, in the eighth year of his government; soon
after whose demise the same complaints were revived again^m. *Suppressed by the grand master. His death. 1461.*

b He was succeeded by *Raymund Zacoſta*, commonly called *Megiffer*, a native of *Caſtile*,
and caſtellan of the impoſts; ſoon after whoſe election the chapter fell upon an effectual
expedient to extinguiſh the flame, which began to blaze aſreſh by the creation of a new
tongue in the order, in favour of the *Caſtilians* and *Portugueſe*, who became by it ſeparated
from the *Catalans* and *Navarreſe*, from which time the order came to conſiſt of eight tongues,
and a more equal balance was eſtabliſhed in it between thoſe emulous nations. Matters were
no ſooner compromiſed at *Rhodes*, than the grand maſter was ſurpriſed with an overture of
peace from the proud *Mohammed*, who had ſo ſcornfully rejected all the pacific offers of his
predeceſſors, upon any terms but thoſe of his becoming his vaſſal and tributary. His ſuſpi-
cions of that treacherous monarch, one may eaſily believe, rather augmented his fears, than
gave him any hopes of ſucceeding in that negotiation; yet, as he dared not openly reſuſe
c ſuch an offer, he ſent one of his chief commanders to *Conſtantinople*, attended with two
Greeks, natives of *Rhodes*, who found the *Porte* ready to agree to any amicable terms, with-
out inſiſting on its former irkſome conditions; ſo that a truce was quickly concluded with
it, though without their being able however to penetrate into the ſecret views of the ſoltan.
They did not continue long a ſecret, before his conqueſt of *Paphlagonia* and the empire
of *Trapezond*, of which we have formerly given an accountⁿ, opened the eyes of all
Chriſtendom. *36. Raymund Zacoſta. A truce with the Turks.*

THE grand maſter loſt not the advantage of this ſhort truce, but cauſed a very ſtout
caſtle to be built for the defence of the capital. The ground he choſe to erect it upon was
d a ſolid rock, jetting out into the ſea; no coſt or labour was ſpared to make it ſtrong and
laſting; and, as the duke of *Burgundy* had contributed a conſiderable ſum towards it, his
arms were ordered to be fixed upon the walls, which, incloſing a little chapel dedicated to
St. Nicholas, occaſioned the fortrefs to be called by that name. All this while the truce did
not hinder the *Turkiſh* corſairs from making frequent deſcents upon the iſlands, and ſeizing
as prizes all the ſhips they met with belonging to the order. This obliged the grand maſter
to ſend his gallies out to make reprisals upon them; at which the proud ſoltan was ſo exaſ-
perated, that he from that hour reſolved to drive them not out of that iſland only; but, if
poſſible, out of *Aſia*. He began with an attempt upon *Lemnos*, and other iſles of the *Archi-
pelago*, to prevent their receiving any ſuccour from them; but the grand maſter took care
e beforehand to ſend a great number of knights into this iſland, which cauſed the ſiege to be
more difficult and obſtinate, and the effuſion of blood greater than it might otherwiſe have
been on both ſides. We have already given an account of this ſiege, and of the ſad cataſ-
trophe of the two *Gattiluſio*'s, who, tho' ſufficiently acquainted with that monarch's perfidy,
yet delivered up the place, on the promiſe of an equivalent from his no leſs faithleſs vizier,
and became the unhappy victims of their fatal credulity. It ſared ſtill worſe with the *Rho-
dian* knights, who ſurrendered on the ſame terms, whom the tyrant, contrary to all faith
and humanity, cauſed to be ſawn in two from head to foot, and their bodies to be thrown
to the dogs, as a cruel earneſt of what the reſt of the order muſt expect from him^p. *They infeſt the Rhodian coaſts. Reprisals made on them. Cruelty of the ſoltan to the knights, after his conqueſt of Lemnos.*

THE grand maſter failed not to interpret it in that ſenſe; and, to ward againſt the effects
f of his fury betimes, convened a general council at *Rhodes*, ordering all the knights to be
preſent at it, and the arrears of all the reſponſions to be forthwith tranſmitted to the treaſury.
But whiſt he was taking theſe and other neceſſary precautions for their ſafety and honour,
many of the priors and commanders in *Italy* and *Arragon*, to elude his juſt demands upon
them, began to make loud complaints againſt him, ſome pretending that he exacted of them
much more than he ought, others that his old age and puſillanimity made him look upon
every puff of wind that blew from the *Turkiſh* dominions as the moſt dreadful and deſtructive
hurricanes. Theſe complaints were at length laid before pope *Paul II.* with whom the
king of *Arragon* found intereſt enough to perſuade him to ſummon the grand chapter to
aſſemble at *Rome*, and *Zacoſta* to appear there, to answer to ſuch accuſations as ſhould be
The grand maſter ſummoned to Rome.

¹ See VERTOT, tom. iii. lib. vii. p. 25, & ſeq.
^p BOSIO, BAUDON, VERTOT, &c.

^m Ibidem ibid.

ⁿ Anc. Hiſt. vol. vii. p. 293.

preferred against him. The chief cause of grudge of the *Arragonian* monarch against him was, that he had, after his election, appropriated the grand castellanery of the imposts, one of the richest posts in the whole order, next to the grand mastership, to himself. Other princes had their own particular views for desiring that he should be ordered to appear at *Rome*, though it was in fact delivering up that worthy grand master into the hands of his most inveterate enemies, against which he might moreover have objected his extreme old age, and his obligation to defend the island of *Rhodes* in person. But that venerable old gentleman, who preferred the clearing of his own innocence to all other considerations, having obeyed the summons, so clearly retorted all those unjust allegations against the authors of them (by shewing, on the one hand, that the exactions charged upon him had no other foundation than the luxury and extravagance of those who urged them against him; and, on the other, that he had retained his castellanery not for his own benefit, but to defray the charges of building the fortrefs of *St. Nicholas*, which he was ready now to surrender to the order) that all his adversaries were put to silence, and the pope himself was quite ashamed of having given so much credit to them. To make him the amplest amends he could, he not only shewed him the most singular marks of his esteem and intire satisfaction, but confirmed the several regulations which were made by that chapter, especially against all those refractory recusants who had caused him and them so much trouble and fatigue. *Zacosta* was making himself ready for his return to his government, highly satisfied with the turn which his obedience had taken in his favour, when he was seized with a violent pleuresy, which carried him off on the 21st of *February*, in the 6th year of his grand mastership. The pope, to shew his great regard for him to the last, ordered him to be interred in the *Basilica* of *St. Peter*, with the greatest solemnity^a; after which the chapter proceeded immediately upon a new election.

Clears himself.
His death.
1467.

37. John
Baptista de
Ursini.

THE choice fell, by the majority of one single vote, on *John Baptista de Ursini*, then grand prior of *Rome*, in preference to *Raymund Riccard*, of the tongue of *Provence*, and grand prior of *St. Giles*, and most probably by the influence of the pope over some of the electors, which might perhaps have been much less any-where but at *Rome*. However that be, the new grand master, knowing how necessary the *Turkish* soltan's progress made his presence at *Rhodes*, not only halted thither himself, but ordered, by a particular summons, all the bravest knights of the order to repair thither, especially those of each tongue who were the most experienced in martial affairs. Upon his arrival, he gave the super-intendency of all the fortifications to *Peter d'Aubusson*, one of the most experienced commanders, and the best skilled in military architecture of the whole order, who immediately set about surrounding the city with a larger and deeper ditch, and fortifying that part of it which lay towards the water-side with a stout wall, 100 fathoms long, six in height, and one in thickness. These new fortifications, and those which had been made under the two last grand masters at the castles of *Archangel*, and *St. Nicholas* in the isle of *Rhodes*, together with those of *Lindo*, *Seraglea*, *Villa Nova*, *Catanda*, *Tiranda*, and others, in the other islands, and situate at proper distances for the inhabitants to shelter themselves and their effects against the *Turks*, corsairs, and other invaders, proved of very singular use at this juncture, in which *Mohammed*, tho' hindered by sickness, and the then raging plague, had equipped thirty stout gallies, filled with land forces, with orders to make descents upon those islands, where they found them easiest of access, and to put all to fire and sword; for by that means the inhabitants, sheltering themselves in those castles, gave the invaders an opportunity of landing their troops where-ever they found a convenient place, whilst the *Rhodian* cavalry, being advantageously disposed in distinct bodies, fell upon them so suddenly, that few of them could regain their ships, and the rest were all put to the sword, or made prisoners.

The Turks
defeated.

THESE ill successes failed not to rouse the soltan's fury to a higher degree, who ordered immediately a powerful armament to be got ready, without giving the least hint where he designed to fall. However, as it was easy to guess that he designed it either against the island of *Eubæa* or *Rhodes*, the *Venetians*, who were masters of the former, lost no time to negotiate an alliance offensive and defensive against him. The grand master at first gladly accepted the offer; but, upon finding that they had glided a clause into the preliminaries, importing that the order should submit themselves to their protection, and not have power to undertake any thing for the future without their leave, some say without their order, he rejected the proposal with that indignation which such an ensnaring league justly deserved; yet did not this mean piece of artifice prevent his sending them a speedy succour, when he heard that *Eubæa* was really invaded by the soltan, and the capital of it besieged by him. This aid consisted of a number of gallies commanded by *Cardono*, an old experienced knight of the order, and the famed *d'Aubusson*, no less expert in whatever related to the attack or defence of a place.

^a BOSIO, BAUDOUIN, VERTOT, & al. sup. citat.

a We shall not here repeat what has been said elsewhere concerning the success of the expedition^{*}, much less the treachery and cruelty which the tyrant exercised on all that fell into his hands; what most principally relates to our present *Rhodian* history is, that *Mohammed*, having observed the gallies of the order among those of the *Venetians*, dispatched immediately an herald to declare war against them, with the most dreadful imprecations on himself if he did not kill the grand master, and exterminate all the knights that fell into his hands^{*}. But neither did these threats deter the grand master from joining the *Venetians* in some expeditions against him, of which we have already given an account, particularly that against *Attalia*, formerly mentioned, nor of making prizes of all the *Turkish* corsairs that haunted the *Rhodian* coasts.

b THE *Rhodian* gallies were hardly returned from ravaging *Attalia*, when the grand master received a pompous embassy from *Hassan Cassan*, king of *Persia*, who was now entered into a new league with the Christian princes against *Mohammed*, as he had done before more than once. The *Venetians*, after the loss of *Eubœa*, were the first projectors of it, and had engaged in it pope *Paul II.* the kings of *Arragon* and *Naples*, the republic of *Genoa*, and the knights of *Rhodes*, and, last of all, the *Persian* monarch, whose ambassador was received with the utmost magnificence. The occasion of this embassy was, to notify his accession to the league against him, and at the same time to acquaint the grand master, as well as the other chiefs of it, that he had taken the important fortrefs of *Torato* in *Lesser Arminia* from the *Turks*, and was fully determined to pursue the war against them. But that, tho' the *Persian* troops were invincible, their cavalry the finest and best in all the world, and he neither wanted men or horses, lances, scymitars, or other missile weapons, yet the use of fire-arms being still unknown in his dominions, he made it his earnest request to all his new allies to assist him with some of their best founders, and expertest cannoneers against the common enemy. The grand master not only promised the ambassador to comply, on his part, with his master's desire, but gave him a sight of all his land and sea forces ranged in battle array, and performing all the various evolutions and movements which are used in a real fight; and assigned him a squadron of 12 of his gallies to conduct him to *Venice*, where the league was to be, and was accordingly, concluded. At his return, that republic took care to have him furnished with a good number of the best founders, gunsmiths, armourers, and other workmen, by whom that kingdom was quickly after supplied with complete trains of artillery, and an infinite quantity of other arms^u.

An embassy from Persia arrives at Rhodes.

c THIS embassy, however, brought the whole weight of the war upon the *Persian* monarch; and *Mohammed*, having tried in vain, by fair means and menaces, to make him renounce his alliance with the Christian powers, turned all his forces against him, at the same time that it gave the rest of the league leisure to breathe, and suspended the *Turkish* sultan's design against the isle of *Rhodes*, long enough to give the grand master opportunity to make all proper preparations against him. The first thing he did, was, to order every place in it, and all the other islands, to be examined by proper persons, and to have every one put in the best state of defence. He next convened a general chapter, for the reviving of the antient discipline, summoning the payment of arrears, and the absent knights to the convent. The great commander *d' Aubusson*, now become grand prior of *Auvergne*, proposed fundry additional fortifications to the old ones; which were accordingly set about under his direction, particularly two towers on the sea shore towards *Simonia*, and a third towards the little town of *St. Marthe*. Mohammed turns his arms against Persia.

d ALL this while the grand master had languished near a year under a severe disease, and other infirmities of old age, which ended at length in a violent dropsy, and carried him off on the 8th of *June*, in the ninth year of his grand mastership^{*}.

Death of the grand master. 1476.

e HE was succeeded, with the unanimous votes of the chapter, by the grand prior of *Auvergne*, the famed *Peter d' Aubusson*, so often mentioned in this section for his extraordinary skill in military architecture, and the many fortifications which had been made in all the islands depending on the order; and whose election was celebrated with the greatest rejoicings, fire-works, &c. on account of his great merit and signal services. Soon after his being chosen to that dignity, he caused the mouth of the haven to be shut up by a strong chain against the roving pirates; augmented the number of towers in this and the other islands, to prevent their frequent descents; and put such numerous garrisons in them, that, if any ventured to land, they might meet with a suitable reception. With the same view the castle of *St. Peter*, formerly built by the grand master *Naillac*, on the coast of *Caria*, for the security of the island *Lango*, and its fortifications, were repaired and augmented, and the fosse around it made much wider and deeper, so that the gallies and other vessels could enter the harbour with ease, and be at safety against the corsairs.

38. Peter d'Aubusson.

^{*} Auct. supra citat. citat.

^{*} Bos'o, & al. ubi sup.

^u Vide auct. sup. citat.

^{*} Vide auct. sup.

Venetian
ambassy how
received.

WHILST he was thus usefully employed, an ambassador arrived from *Venice*, to reclaim, ^a in the name of that republic, the person of *Riccio Martini*, a *Cypriot* of high rank, and a zealous partisan of *Charlotte de Lusignan*, who had taken refuge in that island. The ambassador demanded that faithful gentleman in very proud, and even threatening terms; such as the grand master had been so little used to, that the council were for sending him away without any answer; but *d'Aubusson*, who foresaw the danger of disobliging the *Venetians* at so critical a juncture, so moderated theirs as well as his own resentments, by the prudent answer he gave him, that he sent him away satisfied, without delivering up the person under their protection, or incurring the resentment of the republic ².

The grand
master redeems
the Christian
slaves.

He had scarcely dismissed that ambassador, before he received another from the sub-basha of *Lycia*, a *Turkish* province in the neighbourhood of *Rhodes*; the pretence of it was, to ^b treat about the redemption of Christian slaves, which that officer had in his hands; but the real intent of it was, to gain the best intelligence he could about the condition the island and order were then in. This did not, however, prevent the generous *d'Aubusson* from entering into a negotiation with him; and the hopes of freeing so many brave captives from their chains prevailed so far upon him, above all other considerations, that he spared no sums nor presents out of his own private purse to satisfy his avarice, and bring so desirable a treaty to a conclusion; so that he had the inexpressible pleasure in a little time to see a good number of them at his feet, thanking him in the most pathetic terms and behaviour for his generosity to them, and styling him their father, saviour, and deliverer. To these, after he had embraced them one after another, he addressed himself in the following words: *My dear children, it is to religion and our order that you ought to pay the grateful acknowledgements, and I doubt not but you will discharge them with your wonted bravery, in our mutual defence against Mohammed, our common enemy, who is hourly threatening us with a siege* ^c.

Mohammed
prepares for
war.

THIS was not said without good foundation; for he had been apprised by his spies, of which he kept a great number, that the *Venetians* were on the point of privately concluding a peace with the *Porte*: on the other hand, he was apprised, that *Hassan Cassan*, worn out with age and fatigues, kept himself on the defensive, without undertaking any thing against the *Turks*, whilst the Christian powers were engaged in most bloody wars against each other; from all which he clearly foresaw, that *Mohammed* would hardly fail of attacking the isle of *Rhodes* by the following year. To be therefore prepared against all events, he first of all ^d convoked, as usual on such emergencies, a general chapter at *Rhodes*; and, finding the number of his forces insufficient to defend the island, dispatched at the same time a general summons, directed to all the grand priors of the order, enjoining the knights to repair thither, with the arms and equipage suitable to their rank. *Bosio*, an author frequently quoted in this chapter, being the only one who has preserved to us a version in *Italian*, from the original *Latin*, still kept in the archives of *Malta*, of this singular piece of rhetoric, our readers will not perhaps be displeased if we give them to understand, that it was couched in such pathetic terms as could not but inspire, as it actually did, every worthy member of the order with an emulous zeal to hasten to the defence of an island which was become the seat and glory of the order, and the bulwark of Christendom; insomuch that many of them sold ^e or pledged their plate, furniture, and other valuables, to procure the necessary arms and equipage with all possible diligence, in order to be present at the general assembly in due time. Whilst his summonses were thus dispersed over all parts of *Europe*, he was taken up with viewing in person every island and fortress in it, and supplying them with whatever was wanting towards their making a stout defence. His next care was, to fill up his magazines, arsenals, and other repositories, with all warlike necessities for a siege; whilst pope *Sextus VI.* was furnishing him with the most likely means for purchasing them, by the help of a jubilee published on that occasion, which brought immense sums from all parts into the public treasury, by the help of which he was enabled to make some considerable additions to the castle and other fortifications of the city ^f.

Mohammed
amuses him
with offers of
peace;

MOHAMMED, vexed at his heart to find, by these vast preparations, that *d'Aubusson* had got such an insight into his hostile views, and afraid lest they should produce some powerful league in *Europe* against him, thought fit to try how far that might be prevented by a pacific negotiation; but as his pride could not have brooked a refusal, if the first proposals came from him, he committed the management of it to his son *Zem*, or *Zizim*, and his nephew *Keleby*, whose governments lay most contiguous to *Rhodes*, who employed a *Greek* renegado to carry a letter to the grand master, fraught with expressions of esteem and value for him and the order, and in the end inviting him to strike a peace with the sultan, for which they offered their mediation. The *Greek* carried the letter accordingly; and, upon

² BOSIO, BAUDOUIN, lib. vi. c. 5. VERTOT, tom. ii. lib. vii. p. 70, & seq.

^a Auct. sup. citat.

a delivering it to *d' Aubusson*, confirmed all the contents of it from his own knowledge, assuring him, that the sultan would readily grant him a peace on so small a condition as the tribute, or, if that term seemed too harsh, a present of 2000 ducats *per ann.* a thing which the *Venetians* had not scrupled to agree to, to obtain the same favour.

To all this the grand master, who was thoroughly informed of the artifice, answered, *but is out-* that, as their order was subject to the pope, and obliged in many respects to several *European* *witted by him* princes, he could conclude nothing without their concurrence; but promised to consult them and his order about it, not doubting but they would all easily agree to it, provided that condition of a yearly tribute or present were set aside, as being of such a nature, that his knights could never submit to it. In the mean time, added he, it would not be at all
b inexpedient to make a short truce with the *Porte*, whilst I send notice of this negotiation to the *European* princes, which will the more easily obtain their consent to it, as it will be a proof to them of the sultan's pacific disposition. This last article he artfully insinuated to gain time for his knights to reach the island before they came to a rupture; and the *Greek*, who was sufficiently impowered for it, concluded a treaty with him for a suspension of arms, and free commerce, whilst the negotiation was carried on, which was soon after confirmed *A suspension of arms concluded.* by a fresh embassy sent from the *Porte*. In this last step the proud sultan was no less politic and artful, as such an embassy, when known by the Christian powers, would most probably cool their zeal, and the prospect of an approaching peace retard the succours which they designed to send to *Rhodes*, as well as the diligence of the knights to hasten thither^d.

c In the mean time the sultan of *Egypt*, who dreaded nothing so much as *Mohammed's* making himself master of *Rhodes*, by which he would become a nearer and more formidable enemy, dispatched one of his favourite ministers on an embassy to *Rhodes*, to renew the last treaty of peace with the grand master, which was accordingly done to the satisfaction and security of both sides. Much such another treaty was concluded with the king of *Tunis*, with this addition, that the order should, in case of need, be furnished from thence *A peace made with Tunis.* with 30,000 sacks of corn, without paying any duty.

ALL this while the knights arrived from all parts in great numbers; but as the grand master was still in expectation of many more, he thought fit to put off the chapter till the *October* following, when he opened it with great solemnity, and a most pathetic address to
d them, the substance of which was to this effect:

“ My generous brethren, the time is come, at length, wherein you may display your
“ zeal and courage against the enemies of our commonwealth. In a war so holy and just
“ as this, Christ himself will be your chief, and will never abandon those who fight for
“ his religion and glory. In vain doth the proud and impious *Mohammed*, who owns no
“ other deity than his own power, threaten you with the total extirpation of your order:
“ if his forces be superior in number to ours, they consist chiefly of abject slaves, who
“ are dragged by main force, and expose themselves to the danger of death, merely to
“ avoid a more sure one with which they are threatened by their officers; whereas I
“ behold none among you, but gentlemen of noble and illustrious extract, and fully
e “ determined either to conquer or die, and whose valour and piety are a sure earnest of
“ victory.”

His speech was a kind of declaration of war against the *Turkish* sultan, and was answered, as it well deserved, with the most unanimous and repeated assurances that they were ready to shed the last drop of their blood in defence of their religion; after which, they set about the most effectual means to carry it on with success. One of them was universally agreed on as the most conducive to prevent all differences between the commanders, and all other delays in their councils and measures; *viz.* to invest the grand master with the sovereign power, and with the sole command of the forces both by sea and land, at least till the threatening storm was happily allayed; but it was not, however, without great difficulty, *Aubusson is invested with the sovereign power.*
f and after the most earnest intreaties, that he was prevailed upon to accept of so dangerous a dignity: after which, his first care was, to nominate the most proper officers to their several posts, to demolish all the villas and houses of pleasure, and even churches, in the neighbourhood of their capital, to have all the grass and standing corn mowed down throughout the island, and to appoint their several duties to the inhabitants both of the city and country during the siege, and to make all proper preparations for a vigorous defence^f.

WHILST he was thus usefully employed, he had the pleasure to see a fresh supply of knights of the most illustrious families arrive daily from *France*, and other countries, to fight under his banner, all expressing an impatient desire to signalize themselves on this
g occasion against the enemy. At length the siege of the place was determined, and the con-

^d *Auct. sup. citat.*^e *Vide auct. sup. citat.*^f *Bosio, & al. sup. citat.*

Mohammed
resolves to be-
siege Rhodes.

duſt of it committed to *Miſaoli*, or *Michael Paleologus*, a renegado Greek, of the imperial family of that name, now raiſed to the dignity of grand vizier, and who, to give the ſtronger proofs of his zeal againſt the Chriſtians, had ſolicited that ſiege with uncommon ardour, and had cauſed the plan of the iſland, and all its fortifications, to be taken by three famed renegadoes, whom he ſent thither for that end. The firſt of theſe was a native of *Rhodes*, who had ruined himſelf by his extravagance, and was forced to abandon the place; the ſecond was the Greek renegado, who had brought ſome time before a letter from the prince *Zuzim* to the grand maſter; and the third one *Francis Frapan*, a German engineer, who had travelled through all thoſe Chriſtian countries which Mohammed deſigned to attack, and brought him exact plans of them, and now laſtly that of *Rhodes*; and from theſe three it was, but more eſpecially from the plan of the German, that Mohammed formed his own for the attack of the place^g.

The grand
vizier twice
repulſed with
loſs.

THE grand vizier *Paleologus* was immediately diſpatched in a ſmall fleet, with his other three renegadoes, to reconnoitre the place before the arrival of the grand army. By the 4th of *December*, he appeared before *Rhodes*, and landed ſome of his ſpahis over-againſt the caſtle of *Faris*, who met with ſuch a warm reception, that they were glad to regain their ſhips, after having loſt a good number of their companions. His next deſcent was on the iſland of *Tilo*, belonging to the order, where he found the inhabitants all houſed, with their effects, in the caſtle, which was a ſtrong fortrefs, and defended by a ſtout garrifon. This he cannonaded eight whole days, till, thinking the breach ſufficient to begin the aſſault, he mounted it at the head of his troops, and maintained the attack with great firmneſs, till he had ſeen the beſt part of his men lie dead at the foot of the wall, and himſelf forced to find a retreat. This gave him ſuch a taſte of the *Rhodian* bravery, as made him judge he ſhould never gain the place without attacking it in due form; but as he had not a ſufficient force for ſuch an enterpriſe, and the weather was altogether unfavourable to him, he was obliged, after ſome further loſs, to raiſe the ſiege, and ſail away for *Phifco* in *Lycia*, where was to be the grand rendezvous of the *Turkiſh* armada. Here he was forced to wait for it till the end of the following *April*, when it entered the mouth of the river *Lycia*, in full ſight of the iſle of *Rhodes*, which is not above eighteen or twenty miles from it. The watch on the top of mount *St. Stephen's* gave the firſt ſignal of its appearing; upon which *d'Aubuffon*, accompanied with all his principal officers, went thither to take a view of it. It conſiſted of 160 large veſſels, beſides the feluccas, galliots, flat-bottomed and other transport-ſhips, on which were reckoned no leſs than 100,000 land forces.

Rhodes be-
ſieged by the
Turks.

THIS vaſt force no ſooner arrived on the coaſts of the iſland, on the 23d of *May*, than the ſea ſeemed quite covered with their veſſels, and the air with their hideous ſhouts, and the thunder of their artillery, which kept a conſtant firing whilſt the infantry was making towards the land. The cannon of the city was no leſs conſtant and brisk againſt them, whilſt the knights ſallied out ſword in hand, and went into the ſea up to their girdles to oppoſe their landing, till, after a vaſt deal of bloodſhed on both ſides, being overpowered by numbers, they were obliged to retire. The *Turks* then landed in vaſt crouds, and divers places, and quickly gained the mount called *St. Stephen*, where being ſtrongly intrenched, they ſummoned the city to ſurrender. The haughty refusal of the beſieged was ſoon followed by ſome bloody ſkirmiſhes, after which the German engineer lately mentioned (and now the only one that was left of the three who had been employed by the grand vizier to take the plan of the city, adviſed him to bend all his force againſt the tower or caſtle of *St. Nicholas*; aſſuring him, that, if it was once carried, the city would ſoon be forced to ſurrender. His advice was followed, and a battery of three large pieces planted, which made a continual fire againſt it. The grand maſter, on his ſide, cauſed another to be raiſed in a convenient quarter, which returned their fire with the ſame vigour; all which was but a prelude to what enſued ſoon after, when the vaſt number and variety of the artillery which the vizier had brought came to be played againſt the place. That general, according to the German traitor's advice, ceaſed not plying that ſtrong tower with the largeſt artillery, till he ſaw that ſide which looked towards the town, and by much the weakeſt, fall to the ground, after having received near 300 cannon-balls, upon which he ſent a good number of his troops to ſcale the breach; but here they met with ſuch a ſtout oppoſition from the *Rhodian* knights, and ſuch a bloody conflict enſued on both ſides, that the grand maſter, who knew the importance of that fortrefs towards ſaving the town, came himſelf to defend it in perſon, and took his ſtation on the moſt dangerous part of the breach, telling his officers, in a reſolute tone, that that was the poſt of honour which belonged to the grand maſter of the order.

Fort St.
Nicholas
aſſaulted,
and ſtoutly
defend.d.

^g Vide Auſt. ſup. citat.

- ^a OUR prescribed limits will not permit us to enter into a particular detail of that siege, which would require more room than we can afford to this whole chapter; those who desire a more full account, may find it in the authors quoted in the margin^b; we may only observe here in general, that the contest was carried on with the utmost fury and bravery on both sides; that neither the extraordinary courage of the *Rhodian* knights, nor the many bloody repulses which they gave the enemy, nor the vast numbers of them which were cut off at every attack, could discourage the grand vizier, who stood in greater dread of *Mohammed's* resentment than of the *Rhodian* arms, from pursuing the siege with the utmost fury and obstinacy. The loss of the *German* renegado, who had conveyed himself into the city as a spy, was detected, and executed by order of the grand master, the frequent discoveries he made, that the besieged received continually fresh intelligence of every step he took, raised in him such suspicion of his officers, that he knew not who to trust to. The vigilance and indefatigable bravery of the grand master, who was every-where, animated every thing, warded against every advantage he gained, and defeated every stratagem he formed against him, joined to the ill success he had in almost every step, had such an effect upon him, that he was three whole days, after a bloody repulse, in a manner senseless and inactive, and awaked out of his lethargy by his fear and despair, and the discouraging news which the deserters brought him from the city. One came and told him, that the grand master had put all the women, children, and useless hands, in such a place of safety, and out of the reach of his engines and artillery, that he only spent all his force against empty houses; another informed him of some new wall, or other work, reared in one night, with incredible diligence, to which persons of every rank and sex put a helping hand, the very nuns coming out of their monasteries to assist the workmen with variety of refreshments. Others assured him, that the place had been so well stored with all kinds of ammunition and provisions, that its numerous garrison was not likely to need any supplies in haste; whilst the continual firing which the besieged made upon him gave him an ample assurance that powder and shot were the least of their wants. All these mortifying reports were interwoven with such encomiums on the grand master's bravery and vigilance, that, despairing to gain the city whilst he commanded in it, he sent thither two renegadoes, in the disguise of deserters, to take him off by sword, poison, or any other way they should find most convenient. The villains soon got access into the city and palace; and would have actually gained their end, had not one of them been happily discovered, who, being put to the torture, confessed the whole design, and informed against his accomplice; upon which, they were both condemned to a suitable death; but were torn to pieces by the people as they were led to execution. This hellish project having failed him, he had recourse to another; viz. to get letters thrown into several parts of the city, fraught with the most insolent bravadoes and threats, extolling the power and clemency of the *Turkish* sultan, and what happiness it would be for them to exchange the tyranny of the *Rhodian* order for the mildness of the *Othman* government; and denouncing the most dreadful rage of fire and sword against them, if they refused the terms he now so generously offered to them.
- ^c THESE letters having met with the contempt they deserved, his next stratagem was that of embassy to the grand master, much to the same purport, and in the same haughty stile. The grand master, who wanted time to repair the dilapidations which the *Turkish* artillery had made, turned that embassy into a conference, which was held on the skirts of the city ditch between one of the chief officers of the *Turkish* army and the castellan of *Rhodes*. In this interview, the *Turk* appearing wholly divested of that fierce and haughty air which is natural to that nation, contented himself with exhorting the order to avoid the dreadful effects of a general assault, and not let their valour, which, at such a juncture as this, would be justly termed rashness, expose them, and such a vast number of harmless inhabitants, to the horrid slaughter and desolation which are the usual consequences of an untimely and too obstinate resistance, as this would infallibly be deemed by the conqueror. Will it not be even interpreted the highest inhumanity, if, after your walls and bulwarks are destroyed, your towers are levelled with the ground, and your ditches are filled with their dilapidations, you still persist in the fruitless defence of a heap of rubbish, which will cost our grand vizier but two or three hours to be master of? He concluded with begging of him to lay these things before the grand master, and to persuade him, by a wise and timely capitulation, to prevent the massacre of so many noble knights and guiltless inhabitants, the prostitution and slavery of so many virtuous and honourable women, and other terrible consequences that attend the taking of a place with sword in hand.

^a Mons. Du Puy's Relat. du Siege, &c. CAOURSIN, p. 3, & seq. BOSIO, BAUDOUIN, l. vi. c. 8, 9, 10, & seq. VERTOT, t. iii. l. vii. p. 93, & seq.

The grand master's answer.

To this artful speech the grand master, who, tho' designedly it, yet was within the hearing of it, sent an answer to this effect, by the castellan abovementioned, that "the grand vizier had certainly been misinformed by his spies, with it to the condition of the place; and that if he thought fit to try the fortune of an a, he should soon find their want of walls and bulwarks supplied with such barriers and enhancements as would cost him no less blood to gain; and that if he had no such ties to surmount, he would find the city still strong enough, as long as it was defended by a set of knights, who were all of one heart and soul, had no other aim than the defence of their religion, and the honour and interest of their order, and to whom a noble contempt of death gives a strength much superior to that of walls. However, if *Mohd*, or his vizier, are inclined to peace, let them first remove their forces far enough, we will readily negotiate it with them on such terms as are consistent with our island honour; but, if otherwise, tell them, that we are ready to answer them in their way."

A murmuring of the knights against him.

THIS answer soon broke up the conference, and the *Turkish* commander went away much abashed at it; but the grand master soon found that it had quite a different effect upon several of the order, who began to complain to one another of the intended firmness as they styled it, of the grand master, and to declare for an honourable retreat, rather than sacrifice the rest of the knights and garrison to his obstinacy. Cabals, which daily increased, came at last to his ears; upon which he sent for them to palace, and, as if he had no longer looked upon them as members of the order, instead of the term *Brethren*, he addressed them with that of *Sirs*. "Sirs," said he to them, "if you do not think yourselves safe enough in this place, one part is not quite so well blocked up, but I may find means to facilitate your escape out of it: but," adding a higher and more determinate tone, "if you stay with us, let me never hear a word of capitulating, on pain of immediate death." At these words they were all sober-struck, that they knew not how to answer a word to him; but, soon recovering themselves, they expressed the utmost remorse at their pusillanimity, and gave him the strongest assurances, that they would fight under him in defence of the place, to the last drop of their blood. They accordingly behaved upon all occasions afterwards with such intrepidity, and such an emulous ardour to encounter the greatest dangers, as if now their aim was to wipe off the ignoble stain they had brought upon themselves, by the most gallant behaviour, or by a glorious death.

His stern answer recalls them to their duty.

The assault renewed with great fury.

ALL this while, the haughty vizier, exasperated to the highest degree at the answer which the grand master had sent to him, and ashamed to have offers so disdainfully rejected, denounced death and destruction against the whole order, ordered a vast number of sharp spikes to be fixed at the head of his camp, resolved to take all that fell alive into his hands. The fire of the artillery began afresh, and with more fury than ever; every thing was prepared for a most obstinate assault, which was accordingly given at several parts of the city, to oblige the knights to separate themselves, and carried on with such intrepid fury, that, in spite of all efforts of the order, they planted their standards on the ramparts. This produced a new kind of combat, and obliged the besieged to mount the scalade against them, with the grand master at their head, who mounted the ladder foremost of them all, with his half-pike in his hand. They met with an obstinate opposition from the *Turks*; but at length slew such numbers of them, that they were obliged to retire. These were immediately succeeded by a corps of resolute janissaries, sent them by the vizier, with the largest promises to any that should kill the grand master. They found him out by his gilt armour, and twelve of them forced themselves up to him, in spite of the knights that surrounded him, gave him five wounds in different parts of his; which, however, the heat with which he defended himself did not permit him to feel the knights, who ran to his rescue, and saw him covered with blood, apprised him and begged him to retire; but found him determined to die honourably on that spot. Inspired the knights with new life; they fell with redoubled fury on the *Turks*, cut in all that made head against them, and struck such a panic into the rest, that neither threats nor intreaties of the vizier could stop them from a most shameful flight. The *Rajah* pursued them with eager haste, and laid vast numbers of them dead on the ground: altho' being perceived by him, he was obliged to give up all for lost, and to make the speed he could to regain his camp, and soon after his shipping¹.

The Turks repulsed, and the siege raised.

A general thanksgiving.

THE victory thus happily secured, the grand master was conveyed by his knights, all over covered as he was with his own and the enemy's blood, to cathedral, where a

¹ DUPUY, ubi sup. CAOURSIN, p. 63, & seq. BOSIO, BAUDOUIN, l. vi. c. 12. VERTOT, t. iii. l. vii. p. 303, & seq.

- a solemn thanksgiving was celebrated, which was concluded with the usual rejoicings. The grand vizier did not leave the island, till he had left behind him the most dreadful marks of his resentment, and seen the rest of his army commit the greatest ravages in it. At length being informed of the arrival of some ships from *Spain*, and afraid of being surprised by them, he re embarked, and set sail with all possible speed for *Constantinople*. The grand master being informed of the great losses which the inhabitants and peasants of the island had suffered from the *Turkish* forces, ordered a sufficient quantity of corn to be distributed amongst them, to last them till the next harvest, and remitted their taxes for some years to come; and, in the same generous manner, rewarded all his surviving knights, in proportion to their merit and valour, from the greatest officer to the meanest soldier; after which
- b they set about repairing the fortifications of the place with the greatest diligence, not doubting but that they would soon hear again from the haughty *Turkish* sultan.

HE was not mistaken; for *Mohammed*, after the first transports of fury at the ill success of his vizier, whom he deposed, and sent prisoner to *Gallipoli*, declared publicly, that, as his arms were never fortunate but when he was at the head of them, he was determined to command them himself, on the next year, against that proud and obstinate order; and forthwith gave directions for making all necessary preparations against that time.

- IN the beginning of this year happened a violent earthquake, attended with frequent shocks, which greatly endangered the city and island, and was felt in all those belonging to the order, and those of the *Archipelago*. At *Rhodes* the sea broke out with such force that it laid the city ten or twelve feet under water. The first shock was felt on the 15th of *March*, the second, much more dreadful, on the 3d of *May*, followed by a violent lasting rain, which swelled the sea, and caused the inundation above-mentioned. Several others were felt successively in that month; but the most dreadful of all did not happen till the 10th of *December* following, in the dead of the night. In this the inhabitants, men, women, and children, run out of their houses half-naked, and took refuge in grottos and caverns; many, who ventured to stay at home, were buried under the ruins of their houses by the violence of the shocks. Some churches, the grand palace, and some other public edifices, were terribly shattered, and the ground heaved and undulated in such a dreadful manner, that the *Rhodians*, who have a tradition that their island sprang out of the sea, imagined
- d that it was going to sink into it again. The grand master, taking the advantage of the general consternation, set about reforming several great enormities which were crept in, by some new statutes and severe penalties^k.

- WHILST he was employed in this, and in repairing the damages and dilapidations which the earthquake and the *Turkish* forces had caused in the island, he received a message from prince *Zizim*, one of the late *Mohammed*'s sons, whom his other brother *Bajazet* had lately defeated, and forced to seek shelter and assistance out of the *Turkish* dominions. This message was to implore the aid and protection of the order, and a safe conduct from the grand master, which was readily granted, and a squadron of *Rhodian* gallies, under the command of Don *Alvares de Zuniga*, was dispatched to bring him to *Rhodes*, where he was received with all the marks of honour due to his birth and rank. The grand master himself, with a numerous retinue, went to receive him at the port, and conduct him to the palace prepared for him, which was that of the *French* tongue. In their march, *D'Aubusson*, with his usual politeness, gave the prince the right hand, which he offered to decline, alleging, that it did not become an exile and captive to take the upper hand of his patron and protector; to which he obligingly replied, that captives of high birth claim the first rank every-where, and only wished his power was as great at *Constantinople* as at *Rhodes*. The grand master took care, during his stay, to entertain and divert him in the grandest manner he could, tho' he had all the reason to apprehend his brother's resentment would terminate in an insolent demand to have him delivered up, or, if he refused, in a declaration of war.

- f WHILST he was in this perplexity, there arrived an envoy from the governor of *Lycia*, a province parted from *Rhodes* only by a narrow chanel, who was sent to treat about a commercial truce, but in reality to inform himself of what passed between the exiled prince and the order; which obliged him to prolong the negotiation as much as he could, notwithstanding the readiness which the grand master, who saw through the artifice, shewed to agree to it, and get rid of such a privileged spy. He had scarcely dispatched him, when a new one arrived with a letter from *Achmed*, *Bajazet*'s favourite prime vizier and general, to propose, as from himself, a negotiation of peace with his master, and with offers of his mediation, if the grand master agreed to it, and thought fit to send an embassy to *Constantinople*.

1481.
Violent earthquakes at Rhodes.

Prince Zizim applies to Rhodes for protection.

His reception there.

Bajazet's artifices against him.

A peace proposed.

^k BAUDOUIN, l. vii. c. i, & al.

Zizim's two
treaties with
the order.

It was easy to conclude, from all these artful proceedings, that that prince sought only to have his rival dispatched by poison or the sword, or by any other way; for which reason the grand master made all the haste he could to dismiss those authorized assassins, with this answer, that he was ready to accept of the offer, provided nothing was mentioned or insisted on of vassalage or tribute. In the mean time, to prevent all treacherous attempts against the prince *Zizim*, the council, after several deliberations, resolved to send him safe into *France*. The grand master communicated the matter to him in such manner as easily gained his consent. Before his departure, he left two instruments in his hands, the one to empower him to treat with *Bajazet* about an accommodation with him, and by the other obliged himself, if ever he recovered his dominions, to observe a constant peace with *Rhodes*, to open a free commerce to all their vessels, and to release 300 Christian slaves. Both these treaties, signed and sealed by him, and still preserved in the archives of the island, bear date the 5th of the month *Regheb*, in the year of the *Hejra* 887, answering to our 31st of *August*, 1482. Soon after which he embarked for *France*, under the conduct of M. *De Blanchfort*, the grand master's nephew^m.

Two embassa-
dors sent to
Constantino-
ple.

IMMEDIATELY after his departure, the grand master, according to his promise, dispatched two of his principal knights ambassadors to *Bajazet*, who received them with great marks of honour, and appointed *Achmed* above-mentioned, and *Michael Paleologus*, now recalled from exile, to negotiate the peace with them. The former of these was like to have broke up at once the conference, by his insisting on a tribute, and telling the *Rhodians*, on their rejecting the bare mention of it, that his master would go himself to raise it at the head of 100,000 men. Upon which *Paleologus* was obliged to remind him, in the *Turkish* tongue, that the sultan had charged them to conclude a peace at any rate with them. This not only obliged him to desist from it, but furnished the *Rhodian* ambassadors, one of whom understood that tongue, with a handle to insist upon more advantageous terms than they would otherwise have done, and to which both ministers were glad, in spite of their native haughtiness, to consent.

A peace con-
cluded.

By these articles the grand master obliged himself to keep the prince *Zizim* in his hands, and under a sufficient guard of his knights; and that he should not deliver him up to any other prince, whether Christian or infidel, who might thence take occasion to give the sultan any disturbance. In consideration of which the *Porte* should cause 35,000 ducats to be paid yearly into the *Rhodian* treasury for his expence, and, over and above that sum, that he should likewise pay another of 10,000 ducats *per annum* to the grand master, as a satisfaction for the damages which the *Turkish* forces had caused in the *Rhodian* islands. This peace being signed by *Bajazet*, was immediately dispatched by one of his chief ministers to *Rhodes*, to be ratified by the grand master; and the proud *Achmed*, who had loudly inveighed against the conditions, as dishonourable to the *Porte*, was soon after disgraced and put to deathⁿ.

Zizim com-
plains loudly of
the grand
master.

A general out-
cry against the
peace.

BAJAZET, highly pleased with the peace, was not only punctual, but even before-hand, in the payment of the sums above-mentioned; but the grand master reaped neither comfort nor honour by it. The unhappy *Zizim* made loud complaints against him, as having agreed to that peace in open violation of the safe-conduct which he had granted him; and was deaf to all the palliatives which the *Rhodian* knights, who guarded his person, offered to him. What was still worse, many of those, who were no-friends to the order, took occasion to throw the severest reflections against him, as having sold the liberty of a prince who had put himself under his protection, and, for the sake of an inconsiderable tribute, had engaged to become his gaoler, in favour of a tyrant, an irreconcilable enemy of the Christians, and, by that means, giving up the most favourable opportunity that could have been wished for of kindling a war in his dominions, which might have proved of the greatest advantage to Christianity. There are indeed two cotemporary writers, who have endeavoured to palliate this step of the grand master; the one by representing the advantages gained from it to the Christian powers in *Europe*, by the detention of that unfortunate prince, in such a light as shows him to have been more careful to wipe off that stain from the order, than about his own character, as an impartial historian; so that, according to him, it was no more than a chusing the lesser of the two evils. The other, a favourite minister of the grand master, by flatly denying that ever any such safe-conduct was granted by him; and pretending that *Zizim* was no other than a prisoner of war, who might be therefore disposed of according to the discretion of the person into whose power he was fallen. The misfortune is, that we have no cotemporary authors to direct us to which of those two we ought to give the preference. However that be, pope *Innocent VIII.* was so far from censuring

^m BOSIO, BAUDOUIN, VERTOT, & al. ubi sup.

ⁿ Auct. supra citat.

a this politic step of the grand master, that he made pressing overtures to him for his nuncio to take himself the custody of the unfortunate *Zizim*, in hopes, as he pretended, that, if he had him once in his power, he could easily put an end to the wars that raged between the Christian princes, by uniting them in a strong league against *Bajazet*. *D'Aubuffon* made several very just and strong objections against his proposal; on which, however, that pontif proved so inflexible, that he was at length obliged to send two of the principal knights of the order, one of whom was the vice-chancellor *Cacoursin*, frequently quoted in this section, to treat with his holiness about delivering him up to him upon the most advantageous terms to himself and his order.

b THESE two politic knights, finding the pontif no less ready to grant, than they were to ask, so he obtained their consent, complied with him upon the following terms: That his holiness should not thenceforth take upon him to bestow any commanderies to the prejudice of the tongues, or the seniority of the members. 2. That the goods and revenues of the order should no longer be included amongst the benefices which the popes had reserved in their own gift. 3. That in case *Bajazet* should withdraw the payment of the yearly sum stipulated for *Zizim's* maintenance, on account of this new treaty, the pope should supply that deficiency to the *Rhodians*, by suppressing the two orders of *St. Lazarus* and *St. Sepulchre*, and bestowing their revenue upon it, to prevent, says the pontif in his bull, that order, so useful and necessary to all Christendom, from sinking under the power of the infidels. Neither was the interest of the grand master forgot in this treaty, who, upon the delivery of the prince by his two plenipotentiaries, was to be created cardinal, and his holiness's nuncio in the east, as he accordingly was by another bull, dated *March 9th*, 1488, or, according to others, 1489; a dignity little suiting that of a secular sovereign, much less that of the chief of a military order^p. Thus was that unfortunate prince bought and sold to the highest bidder by those religious brokers, from whom he hoped for protection; yet was all this vastly short of the treacherous and inhuman treatment which he met with from that pontif's immediate successor *Alexander VI.* who, a few years after, caused him to be closely confined in the castle of *St. Angelo*, and, for the sum of 300,000 ducats, which *Bajazet* engaged to pay him, ordered him to be privately poisoned, as we have shewn more at large in a former part.

d THE grand master, at the news of that horrid treachery, shewed the most tender concern for the unfortunate prince, though he dared not express his abhorrence against his murderer, who, instead of excusing the fact, sent his nuncio to require him to send immediate word to *Bajazet* of the preparations which *Charles VIII.* of *France* was making against him. On the other hand, *Charles* sent him a letter, to invite him to come over, and consult with him about his designed expedition against the sultan; but he, who clearly foresaw that the *French* monarch would soon have other work upon his hands, both in *Italy* and his own dominions, as it actually proved, neither regarded the invitation of the one, nor the orders of the other: for which that pontif gave him soon after such an earnest of his resentment, as made him and the whole order apprehend some farther attempts from him upon their privileges. For, about this time, the commandery of *Novellac*, and the rich priory of *Catalonia*, happening to be vacant, *Alexander*, by his own authority, as sole disposer, as he stiled himself, of all such preferments, bestowed them on his worthless nephew *Lewis Borgia*, though the grand master had already conferred them upon *Francis Boffolx*, one of the most illustrious knights of the tongue of *Arragon*. Happily for them, *Ferdinand* king of *Arragon* and *Castile*, who was ever at war with the *Moors* of *Africa*, and stood in constant need of the assistance of the order, was quickly prevailed upon, by their complaints, to interpose his authority in their behalf; which he did in so effectual a manner, that the pope was forced to submit, and forego his pretended right over their ecclesiastical preferments^r.

f By this time the pope made so odious a figure in the world, and had raised so many enemies against him, that he thought it high time by some way to wipe off, or at least to take off the eyes of the world from, the scandalous stains which he had brought on his pontifical character. To this end, he ordered his nuncios to invite the Christian princes into a powerful league against the *Turks*, of which he designed to declare himself the chief. The grand master was not forgot in it, whom he promised to appoint generalissimo of this new crusade. The grand master, who had too much reason to suspect the pontif's sincerity, was much inclined to refuse the offer; but the council representing to him the discredit the declining such an invitation would be to the order, whose profession it was to embrace all opportunities of warring against the enemies of Christianity, joined to an obliging letter which he received from *Lewis XII.* in which he acquainted him, that he had sent a small fleet to the *Mediterranean*, under the command of *Philip* of *Cleves*, who was expressly

^p BOSIO, BAUDOUIN, l. vii. tom. iii. p. 175, & seq. VERTOT, & al. sup. citat.
c. 67, & seq. VERTOT, ubi supra, p. 186, & seq. & al. sup. citat.

^r BOSIO; BAUDOUIN, l. vii.

ordered to obey and be directed by him in all things, did at length determine him to accept of that high post. He ordered accordingly a suitable number of large ships, galleys, and other vessels, to be equipped, and waited only for the arrival of those of the pope and French admiral. But this last, instead of following his instructions, sailed directly to the island of *Metelin*, and besieged the capital of it; but was soon obliged to raise the siege, after having sustained a considerable loss, both of his ships and troops, and forced to a shameful retreat into his own country.

D'Aubusson
forsaken by his
allies.

Soon after this the grand master received the disagreeable news of it from *Venice*; and that he must no longer depend on the 15 galleys which the pope had engaged to furnish, for that he had no more than two at sea, and they otherwise employed: so that he saw himself under the necessity either to carry on the whole war without any assistance but that of his order, or to let the league, which still subsisted, come to nothing. He chose the former, as the more honourable of the two; his fleet took the island of *St. Mauro*, whilst himself was using all his efforts in vain to spirit up the allied powers. The treacherous pontif, thinking he had done enough to save his character, was now wholly taken up with enriching his nephew; whilst the other princes, after his example, were minding their own private interests. So that all the fruit that was reaped from this extraordinary league, besides the taking of the small island above-mentioned, was a considerable prize which *Villagarut*, who commanded the *Rhodian* squadron, made of some *Turkish* merchant-ships bound for *Constantinople*, richly laden, and which, after having defeated and dispersed their escorte, he brought safe to the haven of *Rhodes*.

His grief augmented by other
disasters.

To alleviate the grief which the ill success of this league, the treachery of the pope, and unfaithfulness of the allied Christian princes, gave him, which was still aggravated by other no less pungent cares, among which the scandalous encroachments which the ravenous pontif made on the privileges of the order on the one hand, and the luxury and effeminacy which reigned among the greater part of the *Rhodian* knights, were not the least, he spent the short remnant of his life in applying the most effectual means to work a thorough reformation, by reviving the antient discipline. He began with an edict for banishing all the Jews from the *Rhodian* dominions, not only as enemies to the name of Christ, but as brokers and panders to the debauchery and luxury which he set about to reform. The next was a kind of sumptuary law, by which he expressly forbid the use of gold, silver, and other tawdry ornaments, in the apparel, equipage, and furniture, of the order, under the severest penalties, in which he had the singular satisfaction to see such a general deference paid to his authority, that they seemed to be quite banished out of the island in a very little time. But this was greatly overbalanced by the mortification he received to see all the just complaints he sent to that voracious pontif not only prove ineffectual, but even productive of fresh oppressions and encroachments; so that, oppressed with grief and cares, as well as old age, being now turned of fourscore, he fell into a deep melancholy, which carried him off on the 3d of July, in the 27th year of his grand mastership.

His death.
1593.

39. Emeric
d'Amboise.

THE chapter, to retrieve as much as possible the loss of so illustrious a chief, chose in his room *Emeric d'Amboise*, a person of no less noble a family, then grand prior of *France*, and residing in his priory, but who left it soon after to attend on the more pressing duties of his new dignity. Upon his arrival at *Rhodes*, his first care, to inform himself of the true state of the order, was to convoke a general council, to regulate the finances, and put the islands and fleet into a condition of opposing the common enemies, *Bajazet* and the sultan of *Egypt*, who had privately entered into an alliance against them. The former, who could never forgive the *Rhodians* the reception they gave to his brother, nor the great power they had at that time at sea, by which they daily enriched themselves at the expence of the *Turkish* and *Egyptian* commerce, which was in some measure ruined by their galleys, no sooner saw himself out of danger from that formidable rival, than he ordered his corsairs to make frequent descents upon all the islands belonging to the order, and commit any other hostilities against them. As for the *Egyptian* prince, he was not only a great loser by them in the article of commerce, but was no less annoyed by the progress which the *Portuguese* had made on the coasts of the *Red Sea*, and in many other parts of the east; but as his country afforded no timber for building a sufficient number of ships to make head against two such naval powers, he was obliged to have recourse to *Bajazet*, who by this treaty allowed him the liberty of buying merchant and other vessels at *Constantinople*, and of cutting trees in the forest near mount *Negro*, along the bay of *Ajazzo*, for the construction of others. In consideration of which, he obliged himself to furnish the *Turkish* sultan with a powerful fleet for the besieging of *Rhodes*.

A league formed
against
Rhodes.

Bajazet's fleet
retires.

WHILST these preparations were carrying on, *Bajazet* sent out a numerous fleet, consisting of a great variety of galleys, and other vessels, commanded by the famed corsair *Gamali*,

^u BOSIO, BAUDOUIN, VERTOT, & al.

^w OSSER. Hist. Portug. l. iii. c. 3. alib.

- a with orders to sail to the islands belonging to the order, and to put all to fire and sword. But the grand master, who had his spies even in the heart of the seraglio itself, having had time sufficient to repair every fortification, and to put into every place a sufficient number of forces, commanded by some of the bravest knights of the order, those invaders met with such a hot reception where-ever they landed, that the greatest part of them were cut in pieces, without being able to succeed in any of them. *Gamali*, at length, having gathered up the shattered remains of his forces, made his last attempt upon the island; or rather barren rock, of *Lindo*, guarded only by a castle and a small garrison, which he laid siege to. The governor, an old officer, being then confined to his bed, committed the defence of it to a young *Piedmontese* knight, named *Simoni*, scarcely 18 years old, who, after
- b returning their brisk fire for some time, observing that their cannon had beat down some part of the wall, immediately ordered all the inhabitants of the island, who had retired thither, both men and women, to appear upon the breach with the white cross of the order upon their breast, and their weapons in their hands, whom *Gamali* and his men took for so many *Rhodian* knights who had landed there in the night to the assistance of the garrison; so that fear of being surrounded by the *Rhodian* gallies made them raise the siege with the utmost precipitation, and betake themselves to their ships, and to a shameful flight^x.

- PRESENTLY after this, the sultan of *Egypt* having, pursuant to his treaty, sent out seven armed pinks to make a descent on the island of *Lango*, the two first who were sent to reconnoitre it were discovered from the castle; upon which the governor dispatched two
- c gallies out of the haven, which, fetching a compass about, came so suddenly upon them, that they had no other way to escape than by landing on the coast, and hiding themselves in the island; upon which the *Rhodian* gallies towed the two pinks along, and, having put some of their own soldiers and sailors in them, under two knights of the order, followed the same route with the other five, and fell foul upon them as soon as they had joined them. Their surprise was increased, when they beheld from behind a creek the two *Rhodian* gallies ready to surround them. They defended themselves briskly for some time, but being forced to surrender, were immediately put in irons, and¹ carried prisoners to *Rhodes*². These two
- d stratagems were followed some time after by a more considerable one, against a monstrous large carack that sailed yearly from *Alexandria* to *Constantinople*, laden with the richest silks, spices, and other valuable merchandize, which the grand signor's subjects brought from the *Red Sea*. This vessel was of such height, that the main-mast of a *Rhodian* galley hardly reached its prow. It was seven stories high; and its mast so thick, that three men could scarcely embrace it. It carried, besides its freight, merchants, and other necessary sailors, between 900 and 1000 soldiers for its defence; and was called, on account of its vast bulk and rich lading, the queen of the sea. It had been attempted more than once by the *Rhodian* gallies in the late grand master *d'Aubusson's* time, without success. This did not discourage the present one from trying his fortune against it, as soon as he was apprised of its being at sea. He committed the expedition to an expert and brave knight, named *Gastineau*, who commanded the first man of war belonging to the order, and was directed
- e to attempt it rather by stratagem than force, but to avoid the burning or sinking of it.

- GASTINEAU*, according to his instructions, sailed directly towards the island of *Candia* in quest of it, and soon after came in sight of her. The *Saracen*, who commanded the carack, made not one single motion to shun him, but seemed rather insultingly to come full in his way. As soon as they were got near enough to one another, the *Rhodian* sent one of his officers in his long-boat to summon him to surrender; to which the *Saracen* haughtily answered, that the vessel belonged to the sultan his master; that he had had it several years under his command, and had never before met with, in any of those seas, an enemy bold enough to send him such a challenge; that he had on board a vast multitude of brave *Moslems*, who would hazard their lives in defence of it. *Gastineau*, having received
- f this answer, dispatched the officer back with this reply; that he was likewise commanded by his grand master to come thither and attack him at all hazards, and he was obliged in honour to obey; and that if he did not immediately surrender, he would either burn or sink him without any further ceremony; but that if he yielded, he would give them quarter. The *Saracen*, affronted at this second message, bid him go back; and threatened him, that if he came again on that errand, he would order him to be thrown into the sea.

- THE *Rhodian* commander, by all these intermessages, only meant to amuse him till he had got him within cannon-shot, by which time he gave the carack a broadside with his cartridge guns, which, among other mischief, killed the *Saracen* commander; at which the merchants, officers, and all that were upon deck, were so dismayed, that they made a signal to surrender,
- g before he could tack about to give them a second. The *Rhodian* knight ordered the most

^x Vide auct. sup. citat. ² Ibid. ibid.

considerable of them to come into his galley, whilst he sent a sufficient number of his ^a soldiers and mariners into the carack to take care of her. When they came to examine her cargo, they found it immensely rich; for, besides the merchandize she was freighted with, she carried a large quantity of money, gold, silver, jewels, &c. to redeem which, as well as his own subjects, the sultan sent an equivalent in spices, rich stuffs, and other valuable commodities. Not long after this the *Rhodian* gallies made a considerable new prize, near the isle of *Cyprus*, of three *Saracen* merchant-men, which were sent with their lading into *France*, and there exchanged for cannon, arms, ammunition, and other warlike stores^a.

The sultan of
Egypt's fleet
defeated.

ALL this while the subjects of *Gauri Compson*, sultan of *Egypt*, had been cutting down timber in the woods adjacent to the bay of *Ajazzo*, in order to build therewith a new fleet of ships, as we lately hinted. As soon, therefore, as he was informed of their being ready ^b for his purpose, he sent out a fleet, consisting of twenty-five vessels of different bulks, to fetch them away. The grand master was soon informed of their arrival in that bay; and, with the advice of his council, dispatched the great carack, attended by four gallies, to go and attack them; and as the designed *Egyptian* armament was partly intended against the king of *Portugal*, the *Rhodian* gallies were put under the command of a knight of that nation, named *Andrew Amaral*, a gentleman bold and brave indeed, but proud and confident. The rest of the vessels were committed to the care of *Villiers de l'isle Adam*, since grand master, a knight not inferior to him in courage, but more cool and circumspect. But when both were joined at the place of rendezvous, at the cape of *St. Andrew*, on the east coast of *Cyprus*, the *Portuguese* admiral was for going to attack the enemy in the very ^c bottom of the bay, and the other for staying till their vessels were laden, and got in full sail. The contest would have risen to a dangerous height, if the latter had not yielded to the former, and set sail with him to the gulph. The *Saracen* commander no sooner espied them entering, than he caused all the men that were on shore to come on board, and sailed away to meet them; but the *Rhodians*, having got much better pilots with them, had gained the wind of the enemy before the onset began. It proved a very fierce one on both sides, during the space of three whole hours, till the *Rhodians*, vexed at the obstinate opposition of the enemy, as well as the loss of so many of their own ships and men, agreed to board them at once; which was done with such vigour and bravery, that the *Saracens*, no-way equal to them in this close way of fighting, abandoned their vessels, ^d by throwing themselves, some into their long-boats, and others into the sea, and happy were they that could gain the shore, where they sought for shelter in the woods. The admiral was the only one that dared to stand his ground, and preferred dying sword in hand to a shameful flight. The result was, that the *Rhodians* took 11 sail, and four gallies, and sunk all the rest. They next landed some forces to pursue the fugitives, many of whom they killed and took prisoners; after which, they fell to ravaging the country about, from whence they brought some considerable plunder before they left the bay. With all these prizes they set sail for *Rhodes*, and entered the harbour with the usual signals of joy, and a booty which sufficiently repaid all the expence of that expedition^b. The grand master ordered great rejoicings to be made both in the city and islands, and dispatched the news of ^e it to the several courts of *Europe*, and all the priories of the order, intreating the one, and enjoining the other, to send him fresh supplies of men, money, and arms, with all speed, there being so much cause to suppose that the sultan would not let such an affront go long unrevenge.

Death of the
grand master.

40. Guy de
Blanche
Court, 1512.

THE grand master employed the short remainder of his life in repairing the fortifications under his government, and died on the 13th of *November*, in the 78th year of his age, and the 8th of his grand mastership. He was succeeded by *Guy de Blanche-Court*, nephew to the late *Peter d'Aubusson*, grand prior of *Auvergne*, to whose custody the unfortunate *Zizim* had been committed upon his going to *France*. Whilst the news of his election were hastening thither to him, the chapter received a bull from pope *Julius II.* now in the chair, ^f and a person of most ambitious views, inviting them to assist at the council of *Lateran*, the guard of which he designed to commit to them. But they, being well apprised how little religion was concerned in the measures of that pontif, excused themselves from complying during the absence of the grand master, and only ordered their admiral *Caretti*, then residing at the court of *Rome*, to convoke as many knights as he could in *Italy* to perform that office under his command. Neither was this a proper time for the head of the order to be attending the pope and council, when they were threatened with a powerful invasion from the *Porte*; so that *Caretti*, instead of staying to attend the council, obtained leave of the pope to repair with his knights to *Rhodes* with all possible speed, carrying thither two vessels laden with corn.

THE grand master, on his part, being likewise apprised of *Bajazet's* vast armament, ^g made all the haste he could to reach the island, though at that time dangerously ill, inasmuch

^a BAUDOUIN, l. vii. c. 8. VERTOT, ubi sup. p. 222, & seq.

^b Auct. sup. citat. & seq.

- a that the knights, who embarked with him at *Nice*, finding him to grow still worse, would have persuaded him to land in *Sicily*, and stay there till he was recovered; which he utterly refused, and expired by that time they were come to the height of the isle of *Zanthus*. When he found his last moments approaching, his first care was to have a caravel to row to *Rhodes* with all possible speed, to carry the news of his death, before the court of *Rome* could have notice of it, lest the pope should take upon him to appoint him a successor^c. He died on the 24th of *November*, and the vessel arrived at *Rhodes* on the 13th of *December*, and on the very next day the chapter proceeded to a new election, in which the choice fell unanimously on *Fabricius Caretti*, lately mentioned, a gentleman who had greatly signalized himself in the last siege of *Rhodes*, and to whom the great *d'Aubussen* had in some measure foretold his advancement to that dignity.

The grand master dies in his way to Rhodes. 1513.

- b His first care, after his election, was to assemble a general chapter in the island, in order to make all possible preparations for the approaching siege; soon after which, he caused an extraordinary train of artillery to be brought from *France*, whither he had sent the grand prior *Philip Villiers de l'Isle Adam*, as his lieutenant and visitor in that kingdom. The war with which they were threatened was however suspended for some time, through the dissensions which happened among *Bajazet's* sons, of which we have given a full account elsewhere. *Selim*, his youngest, having got the power into his hands by the murder of his two brothers, carried his arms into *Persia* with such success and valour, that the sopher was obliged to make an alliance with several other powers, and in particular with the grand master and the sultan of *Egypt*, to both of whom *Selim* was become equally formidable. The consequence of which league was, that *Selim*, after several vain attempts to bring the latter off, bent his whole force against *Egypt*, and in less than four years made himself master of *Syria*, *Palestine*, part of *Arabia*, and the whole kingdom of *Egypt*, by which a final end was put to the *Mamluc* dynasty.

41. Fabricius Caretti.

- c THE grand master soon received intelligence of the naval preparations which *Selim* was now making, and rightly judged that they were designed against *Rhodes*, they consisting of no less than two hundred galleys, which he ordered to be equipped with all expedition. As he had, at his election, accepted of the sole management of the treasury, he spared no cost to put himself in the best posture of defence. He added some new fortifications to the city and haven, filled his arsenals and magazines, and took all other proper precautions against the enemy. But whilst he was thus employed, a Jew, whom *Selim* had hired for his purpose, and who, to put himself in a more effectual condition to serve him, had turned Christian, and been baptized at *Rhodes*, was sending him the news of every thing that was done there, and of all the weak places in the island, which, by his insinuation with the most considerable persons of the city, he had frequent opportunities to examine.

Selim's preparations against Rhodes.

- d IN the mean time *Selim* died, and was succeeded by his only son *Soliman II.* then scarcely 20 years of age, which gave an encouragement to *Gazello*, governor of *Syria*, to revolt from him. As he was in great want of some artillery, he had recourse to the grand master for a supply; to which *Caretti* readily consented, and sent him a great quantity of powder, ball, and other ammunition, together with some of his expertest engineers, of all which he made singular good use at the head of his *Mamlucs*, till, being at last overpowered by numbers, he lost at once the battle and his life. *Soliman's* ministers, after this victory, failed not to exasperate him against the *Rhodians*, who, they told him, had assisted that rebel with artillery and ammunition, were sworn enemies to the *Porte*, and held a vast number of his bravest subjects in chains. But what chiefly determined that prince to declare war against *Rhodes*, was, the instructions which his father had left him in writing; among which was found an exact account of the state of the island, as it had been communicated to him by the Jewish spy lately mentioned.

Soliman declares against Rhodes.

- f WHILEST, therefore, he was making all these vast preparations against the grand master, the latter was no less diligent in providing all things for a vigorous defence; and, as he had taken care betimes to secure the assistance of the pope, and some other Christian powers, so he gladly saw arrive at his port three galleys well armed from the pontif, nine from *France*, together with four brigantines, and as many armed barks, under the command of the baron *Blancard*, which sailed away, however, homewards, soon after, upon the news that *Soliman* was going to besiege *Belgrade*. We have elsewhere spoken of that siege, and the loss of that important place; which, whilst it was carrying on with the utmost fury, was attended with the death of the grand master, who, worn out with age and fatigues, and now with concern and grief, departed this life on the 10th of *January*, in the beginning of the 8th year of his government. The present state of affairs obliging the order to proceed with all diligence to the election of a successor, to which there appeared a greater number of competitors than usual, the choice would in all likelihood have fallen on *Andrea d'Amarald*, grand chancellor of the order, and prior of *Castile*, a person in all other

Caretti dies.

^c BOSIO, BAUDOUIN, l. vii. c. 8. VERTOT, l. viii. t. iii. p. 213, & seq.

^e Vide auct. sup. citat.

42. Villiers
de l'isle
Adam.
D'Amarald's
resentment and
perfidy.

respects well qualified for that dignity, had not his assuming behaviour on that occasion quite disgusted the electors, and induced them to give the preference to *Philip Villiers de l'isle Adam*, a person of great merit, and at that time absent from *Rhodes*. The applause of the rest of the order gave to his election threw the haughty *Amarald* into such excess of resentment, that he could not forbear telling a *Spanish* knight, his intimate, that *L'isle Adam* would be the last grand master of *Rhodes*; as he really proved, through the vindictive perfidy and baseness of that exasperated *Spaniard*. The method that traitor took to perpetrate his most hellish design, as *Bosio* informs us^b, was as follows:

HAVING secured a young *Turkish* slave to his interest under the hopes of regaining his liberty, he sent him privately to *Constantinople*, with a letter to the grand signor, in which he gave him the most minute account of the condition of *Rhodes*, with respect to its fortifications, arms, garrison, provisions, &c. to all which he added, that the order was just then going to pull down the bastion of *Auvergne*, in order to have it rebuilt upon a former foundation; so that now was his time for executing his design upon that city, seeing he would find it quite uncovered and defenceless on that side. The sultan was still in *Hungary*, so that the young *Turk* was obliged to deliver his packet to the prime minister, who caused it to be dispatched to his master. *Soliman*, beyond measure pleased to find so powerful a privileged spy offering him his services, sent back his slave with the highest promises of gratitude. His treacherous master, to avoid all suspicion, gave out, that he was come back with the price of his ransom, and caressed him after such a strange manner, as gave great uneasiness to some of his order, who yet dared not let it break out for fear of his resentment, especially as the grand master was not yet arrived from *France*, where he had been procuring all the succours he could get against the approaching war.

The grand
master arrives
at Rhodes.

HE went at length on board the great carack of the order, which waited for him at *Marseilles*, when, through the carelessness of some of his servants, the vessel took fire soon after, and burnt with such vehemence, that the sails, cordage, &c. were all consumed, and nothing was talked of but abandoning it, and getting into some of the other vessels of his retinue. This was however forbidden under pain of death, and his orders so strictly obeyed, that the fire was soon after quite extinguished, and the ship preserved by those who were for abandoning it. This disaster was quickly followed by a more dreadful and irresistible one, viz. a flash of lightning which fell into the stern room, killed nine of his men, and shattered his sword in pieces without hurting the scabbard; which, by those of the meaner sort, was interpreted as a very threatening omen to the order, and obliged him to stay at *Syracuse* till his carack was refitted. In the mean time news were brought to him there, that the famous *Curtogli*, a favourite corsair of the grand signor, lay in wait for him at the head of a powerful squadron. Great endeavours were used to dissuade the grand master from encountering so powerful and successful an enemy; he proved deaf to all their intreaties, and ordered his small fleet to make all the sail they could. They saw the enemy waiting for them at cape *St. Angelo*, and passed by them in the dead of the night, and arrived safely at *Rhodes*, where his presence gave a kind of new life to the order^d.

SOLIMAN, having by this time made himself master of *Belgrade*, and being resolved to follow his father's scheme of making his next attack on *Rhodes*, in order to put an end to their continual ravages at sea, and to all their future attempts on the *Holy Land*, had made all the necessary preparations for the siege, and appointed the several officers who were to command in it, when his ambassador arrived at *Rhodes* to congratulate the new grand master, and brought the following letter to him:

Soliman's
letter and am-
bassy to him.

"SOLTAN *Soliman*, by the grace of God, king of kings, &c.

"To *Philip Villiers de l'isle Adam*, grand master of *Rhodes*, greeting:

"WE congratulate thee on thy new dignity, and safe arrival in thy dominions. I wish thou mayest reign in them even with more glory than thy predecessors. Thou hast it in thy power to share in our good-will, and to enjoy the effects of our friendship. As a friend, therefore, to us, be not one of the last in congratulating us upon our conquests in *Hungary*, and particularly on our reduction of the important city of *Belgrade*, where we have caused all our opposers to be put to the sword. Adieu.

"From our camp," &c.

THIS letter having been read in council, the grand master returned an answer to it, to this effect:

"*Philip Villiers de l'isle Adam* grand master of *Rhodes*,

"To *Soliman*, sultan of the *Turks*:

"I THOROUGHLY comprehend the meaning of the letter which thy ambassador hath brought to me. Thy proposals of a peace between us are as welcome to me as they will

^a Hist. de Malt. BAUDOUIN, lib. ix. cap. 1. VERTOT, ubi sup. p. 254, & seq. ^b Bos. o, tom. ii. l. xviii. p. 625. BAUDOUIN, lib. viii. c. 11. VERTOT, ubi sup. p. 256, & seq.

- a "be to thy corsair *Cartogli*, who, in my passage hither from *France*, hath left no means
 "untried to surprize me; but, having missed his aim, and being unwilling to abandon
 "these seas before he had done us some damage, he hath failed into the mouth of the
 "Lycia, and attempted to carry off two merchantmen which were bound from our ports.
 "He had even fallen foul upon a *Candian* bark, but was forced, by the gallies which I
 "dispatched after him, to let it go, and to betake himself to a speedy flight, to avoid
 "falling into their hands. Farewell.
 "Given at *Rhodes*," &c.

b THIS letter was sent, not by an ambassador, or person of rank, who might have been
 detained prisoner at the *Porte*, the *Turks* not being very scrupulous observers of the laws of
 nations, but by a private inhabitant of *Rhodes*. This sufficed, however, to let the soltan
 know what a brave and resolute order he had to do with; but as it did not answer his
 purpose, *Pyrrus*, an old experienced basha, advised the council to send the grand master
 word, that they had not dared to shew his letter to *Soliman*, on account of the meanness of
 the person that brought it; but that, if he was inclined to listen to his peaceful proposals, it
 might be speedily brought to a conclusion, if he sent some proper person of the order ambaf-
 fador to him. The view of that artful minister was in all likelihood to have extorted by
 that means a more perfect knowlege of the state and strength of that city from him; for
 which reason that proposal was rejected.

c IT was not long before another messenger arrived at *Rhodes*, with a new letter from that
 monarch, but in a very different stile, and little short of a declaration of war; it was to this
 effect:

"I AM well assured that the letter which our highness sent to thee came into thy hands, *His second and*
 "and that it hath given thee more uneasiness than pleasure: assure thyself, that I am far *threatening*
 "from sitting still with the reduction of *Belgrade*, and that I have another in view no less *letter to him.*
 "considerable and important, of which thou wilt be apprised in a little while, thou and
 "thy knights being seldom out of my thoughts."

d To this the grand master answered in words to this effect:

"I AM not at all displeased that thou bearest me and my order in thy mind. Thou tellest *His brave*
 "me of thy conquest in *Hungary*, and of another which thou designest to make elsewhere, *answer to it.*
 "in which thou promistest thyself an equal success; but consider seriously, that of all the
 "projects which men are apt to form, none are more uncertain than those which depend on
 "the fortune of war. Adieu."

e To this he added a private one to *Pyrrus*, assuring him, that if his master entertained
 any pacific views, he would not delay sending one of the order on an embassy to the *Porte*,
 as soon as he was provided from thence with proper hostages, or a safe conduct signed with
 the imperial seal: but the next news he heard from thence was, that they had seized a
 brigantine belonging to the order, which he looked upon as a sufficient declaration of war,
 and set about making the most proper preparations against it, by furnishing the city with
 all kinds of necessaries, particularly by laying up vast quantities of wheat, wine, and oil,
 from *Naples* and *Sicily*, and causing all the grain and forage to be gathered in, that the
 enemy might have nothing to subsist on but what they brought^k.

f HERE again the treacherous chancellor betrayed his perfidy, by opposing all these wise *D'Amarald's*
 precautions, under divers pretences, such as parsimony, and the danger of exhausting the *treachery.*
 public treasure, by buying up such quantities of stores before they were sure of their being
 wanted; and by endeavouring to persuade the council, that *Soliman* would never have sent
 such a threatening letter, if his vast armament had been really designed against *Rhodes*;
 though the letters which they had from their spies at the *Porte* assured them, that the siege
 of that capital was the only object of it. And happy it was that the grand master carried
 his point against him, or else they must have been reduced to the want of the most essential
 necessaries, by the vile means which this false brother took to elude all his precautions.
 Wine, in particular, so proper in a siege, was what *d'Amarald* took upon himself to provide,
 in such quantity as was agreed upon by the council; yet he was base enough to reject the
 offers of some merchants who engaged to bring him that supply in good time at a reasonable
 rate; and was still complaining, that the vain apprehensions which they frequently enter-
 tained of imaginary invasions from the *Turks* had proved more chargeable, and done more
 g real damage to the order, than all their arms could have done; which obliged the grand
 master to send *Bosio* (a serving brother, and uncle to the knight of that name, so often quoted
 in this chapter) into *Candia* for it, who returned accordingly soon after which a considerable

^k BOSIO, MEGISSER, BAUDOUIN, VERTOT, VITRI, & al.

Gabriel Martinengo an excellent engineer brought from Candia.

supply¹. He was at the same time ordered to raise what recruits he could in that island; but finding that the governor had, out of fear of disobliging the grand signor, forbidden, by sound of the trumpet, any *Candiot* listing in the *Rhodian* service, he was obliged to act more cautiously in it; yet, either with his connivance, or in spite of his vigilance, he not only got 500 into his galleys, under the disguise of merchants and sailors, but prevailed upon one *Gabriel Martinengo*, an excellent engineer, whom the senate of *Brescia* had sent thither to take care of the fortifications, to go with him to *Rhodes*, and share in the glory of defending that place against the enemies of Christianity; and who proved afterwards, by his valour and skill, of excellent service to the order during the whole siege, as we shall see in the sequel^m.

UPON his arrival, the grand master, and the rest of the knights, being told by *Bosio* with what readiness he accepted of their invitation, and what dangers they had undergone in their flight from *Candia*, loaded him with caresses; and he soon after became so enamoured with their order, that he begged to be admitted, and was gladly received, into it. Immediately after this he had the superintendency of all the fortifications committed to him; and it was by his advice, as well as by his direction, that the ramparts were raised to a more convenient height, the gates defended by ravelins, new casemates built in the lanes of the bastions, and the counterscarp of the ditch, and other improvements were added, of a most exquisite contrivance to keep off an enemy, or crush him on his too near approach, which we have not room to enumerate.

A defection among the Italian knights.

WHILST these measures were carrying on, a new defection was hatched among the knights of the *Italian* tongue, whose preferments the pope (*Adrian VI.*) bestowed upon his favourites at *Rome*, whilst they were taken up in the defence of the island, on which account they begged leave to go into *Italy*, and lay their complaints before the pontif. As their request was altogether unseasonable at such a juncture, the treacherous *d'Amarald*, who had perhaps the greatest hand in it, failed not to interpret the grand master's refusal as arbitrary and unjust, and as a mark of his disrespect for the *Italians*, which deserved to be equally disregarded by them, especially as there was such probability that he raised these rumours of an approaching siege, merely that he might be at liberty to squander the public treasure as he thought fit among his *French* favourites. The poison worked just as he wished; and, without asking any further leave, they all withdrew to the isle of *Candia*, where they had soon after the mortification to hear that the grand master had got them to be publicly condemned as rebels and deserters, and to be degraded and erased out of the order. But as the defection of so many, otherwise brave, knights, could not but be a sensible loss to it, some others were forthwith dispatched thither, to try all proper means to reduce them; and to let them know, that as their city would infallibly undergo a dreadful siege in a short time, all their other pretences would never prevent their flight being interpreted as a mark of cowardice. This quickly brought them back to the feet of the grand master, who, upon their submission, readily embraced and restored them to their dignity and respective posts.

Succours from Europe denied.

Preparations against the siege.

THEIR return, and the desire they expressed to wipe off the stain of their defection by their future conduct, were the more acceptable to him and the whole order, as all his embassies to the *European* powers for assistance had proved abortive; and they plainly perceived, that *Rhodes* was not likely to have any other defenders than those of the order. This induced him to make a general review of all his forces, which were found to consist of no more than 500 knights and about 4500 troops, besides a few companies of the *Rhodian* citizens, and the peasants of the island, who were appointed to serve as pioneers. As for the slaves, those who belonged to private persons were to be employed in the fortifications, whilst the *Rhodian* cruisers, who were all ordered home, were directed to shut themselves in the port, and to take the guard of it upon them. Besides these, the port was defended by a double chain, one of which went across the mouth of it, and the other extended itself from the tower of fort *St. Nicholas* to that of the *Mills*; and, in order to prevent the enemy's attempting the mole, as they had done in a former siege, a number of old vessels were sunk, laden with stones, at the mouth of the *Mandrake*. The bastions, walls, and ramparts, were likewise filled with artillery, fire-balls, large stones, and other warlike necessities, among which the provident master did not forget a miraculous statue of the *Virgin Mary*, which had been brought in a former siege from the chapel where it formerly stood, and placed upon the ramparts, and which he caused now to be fetched in solemn procession, and deposited in the church of *St. Mark*. We have dwelt the longer on these preparations (to which we might have added many other particulars of less moment, which the writers of that siege have thought worth recording) to shew, that nothing was neglected by the grand master to put that capital in the best condition of defence against so powerful an enemy.

¹ *Ibid.*

^m *Vide auct. supra citat.*

- a WE come now to the fatal siege, in which *Soliman* spared neither stratagems nor forces; for, being still doubtful about the intelligence which *d'Amarald* and the *Jewish* physician had given him, one of his first cares was, to be more effectually informed of the state of the city; and, whilst the grand master was taken up in assigning to his knights their proper posts, the *Turks* were making frequent signals by their fires at night on the *Lycian* coasts; over-against *Rhodes*; to reconnoitre which, a *Rhodian*, named *Jaxi*, who understood the *Turkish* tongue, was dispatched in a small pink, who, coming to them under pretence of inquiring after some merchant-men, was to get the best information he could concerning the enemy's fleet. *Jaxi* refusing to go on shore to them, unless they sent a proper hostage for his own security, a man richly dressed was forthwith sent into his ship; but no sooner
- b was he got to land, but they bound him hand and foot, and sent him with all expedition to *Constantinople*, where, after having stood against the vast promises of the sultan, he was put to the rack several days successively, till he expired under it, tho' not before they had extorted from him a full account of the strength and condition of the city, and particularly that the *Rhodian* forces consisted of no more than about 6000 men.

- As soon as *Soliman* had received the particulars of his deposition, he sent orders to have every thing ready for siege; but, according to the rule which he had prescribed to himself, sent the grand master and knights of the order a declaration of war, in words to this effect: "The continual ravages which you commit against our faithful subjects, and the injury and affront which you thereby offer to our imperial majesty, oblige us to send you our express commands to deliver the island and fortrefs of *Rhodes* to us; which if you readily consent to, I swear by the great Maker of heaven and earth, by the twenty-six thousand prophets, the four musaphi fallen down from heaven, and by our great prophet *Mohammed*, that you shall be permitted to quit the island, and the inhabitants to continue in it, without the least injury to either; but if you delay obeying my orders, you will all be put to the sword by my invincible forces; and all the bastions, towers, and edifices, levelled with the grass that grows at the foot of your fortifications."

- THIS chartel was followed soon after by the whole fleet, consisting of 400 sail, whilst the army is said to have amounted to 140,000 men, exclusive of 60,000 pioneers, brought from the mines on the frontiers of *Hungary*, *Servia*, &c. to serve at the siege. The council at first proposed the attack of the other islands before they came to that of *Rhodes*; but *Pyrrus*, alias *Peri*, the basha, who was the son of an expert renegado, and burnt with impatience to signalize himself on this occasion, resolved to lose no time about those islands, which would soon be reduced of course after the main one; and therefore proposed beginning immediately with the siege of the capital, which was unanimously agreed to. As soon as the grand master was assured of their design, he forthwith drew the greatest part of his forces out of those islands, to come and defend the city; and, that he might be more ready at hand to give his directions, he left his palace in the upper town, and came to reside near the church of *Our Lady of Victory*. The trenches were accordingly opened, and a stout battery raised against the place, which was soon after dismounted by the cannon of the besieged; and this was presently followed by frequent sallies, in which they killed great numbers of the enemy, and filled up their trenches again. The same efforts and opposition were daily repeated, in which the very janissaries themselves found such a superiority of skill and extraordinary bravery in the *Rhodian* knights, beyond what they expected or had ever tried, that they began to draw a bad omen from these unsuccessful beginnings, and to complain that they were brought thither to a slaughter-house instead of a regular siege, and where they had no other chance but that of death or slavery, instead of plunder and conquest. This was soon followed by a general mutiny, in which they shewed rather a singular contempt of their young general, than any regard to his orders; infomuch that he saw himself forced to apprise the sultan of it, and to assure him, that nothing but his immediate presence could prevent a general defection.

SUCH disagreeable news soon determined the sultan to go and command the siege in person, in spite of all the remonstrances of his other bashas; but whilst he was making all the haste imaginable to his army, a woman slave had formed such a hellish plot against the place, as might have proved more destructive to it than the united force of 100,000 janissaries; which was, to engage the slaves, who were in great number in the city, to set fire to it in several parts at once; she had moreover found means to acquaint the *Turkish* generals with her design, and the day and hour in which it was to be put in execution; but, by good providence, the plot was discovered, when some of the principal slaves con-

* FONTAN. Bel. Rho. BOSIO, BAUDOUIN, lib. ix. c. 1, & seq. VEKOT, tom. iii. lib. viii. p. 302, & seq. & al.

Discovered
and punished.

Soliman's
speech to the
mutineers.

cerned in it, being put to the torture, disclosed all the particulars of that horrid treason. ^a
The woman who had been the contriver of it was the only one who bore the most exquisite
torture, without making the least discovery. She was, however, condemned and hanged,
upon the evidence of the rest, and the others drawn and quartered, and their limbs exposed,
in terrorem, in different parts of the city. By this time *Soliman* having reached his camp,
at the head of 15,000 of his best troops, which had accompanied him from *Lycia*, ordered
the whole army to appear before him without arms or accoutrements, and caused them to
be surrounded by those 15,000 men, whilst himself stood mounted on his imperial throne,
elevated high enough to be seen and heard by them all. Then looking about on all sides,
with eyes and a countenance full of indignation, after a considerable silence, made them a
long and reproachful speech, the substance of which was to this effect ^b: “ I could never
“ have thought that those from whom I expected the greatest services, could have betrayed
“ their want of duty on an occasion which they well knew I had much at heart. It is
“ now near two hundred years since a famished handful of knights, driven out of their
“ homes, have perched themselves in this island, and have subsisted there chiefly by the
“ rapine which they committed upon my subjects, through the neglect and indolence of
“ my predecessors; and even now that the Christian powers in *Europe* seek my friendship
“ and protection, and dread the power of my arms, this one single city, situate in the
“ heart of my empire, hath the boldness to resist me, to stop the progress of my victories,
“ to interrupt my commerce, intercept my messengers, rob me of my tribute, and receive
“ into her havens all the enemies of our faith, and all the apostates from it. Even now, ^c
“ when I send you my ungrateful subjects and slaves, who have reaped so many advan-
“ tages, so much glory and rich plunder, under my government, to rid me of those mis-
“ creants, you dare not look them in the face; but because they have surprised the
“ pioneers who opened the trenches before you, both janissaries and spahis, bred up under
“ my standards, are afraid of returning the affront, to the shame and disgrace of my
“ empire. What can I say to such base cowards, and betrayers of my glory? or
“ what can you expect from me but the most dreadful strokes of my indignation and
“ contempt?”

“ HAD I been now to address myself to soldiers, I should have ordered you to appear ^d
“ armed before me; but since I am to speak to base degenerate poltroons, unable to bear
“ even the mere shouts of an enemy, how can I suffer my arms to be dishonoured by
“ you? I would gladly know whether, when you were sent against this island, you hoped
“ to find those *Rhodian* knights still more pusillanimous than you, and that the dread of
“ your arms would make them lay their own at your feet, and offer their hands and feet
“ to the fetters you designed for them? Ignorant wretches! not to know that you were to
“ encounter the choicest forces of Christendom, men naturally brave, and brought up
“ from their tender years to the trade of arms; cruel and rapacious lions, thirsting for
“ nothing so much as for the blood of the *Mohammedans*, and scorning to yield their
“ haunt to any but a superior force. It was their valour which hath excited mine, and
“ made me look upon them as a conquest worthy of my arms. But how can I expect it ^e
“ from such effeminate fugitives as you, who could flee even before you saw the enemy;
“ and would ere now have turned deserters, had you not been hindered from it by the sea
“ that surrounds you? But, to avoid such a shameful disgrace, I will now make such a
“ severe example of those wretched cowards, as shall be a sufficient deterrent to the rest
“ to follow their steps.”

Pyrrus inter-
cedes for them.

They are for-
given.

THIS dreadful speech was scarcely ended, before the 15,000 armed men had a signal to
draw their scymitars, as if it had been to massacre the rest; upon which they all fell on
their faces, crying out for mercy in the most doleful tone; whereupon *Peri*, or *Pyrrus*,
and the other generals, approached the throne with the deepest respect, and interceded for
them, as having till this time behaved with a laudable loyalty and bravery. After which, ^f
the sultan, who only sought to reduce them to their duty, was graciously pleased to tell
that general, that at his request he would suspend their punishment, till they had earned
their pardon by seeking it in the bastions and bulwarks of their enemies. This stratagem,
and seeming severity, mixed with so much clemency, had such an effect upon them, that
their greatest strife was, who should soonest be dispatched upon the most dangerous attempts;
so that we may from that time more properly reckon the siege of *Rhodes* to have been
begun than renewed ^g.

Rhodes can-
nonaded.

It was accordingly carried on with such diligence and zeal, by the frequent relieving of
the soldiery, that the trenches were brought quite close to the counterscarp, and a stout
battery raised against the town, which made a constant fire against it, and yet did but as it ^g

^p Vide auct. sup. citat.

^a FONTAN. BOSIO, & al. ubi sup.

- a were graze, rather than damage, the battlements of the walls, of which *Soliman* failed not to be informed by his spy the *Jewish* physician. This traitor farther acquainted him, that the besiegers could see all that was done in his camp from the top of the steeple of *St. John*, from whence he was in danger of receiving some fatal shot, as he rode about to give his orders, if he did not forthwith plant a battery, and bring it down; which was done accordingly with success. *Soliman*, however, finding the whole place in some measure covered with stout fortifications, of such height as to command all his batteries, ordered immediately an immense quantity of stones and earth to be brought, in which so great a number of hands were employed night and day by turns, that they quickly raised a couple of hillocks, high enough to overtop the city-walls. They plied them accordingly with
b such a continual fire, that the grand master was obliged to cause them to be strongly propped within with earth and timber. All this while the besieged, who, from the top of the grand master's palace, could discover how their batteries were planted, demolished them with their cannon almost as fast as they raised them.

- HERE they thought proper to alter their measures, and to plant a strong one against the tower of *St. Nicholas*, which, as we observed in speaking of the former siege, had resisted all the efforts of the then grand vizier. This the basha of *Romania* caused to be battered with twelve large pieces of brass cannon, but had the mortification to see them all dismounted by those of the tower; to prevent which, he ordered them to be fired only in the night, and in the day had them covered with gabions and earth. This had such success,
c that, after some 500 cannot shot, the wall began to shake, and tumble into the ditch; but he was surprised to find another wall behind it, well terraced, and bordered with artillery, and himself obliged either to begin afresh, or give up that enterprise; and yet this last was what *Soliman* preferred, when he was told of its being built on a hard rock, incapable of being fapped, and how firmly it had held out against all the efforts of the vizier *Paleologus*. The next attack was therefore ordered by him to be made against the bastions of the town, and that with a vast number of the largest artillery, which continued firing during a whole month, so that the new wall of the bastion of *England* was quite demolished, though the old one stood proof against all their shot. That of *Italy*, which was battered by seventeen large pieces of cannon, was still worse damaged; upon which *Martinengo* advised the grand
d master, who was always at hand where the greatest danger was, to cause a sally to be made on the trenches of the enemy, out of the breach, whilst he was making fresh entrenchments behind it. His advice succeeded; and the 200 men, that sallied out sword in hand, having surprised the *Turks* in the trench, cut most of them in pieces. At the same time a new detachment, which was sent to repulse them, being obliged, as that engineer rightly judged, to pass by a spot which lay open to their artillery, were likewise mostly destroyed by the continual fire that came from it, whilst the assailants were employed in filling up several fathoms of the trench before they retired. By that time the breach had been
e repaired with such new works, that all the efforts to mount it by assault proved equally ineffectual and destructive.
- UNFORTUNATELY for the besieged, the continual fire they had made caused such a consumption of their powder, that they began to feel the want of it; the perfidious *d'Amaraud*, whose province it had been to visit the magazines of it, having amused the council with a false report, that there was more than sufficient to maintain the siege, though it should last a whole twelvemonth. But here the grand master found means to supply in some measure that unexpected defect, by the cautious provision he had made of a large quantity of salt-petre, which was immediately ground, and made into gunpowder, though he was at the same time obliged to order the engineers to be more sparing of it for the future, and to make use of it only in the defence of such breaches as the enemy should make. In the mean time the basha, being informed that the peasants were employed
f by *Martinengo* in repairing those that were made on the ramparts, raised some cavaleers against them, on which he planted a great number of able marksmen, to shoot them with their arquebusses, against whom that engineer soon raised batteries of small cannon on the battlements of the houses, which made a much greater havock among them; but this did not recompense the loss of so many useful hands, the enemy being better able to bear the loss of fifty such than they that of one; so that they now began to fear they should not be able to hold out much longer, unless they received some considerable succours from *Europe*, or the hardness of the approaching winter obliged the enemy to retire from the island.

- ALL this while the *Turks* had not gained an inch of ground; and the breaches they had
g made were so suddenly either repaired or defended by new entrenchments, that the very rubbish of them must be mounted by assault. *Soliman*, therefore, thought it now advise-

* Bosio, & al. sup. citat. BOURBON Siege de Rhodes, p. 25, & seq.

Soliman orders several mines to be dug, which are counter-mined.

able to set his numerous pioneers at work, in five different parts, in digging of mines, a each of which led to the bastion opposite to it; some of these were countermined by a new-invented method of *Martinengo*, who, by the help of braced skins, or drums, could discover where the miners were at work. Some of these he perceived, which he caused to be opened, and the miners to be driven out by hand grenadoes; others to be smothered or burned by setting fire to gunpowder; yet did not this hinder two considerable ones to be sprung, and doing a vast deal of damage to the bastion of *England*, by throwing down above six fathoms of the wall, and filling up the ditch with its rubbish; upon which the *Turks* immediately climbed up sword in hand to the top of it, and planted seven of their standards upon the parapet; but, being stopped by a traverse, the knights, recovered from their surprise, fell upon them with such fury, that they were obliged to abandon it with b great loss. The grand master, who was then at church, quickly came to the place with his short pike in his hand, and attended by his knights, encouraging all he met with, burghers, soldiers, and others, to fight bravely in defence of their religion and country, and arrived time enough to assist in the taking down their standards, and driving down the enemy by the way they came up. In vain did the vizier *Mustapha* endeavour to prevent their flight by killing some of the foremost with his sword, and driving the rest back; they were obliged to abandon the bastion, and, which was still worse, met with that death in their flight, which they had strove to shun, from the fire-arms which were discharged upon them from the ramparts. Three sangiacs lost their lives in this attack, besides some thousands of the *Turks*; the grand master, on his side, lost some of his bravest knights, particularly his standard-bearer. c

A great attack made by Pyrrus,

who is repulsed.

SEVERAL mines were again sprung at other bastions, which we have not room to mention, especially as the enemy reaped but little benefit by them. The attacks were almost daily renewed with the same ill success and loss of men, every general striving to signalize himself in the sight of their emperor. At length the old general *Peri*, or *Pyrrus*, having harassed the troops which guarded the bastion of *Italy* for several days successively, without intermission, caused a strong detachment, which he had kept concealed behind a cavaleer, to mount the place by break of day, on the 13th of *September*, where, finding them overcome with sleep and fatigue, they cut the throats of the sentinels, and, sliding through the breach, were just going to fall upon them. The *Italians*, however, quickly recovered d themselves and their arms, and gave them an obstinate repulse. The contest was fierce and bloody on both sides; and the basha, still supplying his own with new reinforcements, would hardly have failed of overpowering the other, had not the grand master, whom the alarm had quickly reached, timely intervened, and, by his presence, as well as example, revived his *Rhodians*, and thrown a sudden panic among the enemy. *Pyrrus*, desirous to do something to wipe off the disgrace of this repulse, tried his fortune next on an adjoining work, lately raised by the grand master *Caretti*, where his soldiers met with a still worse treatment, being almost overwhelmed with the hand-grenadoes, melted pitch, and boiling oil, which came pouring upon them, whilst the forces which were on the adjacent flanks made as great a slaughter of those that fled; insomuch that the janissaries began to e resume their old murmuring tone, and cry out, that they were brought thither only to be slaughtered.

Mustapha and Achmed make separate attacks without success.

THE grand vizier *Mustapha*, afraid lest their complaints should reach his master, agreed at length, as the last resort, to make a fresh attempt on the bastion of *England*, whilst, to cause a diversion, the basha *Achmed* sprung some fresh mines at an opposite part of the city. This was accordingly executed on the 17th of *September*, when the former, at the head of five battalions, resolutely mounted, or rather crept up, the breach, and, in spite of the fire of the *English*, advanced so far as to pitch some standards on the top; when, on a sudden, a croud of *English* knights, commanded by one *Bouk*, or *Burk*, sallied out of their entrenchments, and, assisted by some other officers of distinction, obliged them to retire, f though in good order. *Mustapha*, provoked at it, led them back, and killed several knights with his own hand; and had his men supported him as they ought, the place must have been yielded to him; but the fire which was made from the adjacent batteries and musquetry disconcerted them to such a degree, that neither threats nor intreaties could prevent their abandoning the enterprize, and dragging him away with them by main force. The *Rhodians* lost in that action several brave knights, both *English* and *German*, and, in particular, *John Burk*, their valiant commander; but the *Turks* lost above 3000 men, besides a good number of officers of distinction. Much the same ill success having attended *Achmed* with his mines, one of which had been opened, and the other only bringing some fathoms of the wall down, he was also obliged to retreat, his troops, tho' some g of the very best, being forced to disperse themselves, after having borne the fire and fury of the *Spanish* and *Auvergnian* knights as long as they were able.

a THREE days after this fresh advantage over the *Turks*, the *Jewish* traitor, formerly mentioned, being caught shooting an arrow from the ramparts, with a letter of intelligence, over to the enemy, was seized; and, upon being put to the torture, confessed that he had been hired by the late sultan *Selim* to reside at *Rhodes* as his spy, and that this was the fifth letter he had sent over by the same way. He was immediately condemned to be broke upon the wheel, and died penitent, and in appearance a Christian, though probably with no other view than to save his life, or procure a milder sentence.

A Jewish spy discovered and put to death.

By this time the sultan, ashamed and exasperated at his ill success, called a general council, in which he made some stinging reflections on his vizier, for having represented the reduction of *Rhodes* as a very easy enterprize; to avoid the effects of whole repentment, b the subtle *Mustapha* declared, that hitherto they had fought the enemy as it were upon equal terms, as if they had been afraid of taking an ungenerous advantage of their superiority, by which, said he, we have given them an opportunity of opposing us with their united force where-ever we attacked them. But let us now resolve upon a general assault on several sides of the town, and see what a poor defence their strength, thus divided, will be able to make against our united one. The advice was immediately approved by c all, and the time appointed for the execution of it was on the 24th of that month, and every thing was ordered to be got ready against that day. The town was actually assaulted accordingly at four different parts, after having suffered a continual fire for some time from their artillery, in order to widen the breaches; by which the grand master easily understood their design, and that the bastions of *England* and *Spain*, the post of *Provence*, and terrace of *Italy*, were pitched upon for the assault, and took his precautions accordingly.

A general assault resolved on.

THE morning was no sooner come, than each party mounted their respective breach d with an undaunted bravery, the young sultan, to animate them the more, having ordered his throne to be reared on an eminence, whence he could see all that was done. The *Rhodesians*, on the other hand, were no less diligent in repulsing them with their cannon and other fire-arms, with their melted lead, boiling oil, stink-pots, and other usual expedients. The one side ascend the scaling ladders, fearless of all that opposed them; the other overturns their ladders, and sends them tumbling down headlong into the ditches, where they e were overwhelmed with stones, or dispatched with darts and other missile weapons. The bastion of *England* proves the scene of the greatest slaughter and bloodshed, and the grand master makes that his post of honour, and, by his presence and example, inspires his men with fresh vigour and bravery, whilst the continual thunder of his artillery makes such horrid work among the assailants, as chills all their courage, and forces them to give way; the lieutenant-general, who commands the attack, leads them back with fresh vigour, mounts the breach at the head of all; immediately after comes a cannon ball from the *Spanish* bastion, which overturns him dead into the ditch. This disaster, instead of fear and dread, fills them with a furious desire of revenging his death; but all their obstinacy cannot make the *Rhodesians* go one step back, whilst the priests, monks, young men and old, and even women, of every rank and age (V), assist them with an uncommon ardour and firmness, some in overwhelming the enemy with stones, others in destroying them with melted lead, sulphur, and other combustibles, and a third sort in supplying the combatants with bread, wine, and other refreshments.

Rhodes attacked in four places.

THE assault was no less desperate and bloody on the bastion of *Spain*, where the knights, who guarded it, not expecting to be so soon attacked, and ashamed to stand idle, were assisting the bastion of *Italy*, which gave the *Turks* an opportunity to mount the breach, and penetrate as far as their intrenchments, where they planted no less than thirty of their standards on them. The grand master was quickly apprised of it, and ordered the bastion

* Vide FONTAN. de Bell. Rhod. lib. ii. edit. Francfort. Bosio, & al. sup. citat. BOURBON, Siege of Rhodes, p. 30, & seq.

(V) The historians of this siege give us several instances of this female courage and zeal; we shall only mention one, which happened upon this very bastion, where a *Grecian* woman of singular beauty assisted, with other women, the knights that defended it, till she had seen her lover fall among the rest of the slain, after a most gallant defence; the sight of which so affected her, that she went to her two children she had with these pathetic words; *It is better for you, my dear children, to die by my hands, than by those of merciless in-*

fids, or, which is infinitely worse, to be reserved for their most infamous pleasures.

This said, she killed them with a knife, and threw them into the fire; immediately after which she returns, puts on the cloaths of her lover, still reeking with his blood, girt his sword about her, ran into the thickest part of the combat, where she killed a *Turk*, wounded some others, and still kept fighting to the last moment of her life (28).

(28) Vid. Jac. Fon. d. Bell. Rhod. lib. ii. p. 159. edit. Francfort. Bosio, Baudoin, lib. ix. c. 8. Vertot, & al. ubi sup.

of *Auvergne* to play against them ; which was done with such diligence, and such continual a
 fire, whilst the *Rhodians* enter the bastion by the help of their casemates, and, sword in
 hand, fall upon them with equal fury ; so that the *Turks*, alike beset by the fire of the
 artillery, and the arms of the *Rhodian* knights, were forced to abandon the place with a
 considerable loss. The aga with great bravery rallies them afresh, and brings them back,
 by which time the grand master likewise appeared. The fight was renewed with greater
 fierceness ; and such slaughter was made on both sides, that the grand master was obliged
 to draw 200 men out of *St. Nicholas* tower to his assistance : these were commanded by
 some *Rhodian* knights, who led them on with such speed and bravery, that their very
 appearance on the bastion made the janissaries draw back, which *Soliman* observing from his
 eminence, caused a retreat to be sounded, to conceal the disgrace of their flight ^u. In these b
 attacks there fell about 15,000 of his best troops, besides several officers of distinction.
 The loss of the besieged was no less considerable, if we judge from the small number of
 their forces ; but the greatest of all to them was that of some of their bravest and most
 distinguished knights and commanders, many of whom were killed, and scarce any escaped
 unwounded. But the most dreadful fate of all had like to have fallen on the favourite
 vizier *Mustapha*, who had proposed this general assault ; the ill success of which had so
 enraged the proud sultan, that he condemned him to be shot with arrows at the head of
 his army ; which dreadful sentence was just ready to be executed, when the old basha, by
 his intreaties, obtained a suspension of it, in hopes that, when his fury was abated, he should
 likewise obtain his pardon ^w.

A dreadful
 havoc made
 of the *Turks*.

Soliman re-
 nounces the
 attack.

SOLIMAN, however, was so discouraged by his ill successes, that he was on the point of
 raising the siege ; and would have actually done so, had he not been diverted from it by
 the advice which he received from an *Albanian* deserter, some say by a letter from the
 traitor *d' Amarald*, that the far greater part of the knights were either killed or wounded,
 and those that remained altogether incapable of sustaining a fresh assault. This having
 determined him to try his fortune once more, the command of his forces was turned over
 to the basha *Achmed* ; and, to shew that he designed not to stir till he was master of the
 place, he ordered a house to be built on the adjacent mount *Philermo*, for his winter quar-
 ters. *Achmed* marched directly against the bastion of *Spain*, which had suffered the most,
 where, before he could open the trenches, his men fell thick and threefold by the constant d
 fire both of small and great guns from the bastion of *Auvergne*. He lost still a much greater
 number in rearing a rampart of earth to cover the attack, and give him an opportunity of
 sapping the wall ; and, as soon as he saw a large piece fall, ordered his men to mount the
 breach. They were no sooner come to the top but they found a new work, and entrench-
 ments which *Martinengo* had reared ; and there they were welcomed with such a brisk fire
 from the artillery, that they were glad to recover their trenches with the utmost precipi-
 tation, and after having lost the much greater part of their men. The attack was renewed,
 and a reciprocal fire continued with great obstinacy, till a musquet-shot deprived that inde-
 fatigable engineer of one of his eyes, and the order of his assiduous services for some time.
 The grand master, having ordered him to be carried to his palace, took his place, and c
 kept it till he was quite cured, which was not till thirty-four days after, and continued all
 the time in the intrenchments with his handful of knights, scarcely allowing himself rest
 night or day, and ever ready to expose himself to the greatest dangers, with an ardour
 more becoming a junior officer than an old worn-out sovereign, which made his knights more
 lavish of their own lives than their paucity and present circumstances could well admit of.

Martinengo
 shot in the eye.

THIS bastion being almost ruined and lost, *Achmed* pursued his attacks on those of *Eng-
 land*, *Provence*, and *Italy*, with equal vigour and loss, meeting every-where with the same
 obstinate opposition from the few surviving knights, who now sought for a glorious death,
 being quite exhausted with fatigue, and too much overpowered by numbers to hope to
 drive the enemy away ; yet were they, even in this very extremity, timely succoured by f
 the grand prior of *Navarre*, who with his troop renewed the combat, and forced once more
 the *Turks* to retire with considerable loss. These continual repulses would most probably
 have discouraged the proud sultan from going farther, had he not received constant advices
 from the traitor *d' Amarald*, of the dreadful condition to which the place and garrison were
 reduced, without being so much as suspected of so horrid a treason. But about this time
 a servant and confidant of his, being observed to shoot an arrow with a billet over to the
 enemy, was forthwith seized and brought before the council, where his illusory and contra-
 dictory answers having increased their suspicion, he was immediately applied to the torture,
 where he confessed that he had sent frequent advices to the enemy, by the same way, of the
 weakest and most proper places for them to attack ; and added, that he acquainted them, g
 in his last letter, of the small number of knights that were left, and that they began to be

D'Amarald's
 treason dis-
 covered.

^u *Auct. sup. citat.*

^w *Ibid. ibid.*

- a in want of powder, ball, and other warlike stores, as well as of all kinds of provisions for the mouth; notwithstanding which, the sultan must not expect the grand master to surrender the place till he was reduced to it by force of arms. *D'Amarald* was forthwith seized, and confined to the tower of *St. Nicholas*, where his servant's deposition was read to him; and soon after at his public trial, where he was charged with the whole treason by *His trial*, him, and accused as the person by whose order and direction he had acted what he did. Several other corroborating evidences also appeared against him, which confirmed the servant's deposition, and, among other things, his formerly saying, that *Isle Adam would be the last grand master of Rhodes*. All this he eluded with the utmost confidence; and, when he was himself put to the torture, endured it with the most surprising constancy, and with- *torture*,
b out owning any part of the accusation, except what he had said at the election of the grand master, which he pretended was spoken partly out of resentment at seeing him preferred to himself, and partly out of diffidence of his competitor's martial capacity. This did not hinder his and his servant's being adjudged guilty, and condemned to death, him to be degraded, and stripped of the habit of the order, and his servant to be hanged, drawn, and quartered.

THE sentence was according accordingly executed, first on the domestic, and on the day *and public* following on the master, who was carried in a chair, on the 5th of *November*, to the place *execution* of execution, and beheld the whole apparatus of his death with surprising unconcern, and a constancy which made many people believe him innocent; and yet *Fontanus*, an author
c often quoted in this section, who was not only cotemporary and an eye-witness, but one of the judges, plainly intimates that he was guilty (W); in which he perfectly agrees with other writers of that time, particularly with *Peter Gemellino del Campo*, the commander *Bourbon*, and others, who were then at *Rhodes*. But, whatever some people may have inferred from his constancy, it is plain that he shewed in these last moments as little sign of devotion or religion as he did of repentance, and died more like an abandoned traitor than a suffering innocent *.

- By this time *Rhodes* was reduced to the last extremity; the pope, emperor, and other *The dismal* crowned heads, had been long and often importuned by the grand master for speedy assistance without success; and, as an addition to all the other disasters, those succours which *condition of* were sent to him from *France* and *England* perished at sea. The new supply which he had
d sent for of provisions from *Candia* had the same ill fate; so that the winds, seas, and every thing, seemed combined to bring on the destruction of that city and order. The only resource which could be thought on, under so dismal a situation, was, to send for the few remaining knights and forces which were left to guard the other islands, to come to the defence of their capital, in hopes that, if they could save this, the others might in time be recovered, in case the *Turks* should seize upon them. On the other hand, *Soliman*, grown impatient at the small ground his general had gained, gave him express orders to renew the general attack with all imaginable speed and vigour, before the succours, which he apprehended were coming from *Europe*, obliged him to raise the siege. *Achmed* instantly obeyed, and raised a battery of seventeen large cannon against the bastion of *Italy*, and quickly after
e made himself master of it, and obliged the garrison to retire farther into the city. Here the grand master was forced to demolish two of the churches, to prevent the enemy's seizing on them, and, with their materials, caused some new works and entrenchments to be made, to hinder their proceeding farther.

- THE *Turks*, however, gained ground every day, though they still lost vast numbers of their men: at length the 30th of *November* came, when the grand master, and both he besiegers and besieged, thought the last assault was to be given. The basha *Pyrrus*, who commanded it, led his men directly to the intrenchments, upon which the bells of all the churches sounded the alarm. The grand master, and his few knights, troops, and citizens, ran in crowds, and in a confused disorderly manner, to the intrenchments, each
f fighting in his own way, or rather as his fear directed him. This attack would have proved one of the most desperate that had yet been felt, had not a most vehement rain intervened, which carried away all the earth which the enemy had reared to serve them as a rampart against the artillery of the bastion of *Auvergne*; so that being now quite exposed to *The Turks re-* their continual fire, they fell in such great numbers, that the basha could no longer make *pulsed with* them stand their ground, but all precipitately fled towards their camp. This last repulse *great loss* threw the proud sultan into such a fury, that none of his officers dared to come near him;

* BOSIO, GEMEL. DEL CAMPO Hist. Rhod. FONTAN. ubi sup. BAUDOUIN, lib. ix. c. 8. VERTOT, tom. ii. lib. iii. p. 355, & seq. & al.

(W) We say *intimates*, because, in the account which he gives of his trial and execution, he only says, without naming him, that *God had reserved the last person of the triumvirate for a more shameful death, and such as he had richly deserved*; alluding, doubtless, to his having

been one of the three knights who were appointed to see the magazines well stored for the siege; which trust, as we have elsewhere shewn, he had most shamefully betrayed, both with respect to the warlike provisions and those for the mouth (29).

(29) Fontan. ubi sup. Pet. Gemel. del Campo, Bourbon, Baudouin, & al.

and the shame of his having now spent near six whole months with such a numerous army a before the place, and having lost such myriads of his brave troops with so little advantage, had made him quite desperate, and they all dreaded the consequences of his resentment.

PYRRUS at length, having given it time to cool, ventured to approach him, and propose a new project to him, which, approved, could hardly fail of success; which was, to offer the town a generous capitulation; adding, that in case the stubborn knights should reject it, yet being now reduced to so small a number, as well as their forces and fortifications almost destroyed, the citizens, who were most of them *Greeks*, and less ambitious of glory than solicitous for their own preservation, would undoubtedly accept of any composition that should secure to them their lives and effects.

A capitulation offered to the Rhodians.

The grand master refuses to treat.

THIS proposal being relished by the sultan, letters were immediately dispersed about the b city in his name, exhorting them to submit to his government; and threatening them at the same time with the most dreadful effects of his resentment, if they persisted in their obstinacy. *Pyrrus* likewise dispatched a *Genoise* to approach as near as he could to the bastion of *Auvergne*, and to intreat the knights to take pity of so many of their Christian brethren, and not expose them to the dreadful effects which must follow their refusal of a capitulation, so generously offered them at their last extremity. Other agents were likewise employed in other places, to all of whom the grand master ordered some of his men to return this answer: That his order never treated with infidels but with sword in hand. An *Albanian* was sent next with a letter from the sultan to him, who met with the same repulse; after which, he ordered his men to fire upon any that should present themselves c upon the same pretence, which was actually done. But this did not prevent the *Rhodians* from listening to the terms offered by the *Turks*, and holding frequent cabals upon that subject, in which the general massacre of a town taken by assault, the dreadful slavery of those that escaped, the rape of their wives and daughters, the destruction of their churches, the profanation of their holy relics and sacred utensils, and other dire consequences of an obstinate refusal, being duly weighed against the sultan's offers, quickly determined them which party to take. The grand master, however, proving inexorable to all their intreaties, they applied to their *Greek* metropolitan, who readily went and represented all these things to him in the most pathetic terms, yet met with no better reception; but was told, that he and his knights were determined to be buried under the ruins of the city, if their d swords could no longer defend it, and he hoped their example would not permit them to shew less courage on that occasion. This answer produced a quite contrary effect; and, as the citizens thought delays dangerous at such a juncture, they came in a body to him by the very next morning, and plainly told him, that, if he paid no greater regard to their preservation, they would not fail of taking the most proper measures to preserve the lives and chastity of their wives and children *.

The council consents to capitulate.

THIS resolution could not but greatly alarm the grand master; who thereupon called a council of all the knights, and informed them himself of the condition of the place; who all agreed, particularly the engineer *Martinengo*, that it was no longer defensible, and no other resource left but to accept the sultan's offers; to which all the rest unanimously agreed; e adding at the same time, that though they were all ready, according to the obligations of their order, to fight to the last drop of their blood, yet it was no less their duty to provide for the safety of the inhabitants, who, not being bound by the same obligations, ought not to be made a sacrifice to their glory. It was therefore agreed, with the grand master's consent, to accept of the next offers the sultan should make. He did not let them wait long; for the fear he was in of a fresh succour from *Europe*, the intrepidity of the knights, and the shame of being forced to raise the siege, prevailed upon him to hang out his pacific flag, which was quickly answered by another on the *Rhodian* side; upon which the *Turks*, coming out of their trenches, delivered up the sultan's letter for the grand master, to the grand prior of *St. Giles*, and the engineer *Martinengo*. The terms offered in it by *Soliman* f appeared so advantageous, that they immediately exchanged hostages, and the knights that were sent to him had the honour to be introduced to him, and to hear them confirmed by his own mouth, tho' not without threats of putting all to fire and sword in case of refusal, or even delay. Two ambassadors were forthwith sent to him, to demand a truce of three days, to settle the capitulation, and interests of the inhabitants, who were part *Greeks*, and part *Latins*; but this was absolutely refused by the impatient monarch, out of a suspicion of the rumoured succour being near, and that the truce was only to gain time till it was come.

Hostilities renewed.

HE therefore ordered the hostilities to be renewed with fresh fury, in which the *Rhodians* made a most noble defence, considering their small number, and that they had now only g the barbican, or false bray of the bastion of *Spain*, left to defend themselves in, and once

* BOSIO, FONTAN. BOURDON. BAUDOUIN. VERTOT, & al. ubi sup.

- a more repulsed the enemy ; at which the sultan was so enraged, that he resolved to overpower them by numbers on the next day ; which was, after a stout defence, so effectually done, that they were forced to abandon that outwork, and retire into the city. In the mean while the burghers, who had but a day or two before raised a fresh uproar against the grand master, under pretence that he was going to give them up a prey to an infidel who regarded neither oaths nor solemn treaties, perceiving their own danger, came now to desire him to renew the negotiations, and only begged the liberty of sending one of their deputies along with his, to secure their interests in the capitulation. He readily consented to it ; but gave them a charge to shew the basha *Achmed* the treaty formerly concluded between *Bajazet* and his predecessor *d' Aubusson*, in which the former had entailed a dreadful curse on any of his successors that should infringe it. This was done, in hopes that the shewing it to his master, who valued himself so much upon his strict observance of his law, might produce some qualm in him which might lengthen the agreement, for they were still as much in hopes of a succour from *Europe* as he was in fear of it ; but, to their great surprise, *Achmed* had no sooner perused than he tore it all in pieces, trampled it under his feet, and in a rage ordered them to be gone. The grand master found no other resource than to send them back to him the next day ; when that minister, who knew his master's impatience to have the affair concluded, quickly agreed with them upon the terms, which were in substance as follows :
- b
1. THAT the churches should not be profaned.
 2. THAT the inhabitants should not be forced to part with their children, to be made
- c janissaries.
3. THAT they should enjoy the free exercise of their religion.
 4. THAT they should be free from taxes during five years.
 5. THAT those who had a mind to leave the island, should have free leave to do so.
 6. THAT if the grand master and his knights had not a sufficient number of vessels to transport themselves and their effects into *Candia*, the sultan should supply that defect.
 7. THAT they should have twelve days allowed them, from the signing of the articles, to send all their effects on board.
 8. THAT they should have the liberty of carrying away their relics, chalices, and other sacred utensils, belonging to the great church of *St. John*, together with all their ornaments,
- d and other effects.
9. THAT they should likewise carry with them all the artillery with which they were wont to arm the galleys of the order.
 10. THAT all the islands belonging to it, together with the castle of *St. Peter*, should be delivered up to the *Turks*.
 11. THAT, for the more easy execution of these articles, the *Turkish* army should be removed at some miles distance from the capital.
 12. THAT the aga of the janissaries, at the head of 4000 of his men, should be allowed to go and take possession of the place^r.
- e THESE articles were hardly signed and sealed by both sides, before a numerous fleet was perceived making all the sail they could towards the island, and was immediately supposed by both parties to be that which had been so long expected from *Europe* ; but, upon their nearer approach, they proved to be a *Turkish* armament, with a fresh reinforcement of troops, which the sultan had purposely sent for from *Persia* to relieve those who were quite spent with the fatigues of so long and bloody a siege. Had these arrived a few days sooner, the sultan would not in all probability have granted the besiegers such a favourable capitulation. These articles, however, did not prevent the rapacious janissaries from entering and plundering the churches, and even the tombs of the grand masters, and committing many other outrages against them, particularly in the noble infirmary, where they turned out all the sick and wounded, and seized upon all the plate, which, as was formerly hinted,
- f the patients used to be served in ; but upon the grand master's complaining of it to *Achmed*, he sent the aga word, that his head should answer for the breach of the capitulation, if every thing was not punctually restored.
- g In another conference which that basha had with him, he signified to him, that his young master had an extreme desire to see him, and that it would be looked upon as an high affront if he left the island without paying his respects to him. The grand master easily foresaw the danger either of complying with or declining the invitation ; yet, rather than give him a pretence for retracting any of his concessions, he chose to run the hazard of waiting upon him ; but such was the barbarous affectation of *Turkish* grandeur, that they kept that venerable old sovereign and his attendants at the tent-door, without any refreshment, during a whole snowy and frosty day, before he was admitted into his presence. At length, towards the evening, both he and his knights were presented with rich vests, and

The negotia-
tion resumed.Articles of ca-
pitulation.^r Bosio, & al. sup. citat.

Soliman receives the grand master with great courtesy.

other garments, fit to appear in before him. Upon their admission, *Soliman* was struck a with the magnificent appearance of so old a gentleman; and, to comfort him under his present misfortune, ordered his interpreter to tell him, that *the conquest and loss of empire* were a mere common game of fortune: “ You see, said he to him, how all your hopes in “ your Christian friends and allies have been frustrated; but, could you be once prevailed “ upon to exchange your religion for ours, there is no honour or preferment that I would “ not gladly bestow upon you.” To this he answered with his usual piety and politeness, That such an apostasy would rather render him most unworthy of his least regard; forasmuch as it would be the highest dishonour to so great a prince, to be served by such a traitor and renegado; and that all the favour he had to request of him, was, that his retreat and embarkation might not be molested by any of his men. To which request he condescended b to give him his royal word, and his hand to kiss, assuring him, moreover, that if the term granted him proved too short, he would readily grant him a longer. Some days after, when he came to take a view of his new conquest, in which he was received at the grand master’s palace with all the honours due to so great a conqueror, he gave him several fresh marks of his esteem; and, upon his going out of his palace, he bid his interpreter tell him, that it was not without some reluctance that he obliged so brave a Christian at his years to abandon his habitation.

The grand master, &c. embark in the night for Candia.

SOLIMAN resolving to depart for his capital two days after, the grand master, fearing he might not meet with the same generous usage from his ministers, being determined not to tarry behind, gave orders for their embarkation; which was done in the night-time, and not without great clutter and confusion, considering that, besides those of his order, he was followed by above 4000 inhabitants, whom he saw safely on board; and was the last of the whole company that left the shore (X), after having taken his last farewell of the sultan. They set sail soon after for the island of *Candia*, leaving him in possession of that, and of all the other islands which had belonged to the order, as well as of the castle of *St. Peter*, or *Bidrsu*, on the coasts of *Caria*; to the governors of which he sent express orders, by a felucca, to abandon the place, and to embark with the whole garrison, and sail after him for *Candia*. After having suffered the shock of a most violent storm, he at length came in sight of the island: he did not however immediately make for the haven, but staid riding in the road in his great carack, waiting for the rest of the vessels, which, having been d separated by the tempest, came gradually one after another to join him.

Complaints against the Genoese.

As soon as they were all landed, he took a melancholy review of them: some of the vessels, having been overladen, he was informed, were sunk; the rest that came safe on shore amounted to about 5000 souls, most of them in such a sorrowful and languishing condition, as drew tears from his eyes. His first care was, to send for provisions for them, cloaths, linen, and other necessaries, at his own charge, from the neighbouring countries, and he strove to comfort them all by his pious discourses and example. By this time the governor of the island, and other principal officers, attended, and gave him a grand reception, which, though no other than was due to his character and dignity, was however received with no small reluctance; nor could he forbear expressing his resentment against the ungenerous policy of the *Genoese*, who, though they had above sixty gallies riding in the harbours of that island, yet could suffer that of *Rhodes* to be surrendered to the *Turks*, without lending him the least assistance; neither would he stay longer there, notwithstanding the governor’s earnest invitation to him to wait at least till the winter was over; but, as soon as he had got his fleet refitted, resolved to sail for *Italy*, in order to consult the pope about a new settlement. In the mean time, the *Latin* metropolitan of *Rhodes* arrived there with all his clergy, whom *Soliman* had been obliged to send away, out of complaisance to the *Greeks* e

(X) The grand master was not a little grieved that he could not bring with him the young *Amurat*, the son of the unfortunate *Zizim*, as he had agreed to do in some disguise. This young prince had been left under the care and protection of the order when his father was conducted into *France*. We do not find that any mention was made of him in the capitulation, both *Soliman* and the grand master might have their reasons for not doing it; and as the latter would never have consented to deliver him up to the former, nor he have agreed to any articles if he had not, we may reasonably suppose, that each had formed his project concerning him; the one to convey him in some disguise on ship-board, and the other to have him so closely watched, as he accordingly was, that he should not escape him. The unfortunate young prince, finding himself thus unhappily beset, had no other way left but to conceal himself

among the ruins of the houses which the cannon had overthrown, and wait for some favourable opportunity of gaining the sea-side, where a vessel or two were waiting to convey him away. But *Soliman*, who was resolved to have him at any rate, gave such strict orders to have him sought out, that he was quickly discovered and brought to him, with his two sons and two daughters. *Soliman*, who highly valued himself upon the character of a just prince, being unwilling to put him to death without some plausible pretence, asked him what religion he was of? To which he readily answered, that he was a Christian; upon which he condemned him and his two sons to be put to death for apostasy; and, to prevent any impostor being trumped up in their name, caused them to be strangled at the head of his army, and the daughters to be sent to *Constantinople*, and shut up in the seraglio (31).

(31) *Dosio, Baudoin, lib. x. c. 2. Fentan. & al. Vid. & Vertot, tom. iii. lib. ix. p. 403, & seq.*

a and *Rhodians*, who could not brook to have any *Latins* live among them. The grand master, to indemnify him for his loss, assigned him a pension out of the common treasury, admitted him into the order, and appointed him prior of their church, a dignity which gave him a seat in council, and the next to that of the grand master; and this prelate it was who informed them of the sad catastrophe of prince *Amurat* and his sons, mentioned in the last note ^z.

THE fleet was no sooner refitted than they set sail for *Italy*, about the beginning of *March*, *Sails for Italy*. after having dispatched some other vessels to carry the melancholy news of the loss of *Rhodes* to the pope, and other *European* powers. He had indeed no great hopes of that pontif's assistance, who had always acted as the same servile creature to the emperor as he had been before his election to the pontificate, yet, without a particular bull from him to confirm all the antient privileges and institutes of the order, and restoring the antient discipline, he easily foresaw it would be next to impossible to reunite them into one body or settlement; and this was what he sent a previous ambassy to him to solicit at the court of *Rome*, and what that pontif readily complied with. His next care was, to apply to the Christian powers for some proper sea-port where to reunite the members, and enable them to resume their pristine discipline and employment; without which, he reflected, they would quickly be dispersed, beyond the possibility of their being rejoined again; for if, whilst they reigned absolute sovereigns in *Rhodes*, he and his predecessors found it so difficult a task to keep them up to their respective duties, and to a due regard to their authority, as we have had frequent occasion to observe through this section, how much more unlikely was it that they should do so under his present circumstances? The pope had indeed granted him the desired bull, by which he obliged all the knights of the order to continue still under the authority of their exiled chief, under the severest penalties; and his ambassador had already sent it to *Messina*, to be delivered to him at his arrival, that being the place where he had appointed his fleet to land; but there being no Christian power to apply to for a fixed settlement, after they had so unanimously abandoned him in his greatest extremity, was a consideration that afforded him but a most hopeless prospect; yet did not this hinder him from taking with him all his *Rhodians*, who, being mostly sick and languishing, were all shipped on board a number of proper vessels, which he himself vouchsafed to accompany in a galley belonging to the order; and, for their better conveniency, he chose to sail from coast to coast, rather than to venture them on the wide sea; and this, joined to some bad weather they met with, so much retarded his arrival at *Messina*, that the caraccas and other galleys of the order, which had taken the shorter route, had reached that port long before him. Their apprehensions and vast concern for him were such as may be better imagined than expressed, not only from the violent storms which they themselves had experienced in their passage, and might, they justly feared, have proved more fatal to him nearer the land, but likewise from the multitude of *Turkish* and other corsairs which swarmed along those coasts.

AT length, after a long and impatient expectation, during which that considerate old gentleman had safely landed his *Rhodians* at *Otranto* on the *Adriatic* gulf, they had the inexpressible satisfaction to see him safely arrive at that of *Messina* with his small fleet, not now with the usual flag of the order, but with one that bore the image of the blessed Virgin, with her divine Son in her arms, and with this motto under her, *Afflictis spes mea rebus*. He was immediately surrounded with all the nobility and principal officers of the city, attending the *Sicilian* viceroy, who came to receive him on his landing, and whose eyes were all intently fixed on his venerable person, now no less to be admired for his firmness under his present misfortune, than for the glory which he had gained by the noble defence of the city of *Rhodes*. The viceroy, Count *Monte Leone*; immediately after the first compliments, offered him that port, in the emperor *Charles V.*'s name, to serve for a retreat and settlement to him and the knights of the order. The archbishop, and the rest of the nobility, expressed an uncommon satisfaction at the proposal, though it was answered only by a compliment of thanks on his part; after which they accompanied him to the palace in a silent and mournful procession, suitable to so great and so irretrievable a loss.

THE regret of having been forced to deliver up so considerable an island into the hands of the enemies of Christianity, in which his predecessors had reigned with so much glory, as we have seen, during the space of near 220 years, displayed itself plainly in all his words and actions, as well as in his looks; but, to prevent its occasioning the least diminution of his authority, his first care, after providing all proper accommodations for the sick and wounded, was, to call all the priors and commanders, who had been tardy in their duty, to a severe account. The first of those that were summoned before his council were the

Obtains a bull from the pope.

His landing and reception at Messina.

Tries the grand priors for neglect.

^z BOSIO, FONTAN. BOURBON, BAUDOIN, lib. x. c. 2, & seq. VERTOT, ubi sup. tom. iii. lib. ix. p. 404, & seq.

grand priors of *St. Stephen* and *Barletta*, who, in their own justification, produced a vast quantity of corn, arms, and other provisions, besides a great number of volunteers, which they had got ready to sail to *Rhodes*, but which had been unhappily kept back by violent storms and contrary winds during the two last months, insomuch that none of the captains or commanders had the courage to venture out, except the *English* chevalier *Nieuport*, who, being resolved at all hazards to convey a supply to the place, was driven back by the tempest against a rock, where his ship and whole cargo were sunk and lost. Several others from *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Catalonia*, *France*, and *England*, made it likewise appear, that the succours which they had severally got ready were retarded by the same unavoidable cause; all which was so fully proved, that the grand master intirely acquiesced, and could only utter these words, *Blessed be God, who, in the midst of all our disasters, hath given me this satisfactory evidence, that they were not owing to the neglect of my religious brethren*; after which, having tenderly embraced them, he added, *It was highly necessary, for the honour of our order and your own, that such a strict examination should be made of your conduct; which will now testify to all the European powers, as well as to posterity, that if Rhodes could have been saved by the sole force of our order, we should not now bewail that bulwark of Christendom being in the hands of infidels*^a. But neither this, nor his other pious exhortations, could have prevented the greatest part of them from dispersing themselves, if he had not caused the pope's bull, which expressly forbade it, to be read before them, and mixed with his gentle threats some comfortable assurances of speedily obtaining perhaps a more safe and convenient one than that which they had lost.

Is reconciled.
His speech to
them.

A plague in
his camp.

He sails to
Civita Vec-
chia.

In the interim a pestilence, which began to rage in *Messina*, soon spread itself among his small *Rhodian* fleet, and obliged him, with the governor's leave, to remove them to *Baia*, where, by his care to have their camp well intrenched against the insults of the corsairs, as well as supplied with proper medicines, and other necessaries, together with the change of air, they gradually recovered; so that, after a month's stay in it, he found them all fit to reimbarc, and sailed with them for *Civita Vecchia*, where they safely arrived soon after; and he took the direct road to *Rome*, impatient to consult the pontif about a new settlement for his order. This being just about the time that *Adrian VI.* was going to sign a shameful league with the emperor, the king of *England*, and the duke of *Milan*, against *France*, the pontif was obliged to put off giving him audience till that ceremony was concluded, being ashamed to have it performed in his presence; but received him afterwards with all the pomp and marks of esteem due to his merit and dignity. Having given him all the just praises that were due to his conduct and bravery, he assured him, that he would do all that lay in his power to preserve an order in every respect so useful and advantageous to Christendom; and, at his parting from him, honoured him with the title of the great defender of the Christian faith, and other such pompous epithets^b, which he could more readily spare than the succours which he had so often begged of him in vain. The pope dying soon after of a violent fever, the guard of the conclave, which proceeded to a new election, was committed to him, and the knights that were then with him.

The order set-
tled at Viter-
bo.

ADRIAN was succeeded by *Julius de Medicis*, a knight of their order, and the very first that was ever elected to that dignity, to the no small joy of the grand master and the whole order, who might now more safely depend upon his assistance and friendship, than on all the fair promises of his predecessor, for their happy re-establishment. They were not disappointed; for never did a pontif before *Clement VII.* which was the name he took, express more zeal or esteem for the order than he did; to which the account which was given him in a full consistory, by the grand master and chancellor, of the siege and defence of *Rhodes*, by 600 knights against 200,000 *Turks*, did not a little contribute. It was immediately agreed, that the order should at *Viterbo* till a more convenient place could be thought upon; whilst their gallies and other vessels continued at *Civita Vecchia*. To all these favours the new pontif was pleased to add another, that the grand master should hold the first place on the right of the throne in the papal chapel, and march alone before his holiness in all future cavalcades.

The isles of
Maltha and
Gosa pro-
posed.

From this time the pontif and he held frequent conferences about the most proper place for the order to be settled in. Several of them were proposed, against which some material objections were started by one side or other; and, in the conclusion, the island of *Maltha* was agreed on as the strongest by nature, most conveniently situated, and having the most convenient ports; to which that of *Gosa*, contiguous to it, was to be joined, as a bulwark to the greater. We have described them both at the beginning of this chapter, and hinted, that they both belonged to the emperor *Charles V.* as king of *Sicily*; who had expressed a great readiness to grant it to them, on condition they should engage them-

^a Vide Auct. sup. citat.

^b Bosio, ubi sup. lib. ii. p. 20. VERTOT, p. 426, & al. ibid.

a selves in the care and defence of the city of *Tripoli*, which he had lately made himself master of, as we have seen in another place, but which being so unhappily surrounded on all sides by infidels and barbarians, would have cost more to keep it than it could be worth to them. There was still another no less considerable danger to be apprehended, *viz.* lest that politic monarch should take occasion, from his grant to the order, to bring it into some kind of subjection to him. The pope, therefore, having cautioned the grand master to be careful not to give him any handle for it in their subsequent negotiation, three of their ablest knights of the order were sent on an embassy, to treat with that prince about a grant; these were the grand prior of *Castile*, the famed engineer *Martinengo*, so often mentioned in this section, and the commander *Bosio*, the best and most exact author of the history of that order, of which he was then chaplain.

b THESE three, being arrived at *Madrid*, where the emperor then was, requested him, in the name of the whole order, to make them a grant of those two islands, free from all manner of subjection to any but to their grand master and sovereign. This they did likewise without making the least mention of *Tripoli*: and only represented to him, that such a generous grant would make him esteemed as the second founder of an order which had proved, during several centuries, the most effectual bulwark of Christendom; and that the knights would be thereby put in a condition to suppress the swarms of *Mohammedan* corsairs, and secure his dominions, the islands of *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, the kingdom of *Naples*, and coasts of *Italy*, from their outrageous incursions. But to these proposals the crafty emperor refused to assent, unless *Tripoli* was included in the treaty; and insisted moreover, that the whole order should acknowledge him, and take the oaths to him as their lawful sovereign, without at the same time engaging himself to furnish them with any corn from his *Italian* dominions, which was in fact the most effectual means of starving them into his subjection, seeing they could not possibly subsist without such a supply.^f

Hard terms offered by the emperor.

c THESE hard terms, which the ambassadors well knew would never be accepted, obliged them to dispatch the commander *Bosio* to *Viterbo*, for new instructions, whilst the other two continued at the imperial court. By that time he was arrived at *Viterbo*, the grand master received a proposal much more glorious and advantageous, made to him, of recovering the island of *Rhodes*, and which could not but make that of the emperor still more distasteful.

d The proposal was sent to him by that very basha *Achmed* who had had the greatest hand in the conquest of that island from them; but who, being now in open rebellion against soltan *Soliman*, offered to assist him in the recovery of it. However, as it would have been dangerous to reject the emperor's offers, considering what a number of rich priories they had in his dominions, which he perhaps would have been glad of any pretence to have seized to his own use, the grand master thought it more politic to defer giving a positive answer, till he had made a proper inquiry into *Achmed's* proposal; but, to amuse the emperor whilst that was doing, he begged leave to send a number of commissioners to go and take an exact view of the two islands of *Malta* and *Gosa*, and city of *Tripoli*, that, upon the report they made of them, he might take his measures how far he could comply with his terms. But whilst he was negotiating in this procrastinating manner with the court of *Madrid*, an accident happened, which determined him to prefer the attempt to regain their antient seat to the emperor's harsh conditions.

Achmed offers to restore Rhodes to the order.

e ONE of the knights of the order had met a *Rhodian* ship at sea, whose company made grievous complaints against the tyranny they were under, and expressed an ardent desire to see themselves again under the milder and happier government of their ancient masters; assuring him at the same time, that the regaining of the island would not prove a difficult task at this time, when the fortifications continued still for the most part unrepaired, the garrison weak, and the aga, who commanded under the soltan, a renegado, who would be glad to efface his crime, by his timely assistance in an enterprize so advantageous to Christianity. These men, being some of the richest merchants and citizens of that island, were gladly prevailed upon to go and pay their respects to the grand master; and the knight accordingly brought them to him, where they confirmed to him all they had said before. The grand master dismissed them with all the caresses and encouragement they could wish; and, having acquainted the pope with the matter, they agreed that the commander *Bosio* should be dispatched thither with all possible haste and secrecy, who arrived there safely in the disguise of a merchant, and had by that means all the opportunity he wanted to inquire into the condition of the city, and how far the renegado aga might be wrought upon to assist in the affair. At the first opening of the matter to him, he seemed quite confounded; but, having recovered himself, gave *Bosio* the most satisfactory tokens of his

^f Vide auct. sup. citat.

The design
frustrated by
Achmed's de-
feat and death.

remorse, and readiness upon any terms to be reconciled to the church, and expiate his apostasy by his future services to the order. He engaged to admit the grand master's forces into every place under his command, provided they were able to maintain themselves in them; and a sufficient quantity of arms and provisions was sent, to put the *Rhodians* in a condition to join with them. All this hopeful prospect was, however, unexpectedly quashed by the death of *Achmed*, whose head was sent to *Constantinople* by basha *Ibrahim*, as we have formerly shewn; at the news of which the aga was greatly alarmed, as well as the commander *Bosio*, who with great difficulty and danger got away from that island, and brought an account of his ill success, through the defeat of *Achmed*, and the discovery of his project against *Rhodes*, which had by that time hung too long in suspense, and been intrusted to too many persons to continue longer a secret^a: so that *Soliman* had notice of it timely enough to take all proper precautions to render it abortive. b

BUT whilst *Bosio* continued at *Rhodes*, another proposal had been made to him by two other renegadoes, who had in a great measure the chief command of the maritime fortrefs of *Modon* in *Morea*, taken from the *Venetians* by *Bajazet*, anno 1498. These two men engaged to surrender the place to the order, out of a deep remorse for their apostasy, and represented that enterprize as much easier than that against *Rhodes*; and *Bosio*, upon a nearer inquiry into it, found many other conveniencies in it, which we pass over, because the project was over-ruled, and came to nothing, notwithstanding the many arguments which that commander offered in favour of it¹.

The advanta-
geous report of
the commissa-
ries concerning
Malta.

FOR by this time, the commissaries, sent to take a survey of the islands of *Malta* and *Gosa*, and city of *Tripoli*, being returned, gave such an advantageous account of those two islands, the city, towns, havens, &c. as well as their strong situation by nature, command of those seas, and due distance from the *Turks*, as quite determined the pope and the order to prefer them to all others, in case the emperor could be prevailed upon to part with them upon more moderate terms; to obtain which, the pontif readily offered his interposition. We shall refer our readers, for the fuller account of those two islands, to the description we have given of them at the beginning of this chapter; but the report which they gave concerning the city and castle of *Tripoli* was vastly different. Its distance of 80 leagues from *Malta*, the town being almost without fortifications, and situate on a sandy ground, on which no new ones could be reared; the castle quite out of repair, and commanded behind by a high hill; the whole place surrounded by the king of *Tunis*'s dominions, who would never suffer it to continue long in the hands of the Christians; the barrenness of the soil round it, which produced nothing but dates; the danger of its being invested and famished: these, and such-like discouragements, did no less deter the council from taking the care of it upon them. And here the pope was likewise desired to interpose his good offices, to obtain a release from it¹; but the pontif had but little sway with that monarch at this time, forasmuch as he was then negotiating a league with *England* and *Venice*, to maintain the liberty of *Italy*, after the famous battle of *Pavia*, and the imprisonment of *Francis* of *France*. We have elsewhere observed to what a degree of jealousy the grand master's voyage to *Mar-seilles*, to confer with the queen regent at that pontif's request, had raised at the imperial court, which at once seized on all the revenues of the order in *Italy*. On the other hand, his affected delays of coming to a resolution about accepting the emperor's offers of *Malta* and *Tripoli*, had so far raised the resentment of *Charles*, that he sent a haughty embassy to the order at *Viterbo*, requiring a speedy compliance with his proposals, and threatening those that should oppose it with the highest marks of his displeasure. This high tone did not fail of alarming the council, especially those of it that were his subjects; yet did not this produce any other effect than a fresh representation to him of the importance of the matter in question, and of the necessity of proceeding in it with the utmost caution, especially as the grand master was then absent, without whose consent, and the participation of the pope, they could come to no resolution. They concluded with assuring him, that they would forthwith dispatch expresses to them both; adding, that they were informed, that the former was actually gone to the imperial court, in hopes of obtaining some abatement to the conditions insisted upon by it, particularly with respect to that of swearing fealty to the imperial crown^a. They accordingly sent the commander *Bosio* to the grand master, who, being apprised by him of the sequestration above-mentioned, delayed sending an answer to them, and ordered him to follow him to the imperial court. f

UPON his arrival, as he had brought with him the princess *d'Alençon*, according to the queen regent's desire, and had by that means saved the emperor a great deal of ceremonial, he was readily admitted to treat with him about the two islands in question. The extreme

^a Vide auct. supra citat. sup. citat.

¹ Lib. iii. c. 5, 6.

¹ Bosio, tom. iii. l. ii. p. 32.

^a Vide auct.

- a politeness and address with which he complained of the sequestration in *Italy*, quickly obtained a reversion of it; and the arguments he used to convince that monarch of the impossibility of the knights of such an order as his, which is composed of the subjects of several princes and states, owing subjection and fealty to any other than their own, failed not to make a due impression upon him. But, lest that should prove too short-lived, he artfully interlarded the proposal that had been made to him of recovering the isle of *Rhodes*, the strong party he had in its capital, whose inhabitants would be glad and ready to receive him again, as soon as they could be supplied with a sufficient number of arms in lieu of those the *Turks* had taken from him; and, with his majesty's leave, ordered the commander *Bosio* to come in, who confirmed the whole affair, as being the principal person employed in negotiating it. They farther assured him, that the sum of 50,000 or 60,000 crowns was all they wanted, to hire about 4000 men, and furnish the inhabitants with arms; upon which the emperor, who seemed to relish the enterprize, told them, that in case the duke *d'Alva* thought it practicable, he would readily contribute 25,000 crowns towards it. Before his departure, he obtained leave to pay a visit to king *Francis*, and was conducted thither by one of the emperor's guards to his narrow prison, where he assured that prince of his best endeavours and good offices towards obtaining his liberty, and mediating a peace between them; and he applied himself to those two grand points with great assiduity and success.^o He was no less mindful of those that related to his order, in favour of which he got a clause inserted in the treaty between those two monarchs, by which they both engaged to solicit the pope for a new crusade against the infidels. Before he left *Spain*, he not only obtained a redress from the king of *Portugal* for some infringements made on the privileges of his order, with regard to the bestowing of some priories, together with a promise not to interfere any more in such matters, but likewise a sum of 15,000 crusadoes towards the holy war against the *Turks*.

The emperor approves their new design upon Rhodes.

- His ambassadors to *Henry VIII.* had not so good success on the like complaint. Tho' backed by a pressing recommendation from the *French* king, they could obtain no redress from him, for the much more considerable sequestrations he ordered on the lands and revenues of the order; so far from that, he absolutely forbade any money or effects belonging to it to be carried out of *England*. This measure being apprehended to proceed from a resentment of the *English* monarch, on account of the grand master's not having paid him the ceremony of a visit, as he had to those of *France* and *Spain*, he resolved to pass over into *England*, and sent the commander *Bosio* thither before him. He accordingly went into that kingdom, and met with a noble reception from that monarch, through the interest of his favourite minister the cardinal *Wolsey*.^p All that we need repeat here is, that king *Henry* highly applauded his design of reconquering the island of *Rhodes*, and promised to contribute 20,000 crowns towards it, the value of which he actually paid afterwards in cannon, and other fire-arms. Many other civilities passed between them before the grand master left *England*; and he was on his journey to *Italy* highly satisfied with his success, when he heard the mortifying news of the civil war raised by the emperor's partisans the *Colona*, in the heart of the pope's dominions, in revenge of the league which that pontif had made against him; which war soon after spread itself over the greatest part of *Italy*, and not only reduced *Clement VII.* to the greatest difficulties, dangers, and indignities, but obliged him to submit to the most shameful conditions.

The grand master's voyage to England.

His hopes defeated by the war in Italy.

- The grand master spared no pains, after his return to *Viterbo*, to mediate a peace between the emperor and the pontif, as the only means to renew either his attempt on the isles of *Rhodes*, or his negotiations about those of *Malta* and *Gosa*. The former was earnestly pressed by the *Greek* patriarch *Eutymius*, who having deeply embarked in that progress, and in continual apprehensions of its being discovered, was most earnest with him for the speedy execution of it. On the other hand, as the necessary supplies for it were slow in coming, and the grand master not yet determined which of the two to fix on, the commander *Bosio* was dispatched thither a second time, to inquire into the state of the island, the people's dispositions, and to keep up the hearts of the inhabitants; whilst he assembled a grand council of the order at *Viterbo*, to consult about that important alternative. But as he had entrusted his design upon *Rhodes* but to very few, the majority quickly declared for *Malta*, provided it could be obtained without the irksome clog of subjection and fealty. Upon which new ambassadors were dispatched to *Madrid*, to treat about it; but these, to their great surprise, found the emperor as cold as he had been hot before for their settlement in these islands. New jealousies were started in his mind at this juncture, lest the grand master, who was a *Frenchman*, might pay too great a regard to the king his master; and the major-

^o Ibidem ibid.

^p Vide auct. supra citat.

rity of the order, who were attached to the pope, should shew the like partiality for him. This made him prolong the negotiation with them, and still insist upon the former terms; whilst the grand master, keeping his views intensely towards *Rhodes*, was in as little haste to come to a determination about the one, till he had tried what could be done to obtain the other, which could hardly be done before a peace was effectually concluded between the contending powers.

The project
against
Rhodes dis-
covered.

Malta
granted to the
order.
1530.

Bosio's disaster
and death.

THE dismal and melancholy condition *Italy* was in at this time, the close imprisonment the pope was kept in by the emperor, and the motives which at length induced that monarch to offer him his liberty, though on such hard terms as forced the pontif upon the stratagem he made use of to escape out of his confinement, all these gave the grand master but a hopeless prospect of an accommodation between them; and, what was still worse, his project upon *Rhodes* had by this time been wholly disconcerted; the sultan, to whom the secret had been betrayed, had now changed the garrison and its officers, and put to death all those who were suspected to have been concerned in the treason, both Christians and Turks. There was therefore no other way to obtain a speedy establishment, than the enterprise which *Bosio* had proposed against the city of *Modon*, or accepting of the islands of *Malta* and *Gosa*, upon the harsh conditions insisted upon by the emperor. *Bosio* was still very pressing for the former; but the grand master was more inclined to the latter, provided that monarch could be prevailed upon to recede from some of his demands. All this time the peace was still negotiating between him and the pope, and was at length concluded the 29th of *June*; upon which *Bosio* was dispatched to beg the pope's interposition in favour of the order, who readily engaged to obtain a free grant of the two islands from the emperor, at their next interview at *Bononia*, where he was to give him the investiture of *Naples*. He did so accordingly; and with such a true zeal and affection for the order, of which, as we observed before, he was a member, that the emperor, who at such a juncture proved more pliable than he would yet have been at any other time, granted him whatever he asked; and the treaty was signed at *Castel Franco*, on the 24th of *March*, to the great joy of the grand master and of the whole order, to whom *Bosio* was ordered to bring it immediately after its being signed.

THEIR joy, however, was not a little allayed, by finding the city of *Tripoli* still tacked to the grant, which they were in hopes the pope's interest would have got off; but that which most sensibly affected them was the unfortunate loss of their brave and worthy ambassador *Bosio*, of which they were informed by the very person who brought the grant to them, who acquainted them at the same time with the double disaster that occasioned it, in his return from the emperor. The impatience he was in, he told them, to deposit that so long-desired instrument in the hands of the grand master, made him drive with such speed, that his coach was overturned, by which accident he was dangerously hurt; an unskilful surgeon, being brought to let him blood, chanced to wound the artery, upon which his arm immediately swelled, and the gangrene followed, which put an end to his life. He had, however, time and presence of mind enough, before he expired, to intrust all his papers into the hands of a faithful *Rhodian*, named *Staticogulo*, and to convey them to *Viterbo*. He likewise charged him to communicate his dying request to the grand master, and to press him earnestly to keep up an intelligence with his private friends at *Modon*, from which he was fully persuaded the order would in time reap some considerable advantages. The *Rhodian* gentleman faithfully executed his commission, and was sent by him with some considerable presents to the two renegadoes, whom he found still firm in their first resolution, and ready to undertake any thing for the service of the religion or the order. The next thing the grand master had to do, was to send some of the principal knights on an embassy of thanks to the emperor; and another set of them into *Sicily*, to take the usual oaths to him before his viceroy, in his and the order's name; after which, he sent six others, as his commissaries, to take possession of *Malta* and *Gosa*, and to secure the liberties and privileges of the inhabitants in his name, and in the usual form. He likewise dispatched some of his gallies, with a number of knights, on the same errand, to *Tripoli*, together with the commander *Sanguess*, whom he appointed governor of that city. With these he sent a good number of workmen, and materials for the repairing of the castle of *St. Angelo*, which was almost gone to ruin, together with a fresh supply of arms and ammunition; all which being gone before, he was preparing to set out himself with all the knights of the order, to take possession of his new dominions, after having been obliged to wander several years both by sea and land, without any settlement, and often in danger of seeing his flock dispersed through the world, and his order intirely ruined, and in continual fear lest his old age and fatigues should carry him off before he could have the pleasure of seeing them possessed of a settlement.

THERE

a THERE were, however, two unforeseen difficulties started, which obliged him to delay his voyage; the one was, that when he came to ship away the corn that was bought in *Sicily*, the viceroy insisted upon its paying the usual duty which other vessels did: the other was about the privilege of coining money in his new government, which it was pretended the emperor would never allow, unless it were with his own stamp, and by his own officers. These unexpected proceedings not only caused a great surprise, but was likely to have occasioned a general murmuring through the whole order, some of the warmest among which immediately proposed to the council to send back the deed of gift to the emperor, as being granted to them with no other view than to ensnare them into a downright subjection to him, and, instead of those islands, to turn all their efforts against *Modon*, where the order would be out of all danger from the ill designs of an ambitious and equivocating monarch, who, under the clearest and plainest expressions, was known still to reserve some latent ill meaning, ready to break out upon the first occasion. Their resentment gradually arose to such a height, that the far greater part declared themselves against having any thing to do with those two barren islands, or rather rocks, where they must at his pleasure either be starved or enslaved, and which consequently were not worth the parchment which the grant was wrote upon. Thus vehemently did the major part of the knights then present inveigh against that hypocritical monarch, and his ensnaring treaty; and insisted upon its being openly broke, and his grant rejected.

b BUT here the grand master interposed, with his usual calmness and prudence; and though he could not directly confute what was objected against both, yet greatly blamed their imprudent warmth, and represented to them the danger of such an open and violent rupture, at least till they were well assured that the proceedings of the viceroy were directed or countenanced by the emperor. To know which with greater certainty, he thought fit to send a fresh embassy, to represent to him the unreasonableness of that minister's demand, seeing both the *Maltese* and *Tripolitans* could not be looked upon in any other light than as *regnicolæ*, and ought of course to be as exempt from paying any duty on the corn that was sent thither for their subsistence, as they had been hitherto, since neither of their territories are capable of producing any, either for the garrisons or natives; the former of which spent, *communibus annis*, above 340,000 livres in that one article. And as to the privilege of coinage, it was no less unreasonable to deny it to a free republic, as they had been hitherto, and as they thought his imperial majesty had continued them. But when the ambassadors came to represent these things to him, they not only found that his viceroy had done nothing but by his orders, but that he was fully determined to refuse them these two privileges, in spite of all their remonstrances; and, with respect to the last, he haughtily told them, that he would never consent to have money coined in *Malta*, nor any but his own to go current in it.

c THIS inflexible denial must have infallibly been followed by the total breach of the treaty, if the ambassadors had kept close to their instructions; but they rather chose to send an express to acquaint the grand master with it. The whole council was more than ever inflamed at that monarch's behaviour, it being now visible that he had no other design than that of enslaving them to his own will. The grand master had much ado to pacify them; yet at length his advice so far prevailed, that they agreed to wait till the pope had made a further trial of his interest with him, on condition that, if he did not succeed, the grant should be immediately sent back, and the order should seek for another settlement either at *Modon*, or at any other place, rather than where *Charles V.* had any title or pretence. The pope, having readily agreed to try once more his good offices on that important point, immediately sent orders to his nephew *Salviati*, who then resided at the emperor's court, as ambassador from the grand master, and the whole order, to use his utmost efforts in his name, and as chief protector of it; and that minister executed his commission with such zeal and address, that he at length obtained a fresh treaty from him, in which those two privileges were included. All difficulties being now happily removed, the grand master ordered his two large caracks, the galleys of the order, and a good number of other transportships, laden with great quantities of arms, ammunition, and troops, to be got ready to sail for *Malta*; he and his knights embarked in the former, with all the effects, records, and treasure, belonging to the order; and the rest in the latter. In their passage they suffered very much by a violent storm, in which one of their galleys split against a rock, and one of the caracks was run aground by the violence of the waves, after having broke her three anchors; and stuck so fast, that they expected every moment to see it split in pieces, when, by good Providence, a contrary wind disengaged her, without any farther damage, which was universally looked upon as a lucky omen; after which they all arrived safe at that island on the 26th of *October*. The grand master and principal officers landed at the chief port, which we have already described; and went thence directly to the church of *St. Laurence*,

to return thanks for their new settlement and happy arrival; then they proceeded to the poor town or borough, which is situate at the foot of the castle of *St. Angelo*. Here they were forced to take their first lodgings in poor fishermen's huts. The grand master went and made his residence in the castle, with the principal knights, where he found the accommodations were somewhat better, tho' very mean, and out of repair. Three days after which he went to take possession of the city, which, from the beginning, bore the name of the island, but was since called the *Notable City*, which the reader will find described at the beginning of this chapter, and, after that, of the whole island, from which the order thenceforth assumed a new name, and the knights have ever since stiled themselves, and been known by the name of, knights of *Malta*.

S E C T. IV.

The history of the order of Malta, from their first settlement in that island.

The grand master provides better lodgings for the order.

THEIR first care, after having settled their authority through the two islands, was to provide some better accommodations for the present, and to chuse a proper place where to fix their habitation. But as the island had no other defence than the old castle of *St. Angelo*, and lay so open on all sides that it would have required greater sums than their exhausted treasure would at present allow of to put it in a thorough state of defence, he was obliged to content himself with surrounding that borough above-mentioned, wherein he had ordered new buildings to be reared for the present habitation of his knights, with a stout wall, to prevent its being surpris'd by the *Turkish* and *Barbary* corsairs. His design, indeed, was not at this time to have fixed the abode of the order in that bare and defenceless island, but to have followed the brave *Bosio's* last advice, which was to stay only in it till he had got a sufficient force to attempt the conquest of *Modon*, which was not only a populous and opulent place, but did moreover lie more convenient for a future attempt, whenever fortune threw an opportunity in their hands, to recover the island of *Rhodes*, their antient seat, from the *Turks*, which the barrenness and naked condition of this, together with the rudeness of the inhabitants, made him and the whole order cherish a constant desire after. However, this did not hinder his taking all the proper measures for securing of this as well as that of *Gosa*, and laying out a proper plan for securing them from attacks, in case their design against *Modon* should fail^a. In the mean while, as the superstition of those times reigned equally among those of the order, the grand master, among other precious relicks which they had brought away from *Rhodes* into this island, caused the arm of *St. Catherine*, a favourite saint of the *Italian* tongue, to be carried in a grand procession to the cathedral church, it being then her festival day. Whilst they were on their march, one of the centinels gave them notice that a large *Turkish* merchantman was wrecked on that coast. The grand master immediately dispatched some of his knights and other soldiers thither, who, among the rest of the passengers that had gained the shore, took particular cognizance of two, viz. *Isaac* the patron of the ship, who was a native of *Modon*, and of one *Maurithisela Nocker*, an excellent engineer, whom the grand master retained in his service, and whom he immediately employed in the new fortifications of the place, in which he shewed a more than common skill and diligence^b; all which was looked upon as a good omen of their future establishment.

A grand procession.

Inursions of the garrison of Tripoli.

ABOUT the same time, Mr. *Sangeffe*, the knight who had been sent governor of *Tripoli*, having received some fresh reinforcements from *Malta*, was making frequent incursions on the territories of the adjacent cities of *Gienson* and *Tachora*, which had lately revolted from the king of *Tunis*, from whence he brought both plunder and slaves, in such quantity as obliged the inhabitants of the first of those cities to buy their peace from him, with the grand master's consent, by a small tribute, which they engaged to pay yearly to him^c; whilst that of the latter, scorning to be tributary to the order, continued making reprisals on the *Tripolitans*, which ended in a bloody war between the states of *Barbary*, and the Christian powers, and in which the knights of *Malta* signalized themselves no less than they had hitherto done against the *Asiatic Turks*, as we have formerly seen in the several histories of *Algiers*, *Tunis*, and *Tripoli*, and as we shall have occasion farther to shew in the sequel of this chapter.

The siege of Modon miscarried.

THE grand master was hardly well settled in *Malta*, before the emperor and other *European* princes endeavoured to engage him in a war against these *Barbary* infidels, and to enlarge his dominions there, especially as the city of *Tripoli* could hardly subsist long in

^a BOSIO, tom. iii. l. iv. & seq. BAUDOUIN, l. x. c. i. & 2. VERTOT, tom. iv. l. x. p. 2, & seq. ^b BAUDOUIN, ubi supra. ^c BOSIO, t. iii. c. 5. BAUDOUIN, VERTOT, ubi supra.

a their hands within the narrow territory to which it was confined. But the enterprize on *Modon* at this time appearing to him more considerable, his first care was to furnish himself with a sufficient number of troops and shipping; the command of which, as it was not expedient for him to leave the island, he gave to two of the bravest and most expert commanders; a considerable number of other knights embarked with them for that expedition; and the whole fleet set sail for *Modon* on the 27th of *August* 1531. We shall not enlarge on the particulars of that unsuccessful enterprize, which ended so little to the honour of the order; but only observe upon the whole, that tho' every thing seemed to promise a more happy event, the two renegadoes not only continuing true to their promise, but even impatient to signalize themselves by their zeal and bravery, yet the attempt miscarried through
b the baseness and avarice of the *Malttese* forces, which were privately conveyed thither in the night, and who, instead of waiting for any farther orders, dispersed themselves through the town, and began to pillage it, and commit the most cruel outrages, which drove the greatest part of the inhabitants into the castle, where the governor resided, with a small garrison. As soon as he was informed of the matter, he forthwith caused arms to be distributed amongst them, and marching at their head with some of his regular troops, fell upon these stragglers, before they could re-unite, and made a bloody slaughter among them, though they quickly rallied, and made an obstinate defence against him.

In the mean time, the signal which had been given to the gallies, that stood off the small island of *Sapienza*, to approach, which was by the firing of a cannon, not being perceived
c by them, the sound being carried off by a contrary wind, they did not move towards the city till they were fetched by a shallop, which was sent to them by young *Salviati*, the son of one of the two renegadoes; so that they did not approach the place till about noon; by which time the governor had ordered matters so well, and received such a strong reinforcement from a neighbouring camp, designed for the war in *Hungary*, that they saw themselves obliged to abandon the enterprize, after having lost some of their bravest knights, and a good number of their troops. The worst of all was, that the grand prior of *Rome*, who commanded in chief, having blocked up the gates of the castle into which the governor had been obliged to retire, did not cause the retreat to be sounded till he had seen his *Malttese* troops glutted with the richest plunder, in which the knights and chief officers of the order
d carried off the most considerable share, and, among other spoils, above 800 women and virgins captives into their vessels; all which sailed back to *Malta* without opposition or disaster.

THE news of this disappointment gave the grand master the most sensible displeasure, which yet he endeavoured to dispel, by looking upon it as a sign that Providence designed their fixed settlement to be at *Malta*; from which time he bestowed his whole care in fortifying it. This mortification was soon followed by another, which did not less affect him. The episcopal see of that island being become vacant, the chapter immediately named three persons, one of whom was, according to agreement, to be nominated to that dignity by the emperor. Among these was *Thomas Bosio*, vice-chancellor of the order, and brother
e to the late commander of that name, so often mentioned in the last section, whom the grand master more particularly recommended, both to that monarch and to the pope, as the person whose nomination to that see would be esteemed as a singular favour both by him and the whole order. The emperor accordingly declared him bishop of *Malta*, and gave his diploma to the *Malttese* ambassador, who sent it with all speed to the grand master by an express, whose arrival caused an universal joy. The grand master in particular, to testify his gratitude to the pontif, sent an extraordinary embassy to thank him for his concurrence in the choice, together with *Bosio* to receive his consecration from him. But how thunder-struck were they both, when, upon their first audience from him, they were told in a
f haughty tone by him, that the see of *Malta* was already filled up by cardinal *Ginucchy*, whom he had nominated to it, and who was then sending his vicar thither to take possession of it in his name. The ambassador tried in vain to represent to him, that the choice of a *Malttese* prelate was wholly invested in the emperor, according to the treaty between him and the order; but he was answered in the same tone, *It belongs to us, and not to the emperor, to provide for the church, since the island is now passed into other hands.* Immediately after which they were both dismissed.

If the news of the pope's proceedings affected the grand master and the order, they did much more incense the haughty monarch, who is said to have vented the first effects of his resentment in the most bitter invectives against that artful pontif. Sundry conjectures have been made concerning the motives which induced him to so sudden and surprising a change,
g which we have no time to dwell upon. As to the grand master, as he was not at that time in a condition to oppose that politic and arbitrary proceeding, he therefore thought it the wisest way to leave it to *Charles* to dispute the matter with him; which he accordingly did, and

e Bosio, & al. ubi sup.

f Auct. sup. citat.

left no stone unturned that could induce him to desist from his nomination of that cardinal. *Clement* not only insisted upon his having the right to it, to his death, but even in his last moments charged the cardinal *Caraffa* to press his successor, whoever he was, to follow the same interesting tract, and insist upon the validity of *Ginucchy's* right to that see. But as he died soon after, his successor *Paul III.* who had other interests in view, was easily prevailed upon to yield to the emperor, and the matter was easily compromised in favour of *Bosio*.

ABOUT this time it was also that *Diego de Toledo*, grand prior of *Castile*, obtained a division of that rich priory in favour of his two nephews; from which time they were called the grand priories of *Castilia* and *Leon*.

The Malthese fleet joins that of the emperor.

ALL this while the emperor and new pope were making great preparations against the *Turks*, according to the league which the former had made with the predecessor of the latter. b

The grand master failed not to be earnestly invited by both to join his forces to theirs, which his obligations to them made him readily comply with. He accordingly equipt the great carack of the order, to which he joined as large a number of his gallies and other vessels as he could spare; on board of which he sent some of the best commanders and bravest knights of the order. These quickly joined the confederate fleet, commanded by the famed admiral *Doria*, on the 8th of *August* 1532. The event of which was, that the expedition of this united fleet was successful, and would, in all likelihood, have been attended with the conquest of *Modon*, if the soldiery, discouraged by the ill success of the last attempt against it, had not openly murmured, and obliged the admiral to turn his forces against *Coron*. The *Malthese* commanders would indeed have been much better pleased to have displayed their valour against the other; but the disappointment did not hinder them from acting with their usual zeal and bravery. Never did men mount to the assault with greater courage, and maintain their post with more intrepidity, against the fire, darts, melted lead, and other destructive efforts of the besieged, or more quickly fill up the places of those that were killed, till they had the very first of all planted the standard of the order on the walls: a circumstance which had such an effect both on the besiegers and besieged, that, whilst the former were inspired with fresh courage by their example, the others were so disheartened, that they immediately displayed the white flag, and hastened to capitulate¹. Before the winter came on, the *Malthese* fleet sailed along the same coast, where they made themselves masters of the castle of *Ardinel*, and some other fortresses situated upon it, whilst *Doria* did the same by the city of *Patras*; by which time the weather obliged them to separate, and each to return to their respective homes². c

Their expedition against Coron.

The bravery of the knights.

The place capitulates.

A second successful expedition against the *Turks*.

THEY were all obliged again, in the next year, to appear before *Coron*, which had been invested by the *Turks* by sea and land. The *Malthese* *Caracca* was placed in the front of the confederate fleet, and by its height made a dreadful havock amongst the *Turks*, whilst *Doria* was endeavouring, under the covert of the fire and smoke on both sides, to convey some vessels through those of the enemy, with fresh troops into the place; but the attempt was so ill-managed, that a great number of them were lost; yet the *Malthese* gallies coming in time to their assistance, gave a sudden turn to the engagement, and the *Turks*, who had boarded some of their vessels sword in hand, and thought themselves masters of them, had the mortification to see themselves loaded with those chains which they had designed against the order, and to be carried away prisoners to *Malta*; for their fleet was quickly recalled by the grand master to the defence of the island, which was now threatened with an invasion by the famed *Turkish* corsair *Barbarossa*, who ranged those seas at the head of above fourscore gallies. At their arrival, the council were of opinion, that, as the island had hardly any other fortifications than the castle of *St. Angelo*, the grand master should transport himself from thence into *Sicily*, with all the relicks, church-ornaments, and treasure of the order. But the brave old gentleman rejected the proposal with a becoming firmness; telling them, at the same time, that *as he had never yet fled from the enemies of Christianity, so neither would he now consent to give such an ill example to the order, merely to preserve the short remains of a weak and worn-out life*. This said, he immediately ordered the fortifications to be forthwith carried on with all possible speed, both in the borough and city, and all the inhabitants of the island, and a new chapter of the order, to be summoned from all parts of *Europe*, into which the major part of them were dispersed³. e

The grand master's noble resolution.

Abuses rectified.

A duel between two

THIS last step was the more necessary at this time, though the *Turkish* corsair had taken a different route, in order to call in all the responsions, arrears, and other revenues, of the order, to supply the expence of these fortifications, maintain their army and fleet, and such-like exigencies, but likewise to rectify a number of other abuses which were crept in during the eight years of their wandering without a settlement. Thus far had all things been carried on to the satisfaction of the grand master, and the more sober and zealous part of the order; when, on a sudden, a scuffle happening between a young *Florentine* secular, belong- g

¹ Auct. sup. citat. ² BOSIO, & al. sup. citat. ³ BOSIO, ubi sup. lib. vi. & seq. BAUDOUIN, ubi sup. c. iv. & seq. VERTOT, t. iv. l. x. p. 35, & seq.

a ing to the grand prior of *Rome*, and a young *French* knight, in which the latter was run through, had like to have proved of the most dangerous consequence, and hastened the grand master's death. For the commander *Servier*, of the *Provencial* tongue, suspecting that the *Florentine* had killed his nephew by some foul stratagem, fought him out with a full design of revenging his death; and having found him, accompanied with some of his young countrymen, attacked and wounded some, and put the rest to flight; the quarrel soon became universal, in which some knights declared for the one, and others for the other side. The whole order and city was up in arms, and such a dreadful uproar ensued as had never been known since the foundation of the order.

b THE grand master, respected as he was by them all, in vain interposed his authority to oblige them to retire; his commands were now disregarded, and each party listened only to the dictates of their fury. The intervening night rather increased than allayed the tumult and mutual hostilities; insomuch that the council were obliged to oppose the grand master's coming out to them, lest he should meet with some random shot in the dark; in whose stead they sent one of their number, named *Manosc*, a person highly revered for his years and merit, who, by his address and persuasions, prevailed upon both sides to lay down their arms, and retire to their respective quarters, where they had time to cool, and reflect on the sad effects of their seditious madness. The result was, that the grand master found himself obliged to make a severe example of a few of the most desperate offenders; some of whom, refusing to acknowledge their crime, were ordered to be thrown into the sea, and about a dozen of the rest to be publicly degraded, and stripped of the cross and other ornaments of the order^m. This disaster, joined to the mortifying news he received at that time, of what our king *Henry VIII.* was doing in *England*, threw the old gentleman, already worn out with age and fatigues, into a violent fever, of which he languished till the 21st of *August* 1534, on which he expired, to the great loss and regret of the whole order, by whom he was so justly and universally beloved and respected. He died in the 70th year of his age, and 14th of his grand mastership. In justice to his great merit, the following epitaph was ordered to be engraved over his tomb: *Here rests Virtue victorious over Fortune.* Before he died, he caused a noble palace to be built in the castle of *S. Angelo*, for himself and successors, and another in the old city of *Malta*, besides other edifices for the order, and several necessary fortifications both in this island and that of *Gosa*. He likewise obtained several very considerable grants and privileges, both before and after the loss of *Rhodes* from the popes, the emperor, the kings of *France* and *Spain*, in favour of the order, which we have not room to repeatⁿ.

c He was succeeded by *Peter*, al. *Perino de Ponte*, a native of *Ast* in *Italy*, and uncle to pope *Julius III.* on the 26th of the same month, being then absent in his bailiwick of *St. Euphemia* in *Calabria*. He received the news of his election from *T. Bosio*, the new bishop of *Malta*, with the greatest regret; but upon his receiving another express from thence, with an account of the wars that reigned in *Tunis*, and the danger *Tripoli* and *Malta* were in from the formidable and successful *Barbarossa*, who was by this time become master of *Algiers* and *Tunis*, he made all the haste he could to his new government, where he arrived on the 10th of *November* following. His first care, after having dispatched a strong reinforcement into *Tripoli*, was to send an embassy to the emperor, to desire him to equip a powerful fleet against that corsair, without which it was impossible for that city, even with a much stronger force and garrison, to make any long opposition against him. *Charles V.* received about the same time another embassy from *Muley Hassan*, the deprived king of *Tunis*, much to the same effect; and both these took care to represent to him the danger which his dominions in *Naples* and *Sicily* would be in, if he did not quickly send a superior force to suppress those of the *Turkish* corsair, now king of *Algiers*, and in possession of *Tunis*. The emperor was, upon these motives, as well as to suppress the corsairs, which quite interrupted the commerce of those seas, easily prevailed upon to carry his arms into *Africa*, especially as soon as he found that his double artifice against the corsair had been discovered, and his private ambassador put to death by him^p.

f As soon as the grand master and order were assured of that monarch's designs and preparations for a war in *Africa*, they ordered four of their best galleys to be equipped, together with their large carack, which of itself is almost equivalent to a squadron, which were attended by eighteen brigantines of different sizes and uses. A considerable number of the bravest knights went on board this fleet, which was commanded by the brave *Aurelio Botigella*, an old experienced officer, whilst the knight *De Grotee* was made captain of the great carack, and the whole furnished with a proportionable number of troops, and with all necessary provision for such an expedition, fit to join the emperor's armament, which consisted of 300 sail, 25,000 foot, 2000 horse, and a very great number of volunteers of the

^m Bosio. & al. ubi sup. BAUDOUIN, l. xi. c. 5. & seq. VERTOT, ubi sup. p. 5. ⁿ De his vid. NABERAT, ubi sup. in fin. l. ii. & init. l. iii. privileg. ^p MARM. *Afric.* l. vi. Bosio, l. vii. & al. sup. cit.

best families in *Europe*; all which that monarch resolved to command in person. We shall not here repeat what hath been related at full length in another place, of this long expedition; but as our present subject is confined to the history of *Malta*, we shall only observe, in justice to the valorous knights, such instances in which they signalized themselves most by their bravery and services.

Goletta besieged.

Signal bravery of the knights.

The grand master dies.

44. Didier de Jaille.

Hayradin makes an attempt on Tripoli.

Defeated with great loss.

THE first was at the siege of *Goletta*, which was the first place the imperial fleet attacked with success. In this one of the knights of the order, named *Couverfa*, an excellent engineer, found out a stratagem to come almost close to the main tower, by means of a *Barcalonga*, armed with long cannon, and filled with musketeers, and which, by its continual plying it with broadsides, kept battering with strange success, whilst the small-arms destroyed by the same constant fire, all the *Turks* that appeared on the breach, and prevented their defending or repairing it, till it was become wide enough for the assault, which it quickly was, by the large artillery which cannonaded it, not only from that but from the rest of the vessels, and more particularly from the great carack, which was situated behind all the rest, and, by its advantageous height, could fire over all others, and made a most dreadful execution against the place. The breach was hardly made wide enough to be scaled, before the knights of *Malta* jumped out of their galleys into the long-boats, and thence into the sea, with their swords in their hands, and waded through the water above their girdles, it being too shallow for boats to approach the shore. The standard-bearer of the order was the first that jumped into the water, and led the rest to the attack, they claiming everywhere, as has been often hinted, the post of honour, and, through volleys of terrible firing and missile weapons, gained the shore, and quickly after the top of the breach, where they planted their great standard. A great number lost their lives, and scarcely one of them came off unwounded; and the emperor did them that justice to own, upon his being congratulated on the taking that important place, that it was chiefly owing to the valour of the *Maltese* knights. He made the same acknowledgement to the grand master, who, upon his return, sent him a congratulatory embassy on his great success in *Africa*. The city of *Tunis* soon followed the fortress of *Goletta*; after the surrender of which, the emperor, designing to return into *Europe*, took his last dinner on board the great carack, where he was magnificently entertained, and gave the surviving knights the greatest encomiums, and marks of his esteem and gratitude to the order. These he accompanied with considerable presents, and with two new grants; by one of which they were permitted to send for what corn or other provisions they wanted from *Sicily*, without duty or demur; and by the other he engaged that none of the order should be permitted to enjoy any of the estates or revenues of the order, throughout all his dominions, unless they were lawfully authorized thereto by the grand master and his council, or till the originals had been examined and registered by himself, or such ministers as he should appoint for that purpose^a. The fleet sailed for *Malta*, where, at their arrival, they received the melancholy news of the grand master's death, on the 17th of *November*, before he had enjoyed that dignity a whole year.

HE was succeeded by *Didier de Tolon de St. Jalle*, in *Latin*, *Desiderius de Tollone de Sancta Jalla*, a native of *Provence*, and then grand prior of *Thoulouse*, where he resided at the time of his election. The noble conduct and bravery which he had formerly shewn in defence of *Rhodes*, had gained him long ago the esteem, and now the majority of votes, of the order. The present juncture required a person of his experience and merit at this time, in which the *Turkish* corsairs, quite tired with the dreadful havock which *Botigella*, grand prior of *Pisa*, who seldom quitted the sea, and never sailed out without sinking or making some considerable prizes on them, had agreed to enter into a strong confederacy, either to surprise the city of *Tripoli*, where his retreat was, or, if that failed, to lay close siege to it by sea and land; in either of which they were sure of all the assistance of *Barbarossa*, and *Hayradin*, the then lord of *Tagiora*. This last had undertaken the command and conduct of the whole enterprize; but had not carried it on so secretly, but the governor had timely notice enough of it to be able to give him a warm reception. *Hayradin* accordingly came thither in the dead of the night with his whole force, and began to scale the walls, where he imagined them to be most defenceless. They no sooner appeared at the foot of them, but the garrison, which had been kept up in arms, poured down such streams of wild-fire, boiling oil, melted lead, and such volleys of stones, whilst the small and great guns annoyed those that stood farthest off, as quickly gave them to understand how they were ready prepared for them. Yet did not this discourage them from following the attack with great fury and vigour, till *Hayradin*, who was foremost in one of the escalades, was knocked down by a musket-shot from the top of his ladder. He fell down into the ditch below, and was taken up breathless by his troops, which threw them into such a panic and confusion, that they immediately dispersed themselves, leaving a vast number of their slain at the foot of the walls^b.

^a BOSIO, t. ii. l. viii. BAUDOUIN, l. vi. VERTOT, t. iv. l. 10. p. 64. & seq. citat. Vide & MARM. Afric. l. vi. c. 44.

^b BOSIO, & al. sup.

^a THE governor, however, rightly judged that this would not be the last visit that *Hayradin* Tripoli ^{newly} ~~fortified~~ would pay him; and as the walls of the city were quite out of repair, and defended by no bulwarks, whilst that *Turkish* corsair held the strong tower of *Alcaid* on that coast, whence he could at any time make some fresh attempt upon it, he immediately sent an express to *Malta*, to propose to the council the fortifying of the one, and the demolishing of the other. His advice being approved of, the commander *Botigella*, now general of the galleys, was forthwith dispatched thither with a sufficient force, who, having landed his men at *Tripoli*, immediately marched with his troops, and a body of horse of hired *Arabs*, towards the tower above-mentioned, and, without staying to open the trenches, or any other covering than his gabions, levelled his artillery against it. *Hayradin*, being informed ^b of it, came at the head of his *Turks* to its defence; but was intercepted by a stout detachment of *Maltese* knights, at the head of the hired *Arabs*, and repulsed with loss; so that all he could do was to convey about 50 or 60 *Turks* into the place, and to annoy the Christians with some slight skirmishes. *Botigella*, perceiving that his cannon did not make so quick a dispatch as he wished, sent for some of his galleys, under the shelter of which he quickly sprung a mine, which brought part of the wall down, and buried the greater part of the corsairs under it; whilst the rest, hardly recovered from their fright, seeing the *Maltese* mount the breach with sword in hand, laid down their arms. The tower was forthwith razed to the ground; after which *Botigella*, at the head of his little army, marched towards the town of *Adabus*, whence he drove *Hayradin*, who had intrenched ^c himself in it, and gave the plunder of the place to the *Arabs*.

IN his return to *Malta*, he attacked a large galleon coming from *Egypt*, richly laden, ^{Takes a rich} and commanded by a brave *Turk*, named *Ardor*, who gave him a very warm reception; ^{prize.} notwithstanding galleys which his made their way up to him through all his fire, and boarded it sword in hand. This prize was reckoned worth 160,000 crowns, besides 200 *Turkish* prisoners, with which he entered the harbour, and was received with the loud acclamations of the whole order, who came to meet him on his landing, and to congratulate his success. Their public rejoicings were greatly damped, not only by two till unheard-of crimes, committed by two young persons belonging to the order (B), but, what was still more afflicting, by the news which was soon after brought of the death of the new grand master, who fell ^{The grand mas-} ^{ter dies.} ^{1536.} ^d ill on his way to *Malta*, and died at *Montpelier* on the 26th of *September*, about ten months after his election.

THE chapter soon proceeded to a new election, which the generality hoped would fall ^{44. John de} either on the brave and hitherto successful *Botigella*, or on *Goleo* bailiff of *Lango*, both ^{Homedes.} intitled to it, not only by seniority, but much more by their singular merit, and the important services they had done to the order; when, to their great surprise and mortification, the electing members, by the artifice and cabals of *Garcia Cortez*, of the tongue of *Arragon*, gave their votes in favour of *John d'Omedes*, or *de Homedes*, of the same tongue, and bailiff of *Capse*, who had formerly signalized himself likewise, and had lost an eye in the defence of *Rhodes*. *Botigella*, in spite of his high merit, not only lost the election, but ^e quickly after the command of the *Maltese* galleys, that post being bestowed upon a younger knight, named *Leo de Strozzi*, then grand prior of *Capua*, who had received that dignity, together with the habit of the order, from his uncle pope *Clement VII.* some time before. This young admiral, though as yet neither soldier nor sailor, quickly signalized himself at the head of his four galleys, in the first expedition he made under the famed *Andrew Doria*, against about a dozen of stout *Turkish* ships, commanded by the warlike *Ali Zelif*, at the head of a number of as desperate janissaries as perhaps ever appeared on these seas.

DORIA, who had no less than 34 galleys, besides the four *Maltese* commanded by *Strozzi*, ^{Strozzi signa-} met the *Turks* in the chanel of *Corfu*, with a kind of confidence of obtaining an easy ^{lizes himself.} victory; but met with a most obstinate repulse, vast numbers falling on both sides; and ^f the *Turks* attacked the *Maltese*, their antient enemies, with such fury, that the knight *Operto*, who commanded the *Capitana*, was killed in defending it. They were just ready to board it sword in hand, when *Strozzi* ordered a culverine to be levelled against them, which had the good-fortune to sink both them and their galley. The *Maltese*, thus happily disengaged, bent their whole force against the *Capitana* of the *Turks*, where a more bloody battle began, wherein the *Turks* could not prevent the knights from boarding it,

(B) The first of these crimes was the stripping of the image of the Virgin *Mary* of *Philermo*, brought away from the island of *Rhodes*, of every thing which the devotion of these times had enriched it with, and were esteemed of immense value; which theft was committed by a young novice, named *Diacono*, who was a candidate for a chaplainship of the order.

The other was a murder committed by one of the knights, a native of *England*, upon a *Maltese* woman,

with whom he was desperately in love, and upon a slight suspicion, in a mad fit of jealousy, he had stabbed her to death with his own hand.

They were both apprehended, and, by order of the grand master's lieutenant, turned over to the secular court, where they were both condemned, and soon after executed, about a mile from the haven, to which place they were conveyed, sewed each in a sack, and flung alive into the sea*.

* *Bosio*, ubi sup. t. iii. l. viii. *Baudoin*, l. xii. c. 1. *Vertot*, t. iv. l. x. p. 100, & seq.

although

although they defended it as long as there was a man left alive in it; so that *Strozzi* made himself master of it without taking one single prisoner. This made the victory incline towards the Christians, though it proved a dear one both to the imperial and *Maltese* squadrons, by the loss of some of the best officers^a.

His reception
at Malta.

DORIA, resolving soon after to attack the squadron which was conducting the *French* ambassador to the *Porte*, *Strozzi* withdrew with his *Maltese*. In his way, he had the good-fortune to chase and take two large corsairs, and a small galley, in which were about 400 Christian slaves, on the coast of *Calabria*, from whence he brought them all safe to *Malta*, where he met with the congratulations of the whole order, on his having so gloriously concluded his first expedition, and on the great hopes which this happy beginning gave them of his future services to the order. They had indeed no small reason to commend his singular bravery, of which he gave in the sequel so many signal instances; the misfortune was, that being quickly after apprised of his father's being taken prisoner in a battle against *Cosmo de Medicis*, and on the point of being tried and condemned as a rebel; he was obliged to quit the island, and pass into *Italy*; by which the order lost one of the bravest and best commanders of the age.

The grand mas-
ter sets out for
Malta.

WHILST these things were transacting, tidings were brought to the new grand master of his election; at which the *French* court was so little pleased, that the king could not forbear asking the commander *Trevoux*, what could induce the order to make such a choice? to which he could not think of a better answer than saying, that there had been always a strict friendship between him and the late worthy *Isle Adam*. Upon which that prince readily ordered his safe-conduct to be sent him, together with a permission to take with him what assistance he thought necessary for the service of the order out of his dominions. However, he was obliged to embark for *Malta* without the great carack, and usual escorte of *Maltese* gallies, which were commonly sent to fetch his absent predecessors; which, whether done out of disrespect, as was pretended, because they could not at that juncture be spared without imminent danger to the island, he was glad to dispense with. Certain it is, *Soltan Soliman* was then equipping a fleet of 300 sail with all expedition, which made the council think it unsafe to venture them out, when they did not know how soon they might be attacked by the *Turks*.

An embassy
from Tunis.

ABOUT the same time arrived an embassy from the king of *Tunis*, whom the *Turks*, since the departure of *Charles V.* who had, as we have elsewhere seen, restored to him his dominions, had stripped of several towns and fortresses along the coasts, and scarcely left him any other port but that of *Tunis*. The ambassadors further complained, that *Barbarossa* had put a strong garrison in *Tachora*, under command of his best captains, who was expected with a powerful fleet upon some design against *Tripoli*, or his own capital, neither of which would be able to oppose him, unless a speedy succour was sent to both. To all this he added, that the sea-port town of *Susa*, which had lately revolted from him, would not fail joining forces with the *Turkish* admiral. *Susa* being then a very strong fortress, about eight or nine leagues from *Tunis*, the council thought proper to dispatch *Paul Simeoni*, who had now succeeded the brave *Strozzi* as admiral of the *Maltese* gallies, and had signalized himself at the taking of *Tunis*, to join the marquis de *Terra Nova*, sent thither from *Sicily*, and assist the *Tunesian* monarch to cover that important place, whilst they sent to the emperor for some succours to secure these coasts against the *Turks*.

Susa besieged.

THESE two accordingly laid close siege to the place, the marquis by land, and the *Maltese* by sea; but the former, being unhappily betrayed by a renegado, who, under pretence of having deserted the *Turks* out of a sincere remorse, gave him a quite contrary account of the fortifications to what he afterwards found them, spent his forces and ammunition against the strongest part of it, till they were both exhausted. A great number of knights, who mounted the breach against the incessant fire of the place, not without a considerable loss, were strangely surprised, when they had gained the top, to discover new bulwarks and fortifications behind, which would require a still greater force to reduce; they therefore made the best retreat they could. The marquis found his mistake when it was too late, and was forced to raise the siege for want of men and ammunition; and the *Maltese*, after having lost a great number of their bravest knights and best forces, retired to their own island, not a little dissatisfied with the emperor for committing the management of that siege to such an unexperienced general^b.

The siege rais-
ed.

Bad state of
Tripoli.

ABOUT the same time arrived the brave *Botigella* from his government of *Tripoli*, in which he had been succeeded by two experienced commanders, and represented with no less warmth the injustice which that monarch did to the order in committing the care of that place to them, without giving himself any trouble about repairing the fortifications, or about the maintenance of a sufficient garrison; whilst the *Moors*, out of enmity to the Christians, joined all their forces to make themselves masters of all places they held along that coast.

^a Aust. supra citat.

^b BOSIO, BAUDOUIN, l. xii. c. 2. VERTOT, ubi sup. p. 114, & seq.

- a From all which miscarriages he plainly told the council, that it would be impossible for them to keep *Tripoli* much longer in their hands against such united force, unless speedy care be taken by the emperor to put the place into a better condition, which had already cost them so much to preserve. The council, before they would apply to that monarch, resolved to have those matters examined by some of their most expert officers and engineers, suspecting perhaps the account which *Botigella* gave of them to be exaggerated, out of dislike to the grand master; but as soon as they found it verified by such able judges, they instantly dispatched the commander *Groleo* to the imperial court, with orders, if possible, to persuade that monarch to demolish the city, and blow up its castle, as costing more to keep than it was worth; and, if not, to have the fortifications repaired with all possible speed, and the place supplied with all
- b necessities for a siege. The former of these expedients the emperor would by no means listen to, but promised to send express orders to the governor of *Sicily* to set about the second with all possible diligence; declaring, at the same time, his resolution to drive all the *Turkish* corsairs out of *Africa*; and that he should be much obliged to the order, if they would let their galleys act jointly with the fleet he was equipping for the *Mediterranean*.

- We have formerly seen that he made a powerful alliance with the pope, the king of *France*, and some other Christian powers, against *Soliman*. The galleys of the order, commanded by the knight *Simeoni*, had been ordered to convey that pontif to *Nice*, where these two monarchs met and concluded it with him. The grand master, in consequence of it, ordered four of his galleys to join the confederate fleet at *Messina*, which was wholly to be commanded as before
- c by *Andrew Doria*, whom the emperor soon after found means to engage intirely in his own service, to the great regret of the *French* monarch. We shall not repeat here the result of that expedition, of which the reader will find a full account in a former part; neither was there any occasion for the *Maltese* to signalize themselves in a war in which the two admirals *Doria* and *Barbarossa* played so artful a game between them. The emperor had no better success in his *Hungarian* operations; the care of which he turned over to his brother, in order to pursue the project he had so long formed against the corsairs of *Africa*, in which he at this time hoped to meet with better success, whilst *Barbarossa* was absent, consulting measures with *Soliman* at *Constantinople*. But tho' the juncture was so favourable to him in that respect, yet the season of the year was too far advanced for any considerable enterprize. Yet that did not
- d discourage the *Maltese* knights, whom he had earnestly invited to his assistance, from offering themselves in such vast numbers, that the grand master was forced to quell their untimely zeal, and reduce them to 400, who accordingly set sail in four of their galleys to join him at the head of his fleet. The emperor, too much flushed with hopes at the sight of so powerful a force under his command, to listen to the wholesome advice of *Doria*, the only one who dared to represent to him the danger of those boisterous seas at that time of the year, resolved upon the siege of *Algiers*, in spite of the entreaties, and even tears, of that old experienced admiral; and *Simeoni*, who commanded the *Maltese* galleys, tho' no less sensible of the danger, yet made no demur to follow him thither.

- The ill success of that expedition need not be repeated here, nor the extreme danger that
- e monarch was in both by sea and land, from the last of which it is much questioned whether he could have escaped, had not the *Maltese* knights repulsed the *Turks*, who had dared to attack even the imperial quarters, with an incredible fury, and pursued them to the very gates of the city, in hopes of entering the place after those fugitives. They were, however, disappointed, by the governor's ordering them to be shut up, even before the *Turks* were all got in; at which the standard-bearer of the order, who was one of the foremost in the pursuit, was so exasperated, that he left his dagger closely stuck into the gate, and retired with the rest in good order. His danger was still greater, as we have elsewhere seen, upon his re-imbarkation, by the furious storm which shattered most of the fleet, and the strenuous efforts of the *Moors*, *Turks*, and *Arabs*, made to take or sink as many of their vessels as they could. Here again the *Maltese* knights
- f proved of special use in repulsing them, as they were better acquainted with those seas, and more frequently employed in these kinds of exercises. On both occasions they behaved with such courage and intrepidity, that the rest of the allies could not sufficiently admire or commend them. The misfortune was, that the loss they suffered both of men and ships, and especially of some of their best commanders, more than equalled the glory they gained. The emperor, before they parted from him, gave them the most ample testimony of his satisfaction and gratitude, as far as words and encomiums could go; and with these the *Maltese* commander set sail with the small remains of his order in three shattered vessels, and arrived safely at the port of *Malta*, about the end of *November* 1548.

- WHILST the *Maltese* were employed in that unfortunate expedition, the island was so terribly annoyed with the *Turkish* and other corsairs, that the port was in some measure blocked up by them, whilst the coasts both here and of *Gosa* lay exposed to the frequent insults and de-

^f Auct. sup. citat.

predations, and often to the loss of their inhabitants. This obliged the great baily *Simeoni*, at a his return from *Algiers*, to cause his shattered gallies to be refitted with all possible speed, in order to clear the chanel of that pernicious vermin; which he did with such surprising success, that he took several of them, and their *Rais*, or captains, and brought them home in chains. This quickly spread the terror of his arms all over those seas, so that scarce any of them dared to shew themselves in the chanel. Being obliged by the weather to put in at *Tripoli*, the governor informed him, that he had just received an express from the king of *Tunis*, to acquaint him that *Barbarossa* was making the most pressing complaints to the *Porte* against the *Malttese* knights, whilst his lieutenant *Morat Haga* was making great preparations at *Tachora* for the siege of *Tripoli*, which he doubted not would be soon followed by that of *Tunis*, where *Hassan* was become odious to the *Turks* and *Moors*, on account of his alliance with the emperor, b after whose late defeat a great number of towns in that kingdom had revolted from him, and a much greater number of his subjects had put themselves under the protection of the *Algerine* monarch, who was expected shortly from *Constantinople* at the head of a powerful fleet, whose arrival would be quickly followed by the sieges of *Tripoli* and *Tunis*.

A new but ineffectual embassy to the emperor.

THE admiral lost no time to bring these unwelcome news to the grand master; for though the emperor had promised him so solemnly that he would order the fortifications of *Tripoli* to be repaired and enlarged, yet nothing had been done to it since; so that it was impossible for it, in the condition it was in, to hold out any time against such powerful force. The council being assembled upon it, agreed that a fresh embassy should be sent to the imperial court, to renew their instances for a speedy execution of its engagements; but which succeeded no c better than the former. That polite monarch gave them many fair promises of a powerful succour, in case the place was besieged; but neither sent them any supply of men or money, which he pretended he had too great an occasion for in *Sicily* and other parts of his empire. The admiral was sensibly affected with the ill success of the embassy, as well as the rest of the order; but as he was likewise grand baily of *Germany*, he thought himself obliged to do what he could for the preservation of that place, and caused the crew and slaves of his gallies to dig a pretty large fosse round it, and added some few other repairs and outworks, which, tho' done in haste, could not but be better than none, and saved, in some measure, the credit of the order. On the other hand, that he might not seem too pressing with the emperor, he prevailed upon the king of *Tunis* to take a second voyage into *Italy*, and solicit for fresh succours d from him, which, if he obtained for himself, would be likewise of service to *Tripoli*. *Hassan* accordingly disposed all things for his departure with a grand retinue, and with considerable presents for the viceroy of *Sicily*, and the imperial court; and, being safely arrived at *Naples*, dispatched some couriers after the emperor, who was gone to quell some troubles in *Germany*, to beg the favour of an interview with him. We have seen elsewhere the issue of that expedition, which cost that unfortunate prince his eyes and his kingdom, through the treachery of his son *Hamida* ^e.

Tripoli in great danger.

Valetta sent governor thither.

THIS revolution, which so greatly endangered the city of *Tripoli*, at the same time that it increased the power of the *Turks*, especially of *Barbarossa*, with whom that treacherous prince made a speedy alliance, in order to preserve himself on his throne, failed not to put e the order into the utmost consternation. *Tripoli*, at a great distance from *Maltha*, surrounded on all sides by enemies, and in so bad a condition of defence, especially as it was commanded all around by high hills, gave its governor such apprehensions of its approaching siege, that he ceased not soliciting the grand master for his discharge till he had obtained it, and another was sent in his stead. This was soon after exchanged for a new one, and the commander *John de Valetta*, of the tongue of *Provence*, a man of great experience, conduct, and intrepidity, who had already signalized himself by a long course of naval expeditions, especially against the corsairs, and a great variety of successes, sometimes conqueror, and at other times conquered, and even laden with chains, and condemned to a severe slavery, or cruel imprisonment; but no sooner redeemed and at liberty, than at sea again in search of new adventures. Such was f the character of *John de Valetta*, whom the grand master pitched upon to go and defend that place. He was perhaps the only one that would accept of that commission under such disadvantageous circumstances, wherein so little, if any, honour could be gained.

His first care, upon his arrival at his new government, was to take a review of all his *Moors* and *Arabs*, as well as Christians, and to introduce a strict discipline among them, officers as well as soldiers. Next to that, he applied his time, and the small quantity of money which the grand master had intrusted him with, in repairing the old and adding some new fortifications to the place; and more than these he would have caused to be made, had not the famous *Dragut*, a mortal enemy to all Christians, and especially to the *Malttese*, of whom we have had frequent occasion to speak in some foregoing chapters, seized, some time before, upon one of their gallies, which a storm had separated from the squadron, in which was the g

a sum of 60,000 crowns, designed for the service of the place. The last precaution the new governor took was to send all useless mouths out of it ; after which he ordered a plan of all the coasts of *Barbary* to be taken, which, with that of the city, and the account of its present condition, he caused to be sent to the emperor with all possible expedition.

b By this time *Dragut*, who had obtained from *Soliman* the government of the *Turkish* fleet in the room of *Barbarossa*, lately dead at *Constantinople*, through his excessive debaucheries, had made himself master of the sea-port of *Africa*, al. *Mehedia*, on those coasts, by the vilest of treacheries, designing to make it his place of arms and rendezvous. This roused at once the emperor's attention to that side. He engaged the pope and the grand master to assist him to wrench that place out of his hands, without which no part of *Italy*, *Sicily*, or other adjacent islands, could be safe from his bloody incursions. The grand master, no less interested in that expedition, readily furnished his usual squadron of four gallies, under the command of the baily *De Sangle*, since then grand master of the order, who had under him 140 knights, and a battalion of 400 men in the *Maltese* pay. Young *Doria*, the nephew of the admiral of that name, who commanded the emperor's fleet, sailed straightway to *Cape Bone*, where he landed his forces, and made himself master of the fortress of *Calibia*, supposed to be the *Clypea* of the *Romans*, from which he advanced towards *Monasteer*, both which had submitted to *Dragut*. At their approach to the place, the *Turks* and *Moors* made a large sally, not so much to engage as to reconnoitre them ; but the *Maltese* knights, who marched in the front, and were supported by a third part of the *Spanish* forces, rushed out upon them with such speed and fury, that they killed a great number of them, and followed the rest with sword in hand into the town. This was soon abandoned by the inhabitants, most of whom retired with the governor into the castle. This, refusing to surrender upon the first summons, was immediately cannonaded with such force, that a breach was quickly made, tho' scarcely wide enough for an assault. But our young admiral, above minding such a circumstance, ordered his forces forthwith to mount, which occasioned the attack to be more fierce and bloody, and, which was still worse, the loss of the greatest part of the *Maltese*, who had the post of honour. The inhabitants would have been glad to have capitulated ; but the governor, an old experienced corsair, rejected the proposal, and held his post on the top of the breach, till a musket-ball put an end to his fighting and life. The rest, quite discouraged by his death, surrendered at discretion, and were made prisoners of war ^k.

AFTER this successful expedition, *Doria*, having been promised a vast reinforcement from *Naples* and *Sicily*, resolved to make his next attempt on *Africa*, whilst *Dragut* was out at sea with his squadron ; and, to prevent his throwing any forces into the place whilst the succours were coming from *Italy*, went and posted his fleet at the *Conigliari* or *Comiliary Islands*, almost over-against it, and by that means kept the place in some measure blocked up. About that time he received advice from the viceroy of *Naples*, importing, that the succours designed for him were not quite ready, and desiring him to come to him at *Trepano* in *Sicily*, the place of their rendezvous. This request (which could not be complied with without giving *Dragut* an opportunity, which he was not likely to neglect, of throwing some fresh succour into *Africa*), highly disconcerted the young admiral ; but, as he had been charged not to undertake any thing without the advice of Don *Juan de Vega*, an old experienced general, he was obliged to go and consult him at *Palermo*, from which he sailed away to *Trepano*, where the *Neapolitan* and *Maltese* fleets were already arrived. Unfortunately the former was commanded by young Don *Garcia*, the viceroy's son, who, from thence, claimed a privilege of the sole direction of the siege, to the great mortification of young *Doria*, who expected to have had the sole glory of it. The contest lasted some time, and was likely to have been attended with some ill consequence, when the *Maltese* admiral *De Sangle* undertook to interpose, and, by his address and superior sagacity, after several conferences with the two contenders, brought the matter to a compromise, in which it was agreed, that, when they were at sea, *Garcia* should pay a due regard to the imperial admiral ; and, at land, they should each command their own troops, and the council of war direct the attacks, and other measures relating to the siege, in the name of the emperor, as if he was really there present ^l.

THERE was now nothing more to do, but to sail away for *Africa*, and to form the siege of it ; but *Dragut* had taken such care, during *Doria's* absence, to supply the place with brave and expert officers, fresh troops, and other ammunition, that he should have nothing to do but to scour the sea with his squadron, and intercept all the provisions that were sent to the besiegers. On the other hand, the grand master, sensible of the loss of so many of his knights at the last siege, took care to send a fresh supply of them ; whilst the emperor, on his part, sent express orders to the governor of *Goletta*, an old experienced commander, to come and assist at the siege. We have given, in a former chapter, a full account of the most material

^k Vide auct. sup. citat.

^l Ibid. ibid.

transactions of it; to which we shall only add here, as more nearly relating to the history of *a*
Malta we are upon, that the admiral of it, *De Sangle*, mindful of the religious as well as
 moral duties of his order, caused an hospital and infirmary to be erected in his camp, under a
 sufficient number of tents, in which the sick and wounded of the imperial army were taken all
 due care of, and were served by the knights under his command by turns; a conduct which
 made their charity no less conspicuous and admired than their valour, especially as the number
 of the unhappy objects were so considerable, and their condition for the most part deplorable
 and desperate without such a timely and extraordinary assistanceⁿ. But their intrepid bravery
 displayed itself more eminently upon the signal being given for the general assault, at which, as
 usual, they claimed the privilege in being foremost in mounting the breach. Finding the water
 too shallow to bring them close to the shore, they waded through the sea up above their middle, *b*
 with their swords drawn, and through the continual volleys of small shot, arrows, and other
 missile weapons, as well as through streams of melted lead, boiling oil, stink-pots, &c. till they
 gained the top of it, and planted the standard of the order on the wall, with such surprising
 speed and undaunted courage, as quite astonished the besieged. The standard-bearer, named
Gaon, was instantly killed by a musket-shot; but the standard was as quickly seized by the com-
 mander *Copier*, who, in spite of all the fire and smoke from within, kept it still displayed,
 without losing an inch of his ground, during the whole time of the attack, though he saw a
 vast number of knights, and other brave volunteers, that fought under it, fall down dead on
 each side, by the continual fire of the artillery, without being able to make the *Turks* give
and taken. way. At length the commander *Guimerano*, who continued still at the head of the rest, look- *c*
 ing about on all sides, and perceiving something like a narrow path leading into the place, tho'
 some say it was the fragments of a gallery which had been demolished by the cannon of
 the besiegers, opened himself a way, and led the rest through all the rubbish into the heart of
 the place, where they made such a terrible havock of all that opposed them, that happy were
 they who could get farthest from them, and gain the adjacent plains with what they could save
 out of their houses; so that it was intirely owing to the intrepid bravery of the order, that this
 important place was carried, in spite of all the force, art, and stratagems, of *Dragut*, to pre-
 vent it^o.

THE plunder of the place was immense; *Dragut* kept all his treasure in it, as one of the
 strongest fortresses in all *Africa*, and a great number of corsairs and merchants, *Turks*, *Moors*, *d*
 and others, made choice of it as the surest repository of all their wealth; to say nothing of the
 opulence of the inhabitants, who were mostly become very rich by the vast piratical commerce
 which was carried on, as well as by the great concourse of piratical crews, who made it their
 principal mart. The young *Don Garcia* vainly strove to attribute the whole glory to himself,
 whilst the rest of the officers more justly gave the palm to the *Maltese*. *Dragut*, in particular,
 shewed his resentment against them in the most public manner, by the complaints and misre-
 presentations he sent against them to *Soliman* immediately after taking of the place. His well-
 instructed agent easily convinced both him and the divan of the danger of suffering them to
 continue longer in their new settlement, from which they had not only suppressed the naval
 commerce of his subjects, but had assisted the emperor in making such conquests on the *Bar-* *e*
bary shore as must one day endanger his dominions in *Egypt* and *Palestine*; for the re-con-
 quering of which last, they need but apply to their sure friend the *Roman* pontif for a new
 crusade, to engage all Christendom to assist them with men and money, and whatever else
 they wanted for such an enterprize. He moreover represented to that soltan how vain and
 fruitless it would be for him to attempt the retaking of *Africa*, *Monastier*, *Tripoli*, and other
 places along that coast, so long as that order was continually ready to traverse and obstruct
 every such attempt by their desperate courses from *Malta* and *Tripoli*, in which, tho' few in
 number, they still multiply to such a degree, that nothing can succeed that is undertaken
 against the Christians, until those knights are totally exterminated by fire and sword.

Soliman's ar-
 mament
 against Mal-
 tha.

SOLIMAN was easily convinced by these arguments, as well as his divan by *Dragut's* pre- *f*
 sents, of the necessity of entering into a war against the *Maltese*; and ordered that corsair,
 whom he had honoured with the title of general, to give him the greater credit, to gather up
 all the corsairs he could meet with in the *Levant* under his standard against the *Maltese*, whilst
 he ordered a most powerful fleet to be equipped for the same service. The news of this arma-
 ment quickly alarmed the whole order, as well as the imperial court; and as *Dragut* was
 justly suspected to be the first mover of it, the emperor ordered *Doria* to sail with his fleet in
 search of him, and to try all possible means to rid him of so dangerous an enemy. The grand
 master was earnestly desired to join his gallies of the order to the fleet, which he readily com-
 plied with, though against all politics, and the opinion of the council, who loudly declared
 how imprudent and dangerous it was to send their ships abroad, at a time when the island was *g*
 threatened

ⁿ VERTOT, ubi sup. p. 182, & seq.

^o Vide auct. sup. citat.

a threatened with a powerful invasion. But the grand master, who, as a *Spaniard*, was a mere creature of *Charles V.* stopped their mouths, by pretending, that he was sufficiently informed that the *Turkish* armament was designed to assist *France* against the emperor; but, to amuse the most discontented, he gave express orders to the admiral, in case he found that the *Turks* should take their route towards *Malta* or *Tripoli*, to separate immediately, and sail back to *Malta* with all speed^p.

He was scarcely sailed away for the rendezvous at *Messina*, before news was brought by the chevalier *De St. John*, who had been scouring the coasts of *Morea*, that the armament was universally reported to be designed either against *Tripoli* or *Malta*. Presently after came a letter from the commander *Villegagnon*, lately arrived from *France* at *Messina*, to acquaint b the grand master and the rest of the order, that the armament in question was solely intended against them. This gentleman, who was in the highest esteem both at the court of *France* and among the *Maltese*, had no sooner received sufficient information about what he wrote, than he earnestly begged leave to carry the news to *Malta*; and only stopped in *Sicily* to acquaint the viceroy with it; and to represent to him the defenceless state of that island, as well as of the town of *Tripoli*, in order to obtain some speedy succour for both; during which time he dispatched the above information to the order, that they might take all proper precautions against the threatening danger. At his arrival at *Malta*, being asked by the council from whom he had his information, he readily told them, that the constable *Montmorency*, out of his singular regard to the order, had assured him of it, when he took his leave of him; and c that *Soliman* was so exasperated at the part which the *Maltese* had acted at the taking of *Africa*, that they must expect to see speedily his whole force turned against them^q. This greatly alarmed the major part of the council; but *D'Omedes*, having dismissed him with cold thanks for his zeal, and the *French* prime minister for his care, told some of the principal members of it with a scornful smile, as soon as he was gone, *Either this Frenchman is the high constable's extreme dupe, or he wants us to be his*; after which, assuming a more serious tone, he said, it was absurd to suppose so great an armament could be designed against such barren rocks as *Malta* and *Gosa*, or even *Tripoli*, which, put together, could never answer the tenth part of the cost. But that they were sure enough designed to assist the *French* against the emperor, the former of whom was politic and rich enough to compensate all that expence by some new conquest in *Italy*; d so that, upon the whole, he did not think it proper to put the order to such extraordinary charges, till he received more positive news about it. In consequence of this parsimony, he obtained from the *Sicilian* viceroy about 200 *Calabrians* for the defence of *Tripoli*, most of them raw and undisciplined, but which the grand master palliated with saying, that they would soon be made fit for business when they were once come to that garrison. The difficulty was to make them embark, the greatest part of them having concealed themselves, and the rest complaining that he sent them thither only to spare his own knights; whereupon he was obliged to put about 25 of them at their head, who were of the younger sort, and, having been confined some time for misbehaviour, could easily be spared^r.

This was all they had been able to persuade him to do for the preservation of *Tripoli*, and e the islands of *Malta* and *Gosa*, when news was brought that the *Turkish* fleet had appeared along the coasts of *Sicily* on the 13th of *July*, and was supposed to be in full sail for *Malta*, without raising the least apprehension in him, till he beheld it from his own window making towards it with a favourable wind. *Sinan*, the head commander of this armament, was ordered by the sultan to attempt the islands of *Malta* and *Gosa*, if he found it practicable; if not, to sail directly to *Tripoli*, and lay siege to that place. He was moreover enjoined to consult *Dragut* in every thing, who was best acquainted with the sea-coasts, and all their fortresses. According to which order, the *Ottoman* fleet came directly before the bay called *Muset*, which is divided from the great bay only by a long and narrow slip of land, or rather solid rock, named *Scerberas*. It is easy to imagine the dread and consternation which the sight of such a f powerful fleet caused, both among the order, and much more among the poor inhabitants. The knights, however, having soon recovered their usual presence of mind, agreed to divide themselves into two different bands according to their present exigence; and whilst one body was employed in securing the women and children in the borough and the town of *Malta*, or notable city, and others in arming the men, and placing them in different posts, others were taken up in running along the coasts, to descry the extent of the enemy's fleet.

Among these the *Spanish* commander *Guimerano*, with 100 other knights on foot, and 300 musqueteers, gained the top of the rock *Scerberas* above-mentioned, where they lay concealed with their bellies close to the ground, whilst *Upton*, an *English* commander, and one of the bravest, at the head of 30 more of the order, and 400 of the inhabitants, stood boldly on the

^p BAUDOUIN, VERTOT, ubi sup. VILLEGAGNON Comment. in Bell. Melitens.

^r Idem, & al. ubi sup.

^q Idem, & al. sup. citat.

Sinan sails in to the port. sea-coast, just before the borough, to prevent the *Turks* making a descent on that side. *Guimerano* quickly perceived the *Turkish* admiral in his capitana, making up towards the great port, attended with a small number of gallies, to look out for a proper place to make a descent. The capitana was no sooner got within gun-shot of the *Scerberas*, than he was saluted with such a brisk discharge, as threw the whole crew into the utmost confusion, and made them abandon their oars; which so exasperated the proud *Turk*, that he swore he would destroy them all, for daring, such a handful of men as they were, to make their first fire on his ship. He accordingly disposed all things for landing; but *Guimerano*, contented with the affront he had given him, got all his men on board their vessels, and quickly gained the borough without the loss of one man. *Sinan* fought for them a while, wondering how they had escaped him; at length, getting up to the top of *Scerberas*, whence he could descry the castle of *St. Angelo*, and observing its situation and bulwarks, he cast an angry look at *Dragut*, *Is that, said he to him, the castle which thou didst represent to the sultan as a place so easy to be reduced? Surely no eagle could have chosen a more craggy and difficult place to make her nest in. Dost thou not see that men must have wings like them to get up to it, and that all the artillery and forces of the universe would not be able to take it by force?* To all this an old *Tachoran* officer added, whether to curry favour with the general, or out of hatred to *Dragut*, *“Seest thou that bulwark which juts out into the sea, and on which the Maltese have planted the great standard of their order? I can assure thee, that, whilst I was a prisoner with them, I have helped to carry part of the huge stones of which it is built on my shoulders; and am pretty sure, that, before thou canst make thyself master of it, thou wilt be overtaken by the winter-season, and probably likewise prevented, by some powerful succour from Europe, from going any farther.”* These words threw the old corsair, who never thought any place too dangerous or difficult, into a violent passion. He endeavoured in vain to convince *Sinan* how easy it would be, after demolishing the castle with his artillery, to spread as it were his net over the borough, and take the grand master and his knights prisoners, seeing the place where they had imprudently shut themselves in had no other defence than that of the old castle. *Sinan*, more diffident and cautious, called a general council, in which he represented the siege of the borough and castle as a long-winded work, which would prevent his passing over into *Africa*, where he would much better answer the intentions and orders of *Soliman*; for here, said he, when we have destroyed all these fortifications, our work is hardly half done, we have still a vast number of desperate knights to encounter, who must be all destroyed to a man before we can enter either of them.

Dragut's advice to besiege the capital.

Malta besieged.

His opinion was at first approved of by the majority of the council; but *Dragut*, whom the loss of *Africa*, his treasure, and numberless slaves, still fired with an insatiable desire of revenge, proposed, that before they left the place, they should at least lay siege to the capital of the island, where all the inhabitants had shut themselves up with all their wealth, and which they would find without any fortifications, or any other garrison than a parcel of armed peasants, ready to abandon it upon the very first appearance of the *Turkish* standards; after which they might safely plunder both that and the rest of the island, and carry away a vast number of prisoners. *Sinan*, not daring to oppose too far *Dragut's* advice, which the sultan had enjoined him to follow, consented to the siege: immediately after which, the forces were ordered to land, and the artillery to move towards the place. This last they found a most difficult task; the carriages falling in pieces as they went over these hard rocks, obliged them to stay whilst new and stronger were made, which met with the same mischance as they moved farther on; so that they were forced at last to have them drawn by slaves, which took up some days before they could raise their batteries against the town. Whilst these preparations were making, the *Turks*, who had dispersed themselves over the whole island, put all in their way to fire and sword, and covered with fire and smoke not only the houses, but also the trees, hedges, and fields, from one end to the other. After having destroyed all the corn, fruits, and every kind of sustenance, they repaired to the siege of the place. *Malta* had then above 13,000 persons of both sexes in it, and but few soldiers to defend it, except the peasants whom the governor had armed for that purpose, but who now murmured against him, and were ready to abandon the place; so that it was with the greatest difficulty that they consented to stay, and submitted to be distributed into companies, and taught how to handle their weapons.

The governor sends for succours to D'Omedes.

In the mean time the brave baily *Adorno*, who commanded in the place, found means to dispatch an express, in the dead of the night, to acquaint the grand master with the dangerous condition it was in, and to desire him to send some regular troops to him, and as many knights as he could spare, more especially the commander *Villegagnon*, an old experienced officer, to assist and direct him. But how great was his surprize, when the messenger came back without being able to obtain any supply from him, except the brave commander above-

a named, whom *D'Omedes* permitted to go thither, for no other motive than to be rid of a person who had the interest and honour of the order too sincerely at heart to forbear making frequent and pressing complaints to the council against his strange proceedings. Before he dismissed him, however, he told him, that, having the highest idea of his conduct and bravery, he was now sending him to the defence of their capital, which he looked upon as sufficiently guarded by the number of citizens and peasants that were in it, who he knew were capable of being made good soldiers, provided they were commanded by an experienced officer, who might supply the governor's absence where-ever his duty would not admit of his being present.

HERE *Villegagnon*, with his usual modesty, replied, that he was willing to obey, pursuant to the strict obligations to which the profession of his order bound him; but begged of him to
 b consider, that the defence of the city did not depend upon a multitude of undisciplined citizens and peasants, whom the first appearance of danger would put to flight, but upon such brave and intrepid leaders, who, from a principle of honour and religion, may inspire and encourage, and, by their example, inspire them to that bravery with which they are naturally
 c strangers; so that, if he really designed to have the town preserved against so powerful an enemy, he could send no less than an hundred knights to assist them in defending it. To this he was coldly answered, that it had been decreed by the council, that the knights should be reserved for the defence of the castle; but that, rather than see him go alone, he would obtain leave to send six more to accompany him; but, upon his offering to represent the small service which that number would be of in such an emergency, *D'Omedes* told him, in a higher tone,
 d that he expected in those of the order less reasoning and greater compliance; and that if he was afraid of the danger of obeying, he would soon find a number of others that would be proud of exposing themselves to it. "Sir," replied the commander, "I will quickly convince you, that fear never made me shun any danger;" so saying, he immediately took the road to the capital with the six other knights; and, upon their giving the signal, they were drawn up with cords into the place, without being perceived by the enemy. Their arrival was welcomed with the universal shouts of the people, and a discharge of all their musquetry; which gave the besiegers room to conclude, that some considerable reinforcement had been conveyed into the place in the dead of the night. *Villegagnon* made the inhabitants believe, that they were the forerunners of a much more considerable body of forces which were in full
 march to their relief; but privately acquainted the governor with the grand master's inflexible behaviour, that they had nothing to depend upon but their own bravery, and must resolve to make such a defence as might procure them the greatest glory, and the enemy the greatest loss. Accordingly, the walls of the city being found too weak to stand long against the besiegers artillery, they agreed to make as many intrenchments within-side as might oblige them to fight inch by inch, and in this men, women, and all hands, fell to work, under the direction of *Villegagnon*.

WHILST this was done within the walls, a lucky stratagem was contrived without by the receiver general of the order, which had all the success that could be wished: it was a letter
 e written by himself, and directed to the grand master, from *Messina*, informing him of a powerful armament ready to sail with the first fair wind, out of that port, for *Malta*, under the command of the famed admiral *Doria*, the terror of the *Ottoman* forces, who had been dispatched from *Spain* to raise the siege of *Malta*, or give the enemy battle. The letter farther added, that he had detached that bark to bring timely advice to the order, that they might be ready to act in concert with him at his arrival. The project succeeded to admiration; the vessel was seized by some of the *Turkish* ships, and the letter conveyed to the camp. This
 f fiction, which was chiefly designed to intimidate and create an uneasiness in the *Turkish* army, wrought much more powerfully on the mind of the admiral than was expected. He caused it to be read before a council of war; and, as he had undertaken the siege merely in compliance with *Dragut's* advice, he now expatiated much on the danger of pursuing it, without hazard-
 ing either his fleet or army, and, if it was not speedily raised, all the artillery he had with so much labour brought before the place. To all which he added, that *September* would soon be at hand with its usual storms, which would not fail to prevent their making their intended
 and more important descent on *Tripoli*; all which was received and applauded by the greatest
 part of the officers, and the raising of the siege readily agreed to. *A lucky stratagem.*

HOWEVER, to satisfy the insatiable greediness of the *Turks* after plunder, and thereby prevent any complaint being sent to the *Porte* against him, he abandoned the island of *Gosa* to their mercy, which, being in a much worse condition of defence, met with a severer fate. They immediately crossed the narrow chanel which divides it from *Malta*, ravaging it all the way. The inhabitants were retired into the castle with their families; and told the governor, that,
 g if he would stand by them, they would defend it to the last; but he no sooner saw the enemy
 present themselves before it, than he retired into the inmost of his apartments, and kept himself shut up for some time. This was the young knight, on whose bravery the grand master pretended
 pretended

pretended to put so much confidence, that he rejected the proposal of blowing up the castle with great indignation: his name was *Galatian de Sessa*, a young swaggering beautiful blade, without courage or thought; and his shameful conduct on this occasion did not a little discourage the small garrison, as well as inhabitants. They were however kept in heart for a while by a brave *Englishman*, who, pointing a piece of cannon (the only one in the place, and which had been with much difficulty brought thither since the siege of *Malta*) against the enemy, killed several *Turks*, and kept the rest from approaching the walls; but, he being soon after killed by a shot from the enemy's battery, none of the rest had the courage to take his place.

Bravery of an
English gun-
ner.

The castle
capitulates.

Governor, &c.
put in irons.

GALATIAN, afraid of exasperating the *Turkish* general, continued inactive all the while, but sent a monk to him, with offers to surrender the place, on condition that the lives, liberties, and effects, of the inhabitants, were granted to them. *Sinan* sent him for an answer, that, if he did not immediately abandon the place to him, he would cause him to be hanged at the gates of it. The monk returned quickly to him, with a new promise of delivering it up, provided the governor, with 200 of the chief inhabitants, such as he pitched upon, were allowed to go off unmolested; but *Sinan* refused to grant him above 40; and told the monk, that, if he dared come a third time, he would cause him to be flayed alive. This answer so terrified the cowardly governor, that he ordered the gates to be forthwith opened, and the *Turks* made no less speed to take possession of the castle. His apartment was the first that fell a prey to them, who, to shew their contempt of him in the most mortifying manner, obliged him to carry some of the lumber of it on his shoulders, quite into their ships. *Sinan*, instead of giving him leave to chuse the number of inhabitants agreed on, pitched upon 40 of the oldest, whom he immediately discharged, telling the governor, with a contemptuous smile, that the most aged ought to be accounted the chiefest. All the the rest, to the amount of 6,300, of every age and sex, were ordered to be loaded with irons, and himself at their head, and to be conveyed on ship-board, and carried into a miserable slavery (F).

THIS dreadful catastrophe of the *Gosans* produced the loudest murmurs and complaints against the grand master, especially among those of the *French* tongue, who insisted, that his cowardly governor should be forthwith tried, and sentence passed upon him; but this *D'Omedes* evaded, with his usual coldness, under pretence that the accused was not now in his hands, but in those of the *Turks*; and that he could not lawfully condemn him, till he had heard his defence; so that, to prevent the dishonour of so shameful an action affecting the whole order, they all, except the grand master's creatures, unanimously agreed to send an account of it through all *Europe*; but he took what care he could to be beforehand with them, dispersing a very different one in his favour, in which it was pretended, that he fought with incredible fury at the head of the *Gosans*, till he was shot by a cannon-ball; upon which these, being quite disheartened at the loss of their brave commander, and desirous to save the honour of their wives and daughters from the known brutality of the *Turks*, agreed to an honourable capitulation; but which the treacherous *Sinan* made no scruple to violate, as soon as the place was delivered up into his hands *.

Sessa tried,
and acquitted.

THESE opposite reports met with different credit in *Europe*, according as people were biased either for one or the other nation; but the animosity which reigned at this time in *Malta* between the *French* and *Spaniards*, will hardly give us room to doubt that they had been greatly exaggerated on both sides. We shall meet with other instances of it during the grand mastership of this *Spaniard*, which will hardly fail of convincing our readers of the more than probability of our conjecture. However, that part of it which related to the young governor's being killed, passed current for some years, that is, till he had, by dint of money, gained his liberty, and had the imprudence to appear again at *Malta*, where he was immediately seized, and put in arrest. His trial came on soon after, where, whether by the intrigues of his friends, or remissness of his prosecutors, he was acquitted of the crime of cowardice, and restored to his dignity, and had several considerable commanderies bestowed upon him.

* VILLEGAGN. NICHOL. BAUDOIN, VERTOT, & al. ubi supra.

* Ibid. ubi sup.

(F) We are told, that a wealthy *Sicilian*, who had been settled some time with his family in this island, seeing it reduced to so dreadful a state, and preferring death to so dishonourable a slavery, in a fit of jealousy and despair, first stabbed his wife and two daughters to

death, then, rushing armed among the thickest of the enemy, killed and wounded some of them, expiring soon after of the wounds which he received from them (8).

(8) *N. Nicolai Relat. l. i. c. 15. edit. 1568. Baudoin, l. xiii. c. ult. ad fin. Vertot, tom. iv. l. ii. p. 232, & seq.*

- a SINAN had no sooner left the island of *Gosa*, in the miserable condition we have related, than the council agreed to send a new governor thither, with some few troops, to repair the breaches of the castle, together with some other commanders, to ascertain the lands of those who were either killed or carried away captives, either to them or their relations, in order to have it the sooner colonied and manured. All this while the grand master could not be persuaded that the *Turkish* armament was intended for any other design than to assist *France* against the emperor; and his surprise, as well as mortification, was inexpressible, when the news came, that, instead of *Toulon* or *Marseilles*, *Sinan* had sailed directly to *Tripoli*, with *Sinan sails for Tripoli.* full design to lay siege to it both by sea and land. About the same time arrived at *Malta* the *French* ambassador *d'Aramont*, in his way to *Constantinople*, whither he was now sent the
- b second time by the court. In his audience with *d'Omedes*, whom he was ordered to assure of his master's inviolable friendship for him and the whole order, he expressed a more than ordinary concern that he had not come a little sooner, and prevented, by his mediation and good offices, the hostilities which *Sinan* had committed in these two islands. To this *d'Omedes* answered, that he was arrived time enough, if the commission with which he was charged by his court could but permit him to take *Tripoli* in his way, and make use of his and his master's interest to dissuade the *Turkish* basha from besieging *Tripoli*: "and this, added he, "is what I conjure you, for God's sake, and the honour of your royal master, to do; and, "if you cannot prevail with him, that you will use your utmost efforts to prevail on soltan "Soliman to countermand it."
- c D'ARAMONT faithfully promised him all the good offices that were in his power; and, leaving two large vessels in the port, embarked in a brigantine belonging to the order, and sailed away for *Tripoli* with such expedition, that he arrived before *Sinan* had opened the trenches before the place. As he had formerly contracted an acquaintance with the *Turkish* Basha during his residence at the *Porte*, he met with a most obliging reception from him, especially as he had taken care to have his visit preceded with some considerable presents; after which, he communicated to him the occasion of his coming; and used all the pressing arguments he was master of to prevail upon him to desist from his enterprize against an order so highly and justly respected by the king his master, and by the powers of *Europe*. The answer which *Sinan* gave him was, that he had received express orders from *Soliman* his master
- d to wrest that place out of their hands, and that he could not act contrary to them without endangering his head; upon which the ambassador offered to take his leave of him, with a design to try what he could do with his master. But *Sinan*, who quickly perceived his drift, which, if he succeeded in it, would deprive him of the glory of reducing the place, plainly told him, that he could not suffer him to go till the conclusion of the siege; and accordingly caused the *Maltese* brigantine, and his own two galleys, which had joined him by that time, to be secured, and, without any regard to the law of nations, detained him and all his retinue, though in other respects he caused him to be used with all the honour due to his character, and immediately ordered the trenches to be opened². *Detains the French ambassador.*
- e WE shall repeat here the particulars of that famous and obstinate siege, whereof we have given a full account in a former chapter, as far as relates to the surrender of the place to the *Turks*, and the dreadful disgrace it brought upon the governor, the brave commander *Gaspar de Valier*, of the tongue of *Auvergne*, then grand marshal of the order; and a person of such known experience and valour, that he was marked out by the major part of the order as a fit person to succeed old *d'Omedes* in the grand mastership. Whether this very consideration, it being common for persons in such high rank to look upon their presumptive successors with an envious eye, or any other pique, whether national or personal, was the cause of the extreme ill-will which *d'Omedes* bore to him, is not easy to know with any tolerable certainty, from the various accounts we meet with in the writers upon this siege, every one being apt to lean
- f to the side of his own nation; though they seem all to agree in one main point, that the misunderstanding that reigned between those two great men, the one a stiff old *Spaniard*, and the other a highly distinguished *Frenchman*, was the chief cause of the former's so obstinately refusing to take the proper precautions to have that important place put in a due state of defence, and consequently of all the disorders, murmurs, and cabals, that happened during the siege of it, and hastened its being surrendered, in the manner we have formerly described. *D'Omedes an enemy to the governor.*
- g WE come now, according to our promise, to relate what happened at *Malta* upon the return of the governor and garrison to that island. It is not to be doubted that the just complaints, which even the most impartial and bravest officers of it made against the grand master, and his unaccountable behaviour towards them during the whole time of the siege, had as highly exasperated him, as the consciousness of his own neglect and misconduct had affrighted him. The dread he had cause to be in of the emperor's resentment made him industrious to hear every report that was made both for and against him, in order to take his measures ac-

² Vide auct. supra citat.

cordingly. Among other things that were reported by some of his servile creatures, one ^a was, that the *French* ambassador would not have shewn such diligence to sail to *Malta*, if he had not had some private design or instructions to confer with the *Turkish* Basha about some other affair, very different from that he pretended; and that his real errand there was, to hasten, instead of preventing, the siege, that the *Turkish* fleet might have time enough, after its surrender, to go and assist the king of *France* against the emperor; and consequently that the governor was inexcusable for having ventured to capitulate without the grand master's leave. Whether or no these reports were not hatched by him or his emissaries, we will not pretend to say; however that be, he relished them so well, that he built his plan upon them of ruining him, and of having him publicly tried for it, as soon as *d'Aramont* was sailed away, who might otherwise have proved too powerful an evidence in his favour. In the mean ^b time, to let the order see that he suspected those flying reports to have some foundation, the ambassador making towards the port with his two gallies some time after sun-set, instead of giving him admittance, he refused to have the chain taken down, caused the guard of the castle to be doubled, and took the same precautions as if the *Turkish* fleet had come back to make a second attempt upon the island; and on the next day he caused the report to be spread abroad by his private agents, that *Tripoli* had not fallen so easily into the hands of the *Turks*, if there had not been a private intelligence between the basha and the ambassador, and if the governor had not been weak enough to follow the perfidious council of that *Frenchman*. He went still farther, and caused the same report to be spread through all parts of *Europe* by the knights of his cabal; who, in the letters to their acquaintance, added, that the castle of *Saint Angelo* would have undergone the same fate with *Tripoli*, had it not been for the wise precautions which the grand master had taken to prevent it. ^c

Spreads accusations against him.

The ambassador's speech to the council.

D'ARAMONT was soon apprised of these flying rumours, who immediately demanded an audience; which being granted to him in full council, instead of taking notice of, or going about to confute them, he addressed himself to *d'Omedes*, at whose right hand he sat, and reminded him that he did not sail into *Africa* till earnestly intreated to it by him; and assured him, that, after his arrival, he had not ceased his good offices, and was fully resolved upon going to try the effects of them at the *Porte*, when he found them ineffectual at the camp; after which he acquainted the council how he had been detained by the basha till the conclusion of the siege; in which, he added, he had been so happy, however, as to become security for ^d so many brave knights, whom he had brought away in his gallies, in consideration of an equal number of *Turkish* slaves, which he had engaged to carry back in exchange, and which he hoped should now be delivered into his hands, in order to discharge himself of that engagement, to which he pledged his word and honour to the basha. To this *d'Omedes* coldly answered in few words, that he was obliged to him for his care and kind offices; but, as to the slaves he spoke of, they were the property of those knights that had taken them, and that he had no power to dispose of them; that he must apply to them, and, if they refused to surrender them, the governor *Valier* must be answerable for them to the basha. *D'Aramont* might have justly told him, that he had still a more expeditious way of doing it, by delivering up the *Spanish* knights into his hands, who were the chief cause of the capitulation and sur- ^e render of the place; but, being above such low recriminations, he chose rather to leave the island, and sail away for *Constantinople*, which he did a few days after.

Orders for trying the governor.

D'OMEDES, now at full liberty to pursue his design against *Valier*, called a new council, in which he declared *how inconsistent it would be with his and the order's honour to forego the loss of so important a place, without obliging the governor, and such of the knights as had the greatest hand in that capitulation, to give an account of the motives that induced them to it, in order, as he artfully worded it, to clear the innocent and punish the guilty, if any should be unhappily found to be such*^a. The motion being readily agreed to, three knights of three different tongues were immediately appointed to draw up the indictment against them, all of them being in the grand master's interest. But as the crime, if proved, was of a capital nature, and ^f consequently out of their cognisance as a religious order, they appointed, at the same time, a secular assessor, who should be authorized to pronounce sentence against the guilty, according to the nature of their crime. The governor was accordingly clapt into a dark and dismal dungeon, and an express prohibition was published against any of the order's interceding in his favour. To this was added, an order to the commissaries to reject every objection which the accused should offer against any of the witnesses; and to hear every deponent that offered himself, without the usual formality of confronting, cross-examining, &c.^c. This was looked upon as a strange way of proceeding; but the grand master's party was by that time grown too powerful to be withstood, and the judges so much his creatures, that they admitted men of the most scandalous characters, renegadoes, fellows forsworn on record, deserters, and ^g others of the like stamp, to be the chief evidence against the accused, that is, against the

Unjust prosecution against him.

^a VILLEGAGNON, NICHOLAI, BAUDOUIN, VERTOT, & al. ubi sup.

^c Ibid. ibid.

a governor and three other knights, named *Soufa*, *Herrera*, and *Fuster*, who had the greatest hand in negotiating the capitulation.

THIS did not, however, prevent the *French* tongue from making loud complaints against these proceedings; amongst them, *Villegagnon*, whom we have already mentioned on some other occasions, made no scruple to say, that the place having been lost through the negligence and avarice of those whose duty and business it was to have fortified it both with proper outworks and a sufficient garrison, it was highly strange and unjust to call the governor to an account for other people's crimes: he had moreover above 60 unexceptionable witnesses ready to produce against those who had deposed against him; when the grand master bethought himself of a new stratagem to destroy their credit abroad, by causing letters to be sent, as before, giving an account, that the *French* knights, apprehensive that his conviction would cast an infamy upon their tongue, had taken arms, and actually kept the grand master prisoner in the castle of *St. Angelo*. Whilst this news flew abroad, he was privately hastening the trial of the four knights, which concluded, at length, in this sentence, which was pronounced in full council, by the grand provost, to this effect:

“THAT, in the loss of *Tripoli*, there had happened nothing that could be deemed treasonable: that the whole disaster was owing to the cowardice of the mutinous *Calabrians*; and that though there were no imperial laws or constitutions that ordained any punishment in such a case, either against a governor or his officers, nevertheless, as it was enacted by the statutes of the order, that any governor, who should abandon a place that had been committed to his care, should be expelled; they, pursuant to that statute, had condemned the said governor, and the three knights, *Soufa*, *Herrera*, and *Fuster*, to be deprived of the habit and cross of the order, as accomplices in the loss of the city of *Tripoli*.”

THIS sentence was so far from satisfying the grand master, that it disconcerted all his measures, it being his chief design to have the governor alone punished, and not the other three, two of whom were *Spaniards*, whom he had caused to be joined with him in the accusation, merely to avoid the suspicion of national partiality against the *French*. He therefore declared the sentence to be too precipitate; and that, in condemning them all alike, they had not duly weighed the difference there was between the guilt of the three knights and that of the governor; and that, though they ought to stand to the sentence adjudged against the latter, yet that against the former might be justly suspended, in order to their being each separately tried, according to the nature of their respective crimes. The judge, or provost, finding that he had disobliged the grand master, was shameless enough to own his pretended error, and to offer to retract it, by substituting a milder punishment for them; but the council crying out shame on him, and some of them protesting that they should fare all alike, *d'Omedes* desired to be heard, and then insisted upon the great guilt incurred by *Valier* and *Fuster*, and also upon that of the two *Spanish* knights, alleging, that the former being of a capital nature, the council ought to refer it to the secular judge, who had already given such proof of his impartiality; but the council crying out against him, he thought proper to put off the matter to another time, and so dismissed the assembly².

e IN the mean time the king of *France*, having been informed of the calumny that had been raised against his ambassador, sent a gentleman, named *Belloy*, who was of his privy chamber, to *Malta*, with a letter to the grand master, in which he desired him to send him a faithful account of the case, that he might punish *d'Aramont* if he was guilty; but, if innocent, that he would justify him to the world by an authentic testimony under his own hand. *D'Omedes* was not a little embarrassed at this letter; however, he took the surest measure, and shewed it to the council, who unanimously agreed, that he ought to thank the *French* monarch for the good offices of his ambassador; and to assure him, that they were so far from having the least cause of complaint against him, that they should always gratefully acknowledge the services he had done to the order; and ordered their secretary to write a letter according to that tenor, and to bring it forthwith to be signed by the grand master. *D'Omedes*, vexed at the heart that he had shewn them the letter, took the secretary aside, and told him, that the matter was of too nice a nature to be dispatched in such haste, and that he would take time to consider on the properest manner of wording it; bidding him, in the mean time, keep himself out of the way of *Belloy* and *Villegagnon*. Some weeks were already passed before the secretary put pen to paper; during which time *d'Omedes* had, partly by threats, and partly by promises, induced the secular judge lately mentioned to engage, under the forfeiture of 500 gold ducats, to resume the trial of the governor; and, upon his denying the accusation, to have him put to the torture, in order to extort a confession from him against himself; which confession was to be sent to the *French* king, instead of the answer which the council had ordered to be drawn.

The French king complains of d'Omedes.

New artifices of the grand master.

² VILLEGAGNON, ubi supra. VERTOT, BAUDOUIN, & al. sup. citat.

Discovered by **VILLEGAGNON** having, by some means, got information of this hellish plot, boldly chal-
Villegagnon. lenged the grand master, in full council, either to deliver the answer in question to the envoy, or, if the assembly had changed their minds in that respect, to give him, instead of it, an authentic copy of the judge's process against the accused knights, in which he expressly declares, *that the loss of Tripoli was not owing to any treasonable practice or intelligence with the enemy, but to the cowardice of the Calabrians*, which would equally satisfy the king his master. To this one of the members, a creature of *d'Omedes*, replied, that the king's enquiry being only about his ambassador's conduct in *Africa*, they ought to confine their answer to that. Soon after this, *d'Omedes* asked *Villegagnon*, in a haughty tone, where he had learnt that the order was to give an account to the secular powers of the processes they carried on against any of their members? To which he gave the following answer: "That such a thought
 " had never come into his head; but that he imagined, nevertheless, that as such an account
 " would equally serve to satisfy the *French* king, it might be properly enough communicated
 " to him, since he, *d'Omedes*, had so long declined sending him the answer which the council
 " had agreed on. However," added he, "seeing you seem so desirous to know my mo-
 " tives for pressing this affair as I have done, I will freely acquaint you with them. There
 " goes a rumour, not much to your honour, that you have engaged the judge to renew the
 " prosecution against the governor, and to torture him into a confession of such crimes as he
 " never was guilty of; after which, having condemned and put him to death, this extorted
 " confession is to be sent to the *French* court, instead of the answer which you was to send
 " back by its envoy."

ONE may easily imagine the confusion and astonishment the grand master was in; he asked him, in an angry tone, where he had heard those scandalous reports? To which the *French* knight calmly answered, that was out of the question at present; which is only, whether the reports were true or false? *False as hell*, replied he. Then all I beg, said *Villegagnon*, is, that you will publicly discharge your judge of the sum of 500 ducats, which he hath engaged to pay you, in case he did not condemn the governor to death. He would stay no longer in the council, but withdrew, and left the assembly in the deepest amazement, who immediately nominated another judge, and ordered the secretary to postpone all other matters, and write an answer to the *French* king, according to the tenor prescribed to him, and, under the severest penalties, to deliver it, signed by the grand master, on that very day, either to the *French* envoy or to *Monf. Villegagnon*. He did so; but when he shewed it to *d'Omedes* to sign it, he was ordered by him to alter that clause, which was designed to justify the *French* ambassador, and, instead of it, to write, that *the council had not as yet been able to make any discovery upon which they might form an accusation against him*. The letter being delivered to *Villegagnon*, he easily saw through the artifice, and complained of it to the council, who forthwith dictated a new one, and, having obliged *d'Omedes* to sign it before them, ordered it to be delivered into the hands of the *French* envoy *Belloy*. *Thuanus*, who had no hopes of it, tells us, that the *French* court caused it soon after to be published through most courts of *Europe*; but as it contains nothing but grateful thanks to his most Christian majesty for his singular regard to the order, and a full vindication of his ambassador *d'Aramont's* conduct, we shall refer our readers for the contents of it to the author last quoted, and to the memoirs which *Villegagnon* published not long after concerning that whole transaction, wherein we shall not enter any farther into the merits of the cause between the *French* and *Spaniards*, but conclude this subject with observing, that, notwithstanding the many foul artifices laid to the grand master's charge, he still maintained his credit, so far as to get the other three knights pardoned and discharged, and the governor *Valier* to be continued in a cruel confinement, from which he was not freed till several years after, as we shall see in the sequel.

The three
knights par-
doned.

Villegagnon
carried pri-
soner to Ge-
noa.

THE war still continuing between *France* and the emperor, *Villegagnon*, who had obtained leave to accompany *Belloy* into *France*, was taken with him, in their passage to *Marseilles*, by the imperial squadron, and thence conveyed to *Genoa*, where he wrote the memoirs above-mentioned in *Latin*, and sent them to the emperor; soon after which he caused them to be printed at *Lyons*, with a dedication to that monarch. Some other knights in the *French* service had been likewise taken by the imperialists, whose liberty the grand master obtained of the emperor, upon his representation of the danger *Malta* was in of a speedy visit from the *Turks*. Among these knights was the famous *Pied de Fer*, or *Iron Foot*, who brought with him a large company of *Spaniards* into the island.

Strozzi denied
entrance into
Malta.

MUCH about the same time the brave *Strozzi*, grand prior of *Capua*, of whom we have had occasion to speak, having been obliged to quit the *French* service, and to save himself in his galley, accompanied with that of his brother, by getting over the chain that locked the port, by dint of rowing, sailed directly for *Malta*, where he was not only forbid to land by

^a Histor. l. vii. ad fin. Vide & MARM. Afric. l. vi. c. 44. BAUDOUIN, l. xiv. c. 13. VERTOT, l. iv. c. 11. p. 276—295.

- a the grand master, but even threatened to be fired upon, if he did not sail away. This harsh treatment was highly resented by the majority of the order, especially at such a time, when the island wanted such brave commanders. One of the knights, however, found means to send him, unknown to *d'Omedes*, a fresh supply of biscuit, of which he was in great want; after which he sailed towards the *Levant*, in danger of being taken either by *Doria's* squadron, or by the *Turkish* corsairs, and destitute of a christian port where he might retire, or bring any prize into. However, his valour and conduct were so well known in *Europe* by this time, that the emperor spared no promises or stratagems to draw him into his service. Among other favours, he sent him a safe-conduct, by which he was permitted to come into any sea-port belonging to his dominions; but *Strozzi*, still unwilling to engage against *France*,
- b delayed his answer, under pretence that he could not come to any resolution till he had consulted the grand master ^k.

STROZZI, by this time, had been so successful in his cruising, that he sent to the image of ^{Sends a noble} our lady of *Philermo* at *Maltha*, a magnificent present of a church-ornament, on which he ^{present to the} caused these words to be embroidered, *He came to his own, and his own received him not*, ^{church of Phi-} *John i. 11.* The officer, who carried it thither, was ordered at the same time to acquaint ^{lermo-} his friends there with his good fortune, and to inform himself how the rest stood affected towards him. As soon as the grand master was apprised of his design, he declared once more, that, if he offered to return, he should be sure to meet with the same reception he had found before; his main view in it being to oblige him the more readily to engage in the emperor's service, which he knew would be laying a great obligation on that monarch, by whose directions he regulated all his measures. Some of his friends, however, took care to inform ^{Invited by his} him, that, if he thought fit to come, he would find a party strong enough in the council ^{friends, lands} against the grand master: upon which he immediately sailed for the haven, and, landing ^{at Maltha.} from his long-boat, marched directly to the palace, attended by a great number of the most considerable knights of the order. *D'Omedes* was not a little surprised at his unexpected appearance, and much more at his being accosted by him in words to this effect: "Sir, being informed by very good hands, that the *Turks* threaten our island with a second invasion, and are making vast preparations for it, I am now come, according to my duty, to offer my services, and to join with the rest of my brethren." For, besides that it disconcerted

d all his views of obliging the emperor, he had great reason to fear lest the residence of a man of his credit and character among them, should contribute still more to the misunderstanding which his avarice and arbitrary proceedings had occasioned between the council and him. However, having recovered himself a little, he not only gave him an obliging reception, but begged of him, that, as soon as he had rested himself a while from his fatigue, he would take a turn round the island, and make his observations of every thing that was wanting to put it in a state of defence.

He quickly acquitted himself of his commission, and laid before the council a plan, which, ^{Raises several} if it could have been executed, would have rendered it almost impregnable; but as the ^{forts in it,} treasury of the order was found by far too much exhausted to supply so vast an expence, they

e contented themselves with adding some new fortifications in several parts, particularly a new castle on the extremity of the mount *Scerberas*, some bastions and out-works to the borough on that side which was opposite to the castle, where it lay most exposed, and a new fort on mount *St. Julian*, together with some other necessary outworks. Workmen and materials were sent for from *Sicily* with all expedition; and *Strozzi*, who presided over the building of the new castle, since called *Fort St. Elmo*, in memory of that of *Rhodes*, used such diligence in it, that it was finished in less than six months. That on mount *St. Julian*, since called *Fort St. Michael*, was completed in much the same time by the commander *Lustic*, since then grand master of the order; and the outworks of the borough by the grand bailiff of *Germany*. Such life did that noble knight give to every man, and every thing, which, in all probability,

f would have been stagnated or overlooked without him, through the avarice and indolence of the grand master, that every one helped the work forward, not only with their assistance, but with their private purses, the knights selling even their plate and rich furniture, and those who had nothing else, parted even with their gold chains, the only ornament they have to distinguish themselves in time of war, to contribute what they could to the public safety. This warm zeal communicated itself even among the inhabitants of the island, who readily joined in these efforts with the majority of the order; so that *Maltha* wanted now nothing more for its safety than to see *Strozzi* grand master of it ¹.

ONE may easily imagine how mortifying these things were to *D'Omedes*, who left no means ^{D'Omedes} untried to persuade this new rival to engage himself in the emperor's service; but finding him ^{grows jealous} of him.

^k *Memoires de BRANTOME*, tom. ii. BAUDOIN, ubi supra. VERTOT, ubi sup. p. 296, & seq. ¹ BAUDOIN, l. xiv. c. 5. VERTOT, ubi sup. p. 309, & seq.

more and more averse and determined against it, he thought it high time to contrive some stratagem to remove him out of the island, with his own consent. He accordingly communicated to him a project, which he had long ago premeditated, of seizing the fortress of *Zoara*, on the coast of *Barbary*, and in the province of *Tripoli*; the commodiousness of which port drew such a concourse of merchant-men, that it was become exceedingly rich; and, being but poorly fortified, he told him, might be easily surpris'd, by the help of a forest of palm-trees, which extended themselves almost to the very walls. *Strozzi* readily came into the project, and offered himself to conduct the whole enterprize. A small squadron of gallies, and other vessels, was forthwith equipped, and about 1200 soldiers put on board; amongst whom were near 300 of the bravest knights of the order, all emulous to signalize themselves under such an expert commander.

*Strozzi lands
near Zoara.*

THE fleet set sail on the 6th of *August*; but, through the mistake of the pilot, landed much higher than they designed, and were thereby obliged to march several leagues through sandy grounds and groves of palm-trees, during the dead of the night. They were divided into three bodies, each commanded by some of the most experienced officers of the order. In their way they observed some fires at a distance, which they supposed to be some hords of wandering *Arabs*, who were now taking their rest; but forbore attacking them, for fear of alarming the town they were going to surpris'e. Upon their arrival at *Zoara* they found all things in a profound quiet, and the gates open and without guard; and penetrated, as *Strozzi* ordered them, into the very center of the town, without the least opposition, and there collected themselves into one body, and set themselves in battle-array. Their drums and clattering noise soon awoke the inhabitants, whilst the greedy soldiers broke into their houses, seized on what plunder came first to hand, and brought away men, women, and children, bound, to the place of arms, to the number of about 1500; when the commander *de la Kalletta*, who had the charge of conducting them on shipboard, was accosted by a *Moor*, who had formerly served under him, "Do you know, Sir," said he softly to him, "that you are going to be surrounded, and cut in pieces, by those whom you took to be wandering *Arabs*? They are a body of four thousand *Turks*, all expert marksmen, whom *Morat Aga*, governor of *Tripoli*, was sending to the island of *Gelva*, but whom the night had obliged to encamp where you saw them; but being now informed by some of the fugitive *Zoarans* of your having surpris'd the city, are in full march against you?"

*Is surpris'd by
the Turks.*

THE commander having rewarded the faithful *Moor*, went immediately to inform *Strozzi* with the news, who caused a retreat to be forthwith sounded, but which could not be heard through the reigning noise and confusion by the straggling soldiers. *Morat*, who rightly judged that this would be their case, hastened his army to the place, and fell upon them before they were half rallied, with incredible fury. The contest was most bloody and obstinate on both sides, but especially on that of the *Maltese*, who were indifferently dispersed in platoons in several parts of the town, where chance had thrown them; and fought without any order, for want of proper commanders. Many of the knights defended themselves to the last, and died with their swords in their hands; whilst others, being quite exhausted with fighting, fell down among the dead, and were made prisoners. *Strozzi* being informed that his young nephew was slain, returned, at the head of a numerous troop whom he was leading to the sea-side, and renewed the fight with greater fury, and forced the *Turkish* horse to retreat; but they, returning in good order, made a furious discharge of their small-arms among them, which killed a great number of his men, wounded him in the thigh, and would have quickly dispatched him, had not his knights surrounded him on all sides, and stood like a rampart about him, till a tall stout *Majorcan* had taken him in his arms, and carried him from the field into the center of his battalion, and from thence, through volleys of the enemy's fire, and through mud and water up to the girdle, from the sea-side into his ship.

*The standard
of the order
defended with
great bravery.*

THEIR next care was how to save their grand standard, in which they shewed no less valour and intrepidity. The knights formed themselves into a fresh rampart about its bearer, and kept still moving on in spite of the enemy's fire, till they reached a hard rock on the sea-shore, where was a defile, whence they could see the small vessels that waited for them, but, by reason of the low water, could come no nearer to them. Here they stood some time to breathe, and consult how to gain their ships with the least danger. They agreed to stand firm, and defend the pass, till all the soldiery, especially the wounded, were got into the long-boats. The *Turkish* aga, in a rage to see so many captives escape them, tried in vain to dislodge them from their post, one while by making his horse dismount, and with their scymitars attempt to cut down the pikes which the knights pointed towards them; at another time by making them remount, and annoy them with their small arms. At length the commander *Cassiere*, who had the care of the standard of the order, moved forwards into the sea, followed by the rest of the knights, wading through it with the water up to their middle, and, in spite of the fire of the *Turkish* musketry, gained the long-boats, and were safely received into

a into their galleys, with joyful acclamations, whilst some of their brethren, who had stood firm to facilitate the standard-bearer's retreat, were destroyed by the enemy's continual fire.

Thus ended that unfortunate enterprize, in which the order lost a great number of their best commanders, and a much greater of their forces. On their arrival at *Malta*, their brave commander *Strozzi* was forced to be carried on a plank from his vessel to his palace, attended by the shattered remains of his knights, the greatest part of whom were in almost as bad a condition as he, though all their mouths were full of encomiums on his extraordinary bravery, conduct, and intrepidity. *D'Omedes* was perhaps the only one in the whole island who secretly rejoiced at his late disaster, and thought him worthy of much better success; and b it is not improbable that his strange behaviour towards him on this occasion, was one of the chief motives that induced him to put again to sea before his wounds were half healed, and to spend the remainder of the summer in cruising along the *Mediterranean*, as far as the mouth of the *Nile*; in which expedition he succeeded so well, that he not only became the terror of the *Turkish* and *Barbary* corsairs, but likewise of the merchantmen, whole fleets of which he took upon those seas, and brought them to *Malta*, with all their rich cargoes; with which, as well as the number of slaves he made out of both, he restored plenty and opulence to the whole island.

MUCH about the same time the news came of the succession of queen *Mary* to the *English* throne, accompanied with loud encomiums on her for her extraordinary zeal against the protestant religion, and her noble resolution to restore to the church all the lands which her father had taken from it; which filled the whole order with an universal, though short-lived joy. *D'Omedes* lived only to share in the first rejoicings that were made on that occasion, and died in the beginning of *September* following, in the 80th year of his age, and the 17th of his grand mastership. The great care he shewed during the whole time to enrich his own family, to the prejudice of the public treasury, together with the disposition he made of his own effects, so incensed the greatest part of the council, that some of them proposed turning over the expences of his funeral obsequies to his executors; which, however, was rejected, as a disgrace to the order, and he was accordingly interred, with the usual solemnity, at the public charge.

d WHEN the chapter was convened for the choice of a successor, *Strozzi*, who had so well deserved of the order, had the good wishes of the greatest part of the council, and afterwards of the electors; till *Gagnon*, the great conservator of the order, and one of the elective number, came to give his opinion; who told the rest, that "the interest of the order, at this present time, did not so much require a person of known bravery and conduct, such as the grand prior of *Capua* undoubtedly was, as one who was absolutely free from the spirit of party, which they all too well knew he was not. You are all sensible how far his zeal for the liberty of *Florence* carries him against the house of *Medicis*; should he once be chosen head of this order, and have our galleys and naval force at his disposal, what security can you have that he will not, on some pretence or other, turn his arms against that family, e and bring us under the resentment of the emperor, who is the protector and founder of that house? Will not *Cosmo* himself, who is at the head of it, try to raise all the enemies he can, both among the Christians, and even among the *Turks*? and if we should be besieged by the latter, what succours could we hope for from the emperor, or any of the powers of *Italy*?" This speech was thought so just and disinterested by the rest of the electors, that those, who had already declared for *Strozzi*, readily gave up the point; and the choice was quickly after declared in favour of *Claudius de la Sengle*, of the *French* tongue, then grand hospitaller of the order, and their ambassador at the court of *Rome*, where his election was, by the pope's express order to the governor of the castle of *St. Angelo*, published by the fire of its whole artillery. Upon his waiting upon the pontif to pay him the usual homage, he had the honour to dine with him, and was dismissed with all the marks of his esteem. The viceroy of *Sicily*, having sometime after invited him to *Messina*, where the *Maltese* galleys, under the command of the grand prior *Strozzi*, were to convey him to *Malta*, sent an express to the emperor, to know in what manner he should receive him; and was answered, that he should not fear shewing too much honour to the head of an order which was the bulwark of his *Italian* dominions".

f He was accordingly received with all the marks of esteem by the viceroy, and by the emperor's envoy *Acugna*, who was sent thither by that politic monarch, under pretence, indeed, of congratulating him on his election, but in reality to treat with him on a more important subject; which plainly shewed, however, that the great respect which was paid to him was rather political than sincere. Accordingly, at the audience he had, he proposed to g

The grand master dies. 1553.

47. Claudius de la Sengle.

The emperor
offers the town
of Africa to
the order.

the grand master, in the emperor's name, the removal of the order to the city of *Africa*, a lately taken by his forces, which would recompense the loss of *Tripoli*. In consideration of which, added the envoy, and of the expence that such a removal must be attended with, his imperial majesty, who makes no difference between the interest of the order and his own, will engage to pay a perpetual pension of 72,000 livres *per annum*, out of his *Sicilian* revenues. The grand master easily saw through the drift of that proposal; nevertheless, after the usual formality of thanks, he excused himself from engaging further in it without the participation of the council; adding, that if he pleased to accompany him to *Malta*, he should be admitted to all the consultations held about it, and be able to judge of the sincere desire he had of obliging the emperor. The envoy readily accepted the invitation, and embarked with him in the *Maltese* Squadron, which arrived safe at the island the first day b of the new year.

1554. THE ceremonies of his instalment were no sooner over, than a general council was called; in which *Acugna* was seated next to the grand master, who, after the first compliments were over, desired him to open the contents of his commission; which he readily did. Upon which it was unanimously resolved, that eight of their antient commanders should be sent to take a full survey of the strength and situation of the place.

Eight deputies
sent to survey
Africa.

THESE, upon their return, made a favourable report of it, so far as related to the condition and fortifications of the city; but objected, that, "being built upon a peninsula, jutting out into the sea, it had no convenient haven to shelter the ships; and that the spacious champaign that surrounded it on the other three sides, being inhabited by *Moors* and *Arabs*, who would not brook to have the order fixed in their neighbourhood, it would cost immense sums yearly to maintain a sufficient force to oppose the continual inroads those infidels would make to its very gates." To all this they added, that, "in case it should at any time be besieged, its great distance from *Europe* would prevent its receiving any succours speedily enough from thence; and that, in such case, they must be obliged to abandon their sea-exploits, and the defence of Christian commerce, to the prejudice of Christendom, and carry their arms into remote parts of *Terra Firma*, in order to keep their neighbours within their boundaries, contrary to the spirit of their order, and the known practice of all their predecessors, even when they were much more powerful and opulent than they now were." d

The council de-
termines to stay
at Malta.

A REPORT like this, made by eight of the most experienced commanders, easily determined the council to stay in the old settlement. Upon which they sent two of their chief members on an embassy of thanks to the emperor, and to apprise him of the motives which obliged them to decline his kind proposal. At the same time, to appease the viceroy of *Sicily*'s resentment, who threatened to withdraw his usual supply of corn from them, being informed that the *Turkish* corsairs swarmed upon his coasts, and had appeared before *Palermo*, they dispatched five of their gallies, under the command of *Strozzi*, against them. *Strozzi* made the greater speed to go in quest of them, not only as the sea was become, in some measure, his element, but because he perceived himself to be suspected to have had a hand in the death of the grand conservator *Gagnon*, and two other knights of distinction, who had been poisoned by his chief servants and confidants, soon after they had opposed his election. Upon his arrival at *Palermo*, he received a letter from his elder brother, *Peter Strozzi*, acquainting him, that the *French* king had given him the command of his land-forces in *Italy*, and invited him to take that of his gallies, and to act in constant concert with him. Whatever his resentment might be against the *French* monarch, his affairs at this time easily determined him to sacrifice it to his inveterate enmity against the house of *Medicis*. The difficulty was in the withdrawing himself and fleet out of *Palermo*, without giving some umbrage to the viceroy, who had been ordered by the emperor to keep a watchful eye over him, and, upon the least appearance of his holding a correspondence with his brother, to cause him to be arrested.

Strozzi amuses
the viceroy of
Sicily.

To remove as much as possible all suspicion from the viceroy, he entertained him with a long detail of the ill returns he had received from the *French* court, and of some projects which he had formed to be revenged on that ungrateful and perfidious nation; and acted his part so well, that the viceroy, who wanted to engage him in the emperor's service, instead of suspecting, began to think himself sure of him. They were at dinner together, when a gentleman of *Strozzi*'s retinue came and told him, that he had been just taking an airing at sea, and had observed three *Turkish* corsairs in a neighbouring creek, which might be easily surprised, with a little good dispatch. *Strozzi* immediately rose up, and, with a pleasing smile, told the viceroy, that "he would bring a good account of them to him before he was risen from table;" and, making all the speed he could, soon gained his gallies, which were all armed, and ready for sailing, according to the directions he had before given to the g

- a gentleman above-mentioned (for this was a concerted stratagem): so that he immediately sailed away unsuspected; and when he was gone far enough out of sight, he made directly for the island of *Malta*. At his arrival, he resigned his command of the galleys, in which he was succeeded by the commander *De la Valetta*; but insisted, that two vessels, being his own property, and a third his brother's, he would go a cruising on his own bottom; in which he was accompanied by a great number of young volunteers. We shall follow him no farther in his other expeditions, having no more relation to the *Maltese* order; but only observe to our curious readers, that being sailed for *Tuscany*, and going to reconnoitre the place which he designed to lay siege to, he was known by a peasant who lay hid amongst the reeds, and who immediately shot him in the side, whence he was carried to his galley, and died of the wound on the next day ^p. This was the sad catastrophe of that brave commander, who might have been an honour and pillar to the order, had not his inveteracy against the house of *Medicis* misled him into unjustifiable measures.

LA VALETTA, his successor in the command of the galleys, proved no less diligent and successful against the *Turks*, whom he quite drove from the coasts of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and whose example induced several of the wealthiest commanders to equip vessels at their own charge, by which they kept these seas almost clear of that destructive vermin. Their number and success quickly alarmed the states of *Barbary*, who, as we have formerly seen, lived chiefly by the piratical trade.

- THESE, and the merchants who traded towards *Constantinople*, and other parts of the *Turkish* empire, and often fell likewise into the hands of the *Maltese*, went and made such loud complaints at the *Porte* against them, that the sultan promised to drive them out of that island, as he had already done out of *Rhodes*; but tho' he was at this time so taken up elsewhere, that the order was in no present danger from this quarter, yet that did not hinder the new grand master's making all proper preparations against him, by adding new fortifications, and filling his magazines with corn and other provisions, and the arsenals with all warlike stores, against a siege; whilst his admiral, and other commanders, were still bringing in variety of prizes. We are even told, that the former ventured as far as the mouth of the river *Nile*, whence he brought three large vessels laden with corn for *Constantinople*.

- THUS far every thing went successfully on, when this tranquility was all at once disturbed by an unexpected calamity, no less dreadful and destructive than it was violent and short-lived. This was a sudden hurricane, which happened on the 23d of *September*, in the afternoon, which blew with such fury, that, in the space of one half-hour it lasted, it threw the sea into such convulsions, that it shattered most of the ships in pieces one against another, overturned four of their galleys, with all their crews, and left them with their keels upwards, by which most of the officers, sailors, and slaves, were drowned, or crushed to death. The houses near the haven were all blown down, and the castle of *St. Angelo* very much damaged by the violence of the different whirlwinds, which seemed engaged against one another; inso-much that the tree, on which the standard of the order was fixed, was lifted up and carried away near a mile from its place. The vast swelling of the sea, joined to the rains that poured down in constant streams, seemed to threaten the whole island with utter destruction, and would most certainly have been attended with great disasters, had it continued much longer.

- THE calm that succeeded within half an hour after was hardly less terrible to the sight, by the number of shipwrecks and fragments, and dead bodies, that covered the surface of the waves, and the number of houses that were laid in ruins in that short time, and much more so by the night which intervened, and prevented, in a great measure, that speedy succour which might otherwise have been given to those who were still exposed to the greatest danger, both on the water and on the land, and more particularly to those who were in the four overturned galleys above-mentioned; so that the grand master, and the other members of the convent, who were come to give the best orders they could to the assistants, were obliged to stay till the next daylight before they could set them afloat. As soon as that appeared, they made towards them, and caused some of the planks to be pulled up; upon which a monkey started out. They took up as many of the men as they could come at; among whom was the famous *Romegas*, a knight of the tongue of *Provence*, of whom we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the sequel, and some others, who had remained all night with the water up to their chins. The same assistance was given to the other galleys, some of which were, after great labour and difficulty, set on float, and others, particularly the carack, were quite shattered, and rendered unfit for further service. Some of the men were taken up half-dead, and many more really drowned or stifled for want of air. The loss of both men and vessels was very considerable. The grand master, to shew a good example, caused a new galley to be built at *Messina*, which the pope was so generous as to furnish with a proper number of his

^p BAUD. ubi sup. c. 7, & seq. VERTOT, ubi sup.

own slaves, which were fetched out of several of his gaols, to row it to *Malta*. The rest of his wealthiest commanders did the same at their own expences, as did also some *European* princes; so that this great loss was repaired in a very little time.

Dragut
driven out of
the island
with great
loss.

BUT in the mean while *Dragut*, their implacable enemy, having been informed of this great disaster, had gathered up what corsairs he could, and took that opportunity of making a descent upon the island with seven gallies. He ravaged the whole country, and made a great number of the inhabitants prisoners; but before he could regain his ships, he was so fiercely attacked by the commander *Lastic*, grand marshal of the order, at the head of 300 knights, that he was obliged to retreat with the utmost speed, with the loss of a great number of his men, and of all his plunder. The grand prior of *France* sailed immediately in pursuit of him, and, not being able to overtake him, went and wreaked his resentment on the coasts of *Barbary*, and returned with several considerable prizes from thence; so that the order, in a little time, recovered its pristine superiority at sea, by the successes and valour of its commanders. On the other hand, *Dragut*, and the rest of the *Barbary* corsairs, were not wanting in their resentments; and tho' they shunned meeting the *Maltese* gallies at open sea, yet they would now-and-then come and burn some of them in the dead of night in their very harbours¹.

New troubles.

Soon after they had recovered their loss by the hurricane lately mentioned, another disaster happened, which caused no small uneasiness and animosity in the convent, besides exposing the order to the resentment of the most powerful princes in *Europe*. We have already hinted, that *Strozzi*, after he had laid down his commission of admiral of the gallies, had obtained some of them as belonging to him and his brother; and that this last accordingly challenged and kept them as his own, after his brother's death, tho' one only belonged to him. These he was obliged to join with some *French* ones, then riding at *Civita Vecchia*; because, being commander of the *French* forces in *Italy*, he could not take the care of them. The ships were then under the command of *Sforza*, grand prior of *Lombardy*, brother to the cardinal of that name, grand *Camerlingo* to the holy see. *Sforza*, soon after quitting the service of *France* for that of *Spain*, in concert with his brother, carried off two of the *French* gallies, whilst a *Piedmontese*, named *Moretto*, did the same by two of *Strozzi's*, which he carried to the port of *Villa Franca*, belonging to the duke of *Savoy*. This treachery occasioned a furious contest between the pope, the emperor, the *French* king, and the duke of *Savoy*; which, being foreign to this part of our history, we shall refer our readers to the account which will be given of it in the succeeding part of this work. The grand master was not only blamed for the share he had in it, by each of the powers concerned in the affair, according to the several views and interests they had in it, but likewise by the members of the convent, in which each tongue took the part of its own nation with such warmth, as must have proved of dangerous consequence, had not the matter been timely compromised.

The grand
master dies of
grief.

BUT tho' the whole matter had been determined with the greatest prudence and equity, it by no means allayed the dissensions and heart-burnings between the different tongues. The bitter reflections which they continually threw out against each other, and, in many cases, glanced upon the grand master himself, if not chiefly aimed at him, sensibly affected him. The ill offices and exactions of the viceroy of *Sicily* on the corn which was brought from that island, contrary to the old treaty with the emperor, were interpreted as the effects of that monarch's resentment against him. These and other grating things which occurred, made so deep an impression on his mind, that he might be more properly said to have languished out, than lived, the short remainder of his days. He died on the 18th of *August* 1557, in the 4th year of his grand mastership, leaving behind him, besides the considerable sums he had spent in the fortifications of the island, above 60,000 crowns in his own coffers, to the public treasury of the order. In gratitude for which generosity, the chapter, which had given him leave to frequent it at his discretion, ordered 12,000 livres out of it to be presented to his niece, as an addition to her dowry, and another sum was ordered to be laid out in some splendid ornaments for the church, on which his name and coat of arms were richly embroidered². Before his death, he caused a farther inquiry to be made into the process intended against the commander *Valier*, late governor of *Tripoli*, who had been till then detained in prison, and ordered him to be set at liberty; but whether his fear of disobliging the party of the late *D'Omedes*, who had prosecuted him with so much rancour, or any other private motive, intimidated him, he did not venture to extend his generosity farther than that; so that this brave officer, who would have been in all probability raised to the grand mastership, had he commanded any-where but in *Tripoli*, was still forced, after a cruel imprisonment of some years, to live a poor obscure life, suitable to his disgrace, and was not restored to his pristine dignities till the beginning of his successor's government.

¹ Auct. sup. citat.

² BAUDOUIN, l. 15. VERTOT, l. iv. l. xi. p. 379, & seq.

- a HE was succeeded by the famed commander *John de la Valetta*, surnamed *Parisot*, of the tongue of *Provence*, a person of great valour and experience, who had regularly passed thro' all the other dignities of the order, and who, soon after his election, recovered a great number of responsions and other revenues, which had been detained or suppressed, both in *Germany* and *Venice*. The former had been alienated during the troubles which the *Hussites* had raised in most of the northern countries; and the latter, under pretence that most of theirs were employed in defence of Christianity against the *Turks*. His next care was, after a fresh examination of *Valier's* cause, to do justice to his innocence and merit, by declaring all his former accusations false and unjust, and bestowing upon him the rich bailiwick of *Lango*. By this time the new viceroy of *Sicily*, desirous of signalizing his government by some remarkable service, had laid a project for wrenching the city of *Tripoli* out of *Dragut's* hands, who commanded in chief in it, and had caused the fortifications both of the city and castle to be augmented with fresh out-works, in order not only to make it his place of arms, from whence he sent his corsairs on their usual excursions against *Malta*, *Naples*, and *Sicily*, but also a safe receptacle for all the piratical crews of *Algiers*, *Tunis*, &c. The grand master was easily induced to join in the enterprize, which no less concerned the island of *Malta* than it did the *Spanish* dominions in *Italy*; tho' he was at the same time apprised from several hands, particularly by the commander *Romegas*, of the vast preparations that were making at the *Porte* to make a fresh descent upon the island: but as he knew also that they would take some time longer before they could be ready to sail, he rightly enough judged, that, if the expedition against *Tripoli* was carried on with due diligence, the place might be carried before the *Turkish* fleet could come to its assistance; after which the imperial forces might assist him in the defence of *Malta*, in case it should be attacked by the *Turks*. With this view he sent the commander *Guariman* into *Sicily*, to hasten the armament, which was ordered to rendezvous at *Malta*, under the command of *John de Lacerta*, duke of *Medina-Celi*, the then viceroy of that island, and the admiral *Doria*, in conjunction with him.

Joins in the
enterprize
against Tri-
poli.

- THE misfortune was, that the two former proved so dilatory in their preparations, that the grand master began to think the season too far advanced for such an expedition, and advised them by his letters to put it off till the next spring: but the young viceroy, afraid lest *Philip II.* who was no great warrior, should alter his mind, and deprive him of the glory he promised himself by it, would listen to no delay, and, in spite of the rigor of the season, sailed for *Malta*, and arrived there about the middle of *December 1559*. He was highly pleased at the honours with which the whole order received him, and much more so at the vast preparations of the grand master, and the numerous appearance of so many brave knights that were to accompany him, and who were all men of valour and intrepidity, and not a few of them old experienced commanders; but tho' expressly ordered by the king his master to be directed wholly by *La Valetta*, yet he could not be brought to consent to any farther delay than the coming of the remainder of the armament from *Naples* and *Milan*, which being at length arrived about the beginning of *February*, they immediately set about a plan for the operations of the campaign. The grand master, who was perfectly well acquainted with all the fortifications which *Dragut* had caused to be made to the place, and the numerous garrison and plenty of ammunition he had put into it, thought himself obliged to lay an account of all before the council of war, who appeared not a little surprized at it, it being what till then they hardly dreamed of. The young *Lacerta*, a better courtier than warrior, appeared so disconcerted at it, that, to avoid exposing himself to so dangerous an enterprize, he immediately proposed making their first descent on the small island of *Gerba*, which had no other fortifications but an old castle, and was defended only by a few *Arabs*. This the grand master rejected, upon several accounts; and finding him still deaf to all his reasonings, whilst the rest of the council seemed inclined to his opinion, he plainly told him, that he might go and employ his forces where he pleased; but that since *Tripoli* was the place to which his master had sent him, he would not suffer one of his *Maltese* gallies to accompany him on any other expedition but that. This he spoke in so steady a tone, that *Lacerta* found himself obliged to yield; and, after having given him the most solemn assurances that he would not go upon any other attempt but that, and having received from him an addition of 200 pioneers, to assist him at the siege, the fleet set sail directly towards *Tripoli* on the 10th of *February*. How the viceroy performed his promise, the ill success, loss, and disgrace, he met with in his attempt on the island of *Gerba*, which put an end to this expedition, we have else-where seen, and need not be repeated here; only, with respect to the order, we must observe, that being obliged, by their post of honour, to be always foremost in every attack, and the last in giving way, their loss was the most considerable, through the cowardice of the *Sicilian* general, by whom they were most shamefully abandoned more than once in the greatest danger.

The ill success
of that expe-
dition.

A new military order founded in Tuscany.

It was much about the same time, that *Cosmo*, duke of *Tuscany*, instituted his new military order of knights of *St. Stephen*, after the model of that of *Malta*, excepting that he exempted his own from the vows of celibacy, poverty, &c. and obliged them in all other things to conform to those of *Malta*; and, whenever they met with any of their gallies at sea, to join themselves to them, and act in concert with them. Four gallies of this new order, commanded by *Baccio Martelli*, having met with seven *Maltese* ones near the *Cape de Lupo*, commanded by *Gonzago*, admiral of *Malta*, gave them the first salute, and put themselves under the admiral's command. These eleven gallies began to scour the sea with such success, that they took a vast number of *Barbary* and other *Turkish* corsairs, recovered several Christian vessels that had been taken by them, and, at the end of their cruize, before they parted, those of *St. Stephen* went and paid their respects to the grand master, from whom they met with a gracious reception. The joint success they had, within the space of about two months, soon induced *Valetta* to cause two larger gallies more to be built at his own charge; and his example was quickly followed by several wealthy commanders; by which means the order, in a little time, made up the great loss they had sustained at the isle of *Gerba*, and became more powerful at sea than it had ever been since its foundation, not only by the number of their ships, but much more by the valour and experience of their commanders, most of whom were fit to command a whole fleet.

The brave exploits of Romegas.

We have had occasion to mention the famed *Romegas*, a person of a stern and undaunted disposition, who spent the greatest part of his life at sea, and suffered neither officers nor soldiers to belong to him, but such who were of the same martial and intrepid courage with himself. This commander meeting on the coasts of *Sicily* a galley belonging to a *Calabrian* renegado, named *Izuph Concini*, who was known to be one of the bloodiest tyrants of the Christian slaves, attacked him with such fury, that though he met with a desperate defence, yet he boarded him with some of his bravest knights, sword in hand, two of whom were killed at his side by that renegado, who had then in his vessel 250 soldiers, besides 200 Christian slaves at the oar. But these last, seeing *Romegas* master of the ship, one of them gave him a stroke over the head, which threw him down. The rest immediately fell upon him with the fury of bull-dogs, and tore his flesh with their teeth, from one bench to another; so that he had hardly any left by that time he was got to the last. *Romegas* gave them their liberty, and clapped the *Turkish* prisoners to the oar, and brought the galliot in triumph to *Malta*. Many such noble exploits did this brave commander perform, which we have no room to insert, by which he became the terror of all the *Turkish* corsairs.

The grand master invited to the council of Trent.

Not long after this, the pope having summoned the council of *Trent*, the grand master was invited to be present at it; but he contented himself with sending two ambassadors thither; viz. the famed *Villegagnon*, formerly mentioned, and *Royal de Portal Rouge*. The former of these being prevented by sickness and old age from assisting at it, the latter only repaired to that assembly, but met with some difficulty about settling the place and rank he was to hold in it; some of the members objecting against an ambassador from the head of a lay-fraternity taking place of bishops amongst the ambassadors of crowned heads. The contest was, however, compromised, to the satisfaction of all parties; after which, he addressed himself to the assembly in words to this effect: "That if the grand master was not there present, or had not sent him sooner as his ambassador to them, it was owing to the vast number of corsairs which infested the *Maltese* chanel, and to an apprehension the order was in of being quickly visited by the *Turkish* fleet, which had been long equipping for conquering that island: That if the order was not now in a condition to make head against so powerful a force, or to perform such glorious exploits against the enemies of Christendom, as they had formerly done" (some of the most considerable of which he enumerated), "it was owing to their being deprived of many of their best priories and revenues, not only by those princes who had embraced the reformation, but likewise by others who still adhered to the church, who had, in this respect, openly invaded the rights and privileges of it." He concluded with praying the holy synod to consider the vast and constant services they had done to Christianity ever since their foundation, and to put them once more in a condition of still doing so, by decreeing a restitution of their antient rights and revenues, and by procuring a confirmation of their decree from every catholic crowned head."

His ambassador's speech there.

Answer to him.

THE president having, in the name of the assembly, given him a general promise, answerable to his request, he presented each of the members with a memorial, in which were mentioned the several privileges of the order with relation to the priories and commanderies belonging to it, and in it a further petition, that "their decree might exclude all persons of whatsoever quality from enjoying them, who had not taken upon them the three vows of the order." But this was too delicate a point for the pope's creatures to meddle with with-

* BAUDOUIN, ubi supra, l. xv. c. ult. xvi. c. 1. VERTOT, ubi supra, p. 417, & seq.

a out his participation ; and it is more than probable that some of them apprised him of it time enough for him to put a stop to it ; for he let them know soon after, that the matter of the ambassador's request belonged solely to him ; and that he would himself take proper care of the rights and privileges of that order. This prevented the council's farther proceedings about it ; and *Pius IV.* we are told ^e, soon forgot his promise, and the services which they had done to religion, particularly to *Italy, Sicily*, and other parts, in freeing them from the incursions and ravages of the *Turkish* and *Barbary* corsairs. This did not hinder other *European* powers from granting several considerable privileges to the order, particularly *Charles IX.* king of *France*, duke of *Savoy* ^f, &c.

b THE *Spaniards*, in the same year, having made a fruitless attempt on the sea-port of *Gomer* ^{The Maltese} *de Velez*, situated on the *Barbary* coast, and not above forty leagues distant from that of *Spain*, resolved to make a fresh one on the next, in which they invited the grand master, ^{assist the Spaniards.} among other Christian powers, to assist them, which was readily complied with by *La Valetta*, ^{1564.} who furnished them with some of his best gallies and commanders, as well as with a considerable number of knights, who greatly assisted *Don Garcia*, who commanded in that expedition, in the taking both that town and *Pennon de Velez*; the latter of which proved a place of great importance to the *Spaniards* for some considerable time, as we have elsewhere shewn. The loss of which place, which used to be a sure refuge to all the *Barbary* corsairs, who were here secure from pursuit by the cannon of the fortrefs, greatly alarmed the whole piratic crew. *Dragut*, their old and stedfast friend, soon ordered his agent to represent their case to the *Porte*, in such c pathetic terms, that *Soliman* gave him an absolute promise of such powerful assistance against the *Spaniards* and *Maltese*, that they would have no cause to be longer afraid of either. *Malta* was pitched upon to be the first scene of war, against which he caused a powerful fleet to be equipped, and all the other military preparations to be privately made against it ; but that which determined that monarch to declare his intentions more publicly, and to hasten his armament, was, a prize which seven *Maltese* gallies had made of two of his largest and richest galleons, which were laden with some of the richest merchandizes of the east.

FIVE of the *Maltese* gallies which belonged to the order were commanded by the admiral *Giou*, and the other two belonging to the grand master by *Romegas*, when they met with the ^{A rich galleon taken.} sultan's galleon between the isles of *Zante* and *Cephalonia*. This last carried 20 large cannon, d besides a great number of small ones, and was commanded by *Beiran Ougly*, a brave old captain, who had some of the best officers, and about 200 janissaries, all excellent marksmen, on board. Most of the favourite sultanas, and other great ladies in the seraglio, had a share in the lading of it : the vessel belonged to one of the chief eunuchs of it, who was the master of that monarch's pleasures. *Giou* fired a gun to bring her to ; but was answered by a loaden one from *Ougly*, who immediately hoisted up the flag of defiance. The two *Maltese* governors had wisely agreed to attack him by turns, so as to keep a constant fire against him ; but *Giou*, willing to carry off the greatest share of the glory, was rash enough to push his galley quite under the stern of the *Turk*, whence he saw himself immediately surrounded with wild-fire, and his men overwhelmed with volleys of large stones, which obliged him to draw off with e speed, and with the loss of a great number of his men. *Romegas* advanced next with his two gallies, and with his usual intrepidity, but received a shot which overthrew his wale, and killed 20 of his men. A second, which immediately followed it, threw another score of them into the sea, and obliged him likewise to withdraw, to avoid being sunk by the fire of a large cannon which he saw levelled against him betwixt wind and water. They then agreed to attack the *Turk* in flank, by two on each side, and made such a terrible fire upon it as killed and disabled a great number of the janissaries, yet without any other advantage ; so that they found themselves obliged to call in the rest of their gallies to their assistance.

f THE onset was then renewed with most obstinate fury on both sides, and had lasted near five hours ; and the *Maltese* might in all likelihood have been obliged to sail away with a considerable loss, had the *Turks* been able to play all their artillery against them ; but the greatest part of it was unfortunately hemmed in by the quantity of bales which the merchants had crowded about it, so that a great part became useless through their greediness. By this misfortune the fire of the *Maltese* being much superior, they quickly became masters of the rich vessel, not without vast loss on both sides. The Christians had above sixscore men killed, among whom were a good number of their bravest knights. The *Turks* lost above eighty of their janissaries, some of their best officers, and, in particular, a most expert engineer at pointing their artillery, besides a much greater number of wounded.

THE news of this capture failed not of making great noise both at *Constantinople*, and much ^{Fresh complaints made to} more in the seraglio ; and though *Soliman*, who looked upon it as the highest affront against ^{Soliman.} his household, wanted no spur to his resentment, yet was he surrounded not only by those who

^e VERTOT, ubi supra, p. 425.

^f De his vide NABERAT. Summar. Privileg. in La Valette.

had a share in the loss, but by crowds of his own officers. Even the musti and his tribe came a and complained, that the *Maltese* galleys greatly obstructed the devotions of the faithful, and their pilgrimages to the prophet's tomb; and that their island swarmed with *Turkish* slaves, who groaned under a most cruel and shameful servitude. Even the head imam, or chief preacher, took the liberty to represent to him in his sermon, what a disgrace it was to so pious and valiant a prince as he to suffer so many myriads of his faithful subjects to groan under the chains of those sworn enemies of their prophet and his religion. This last scene was doubtless directed under-hand by the chief eunuch above-mentioned, who furnished the preacher with a particular list of all the prizes, which he gave him then a full, and perhaps a much exaggerated, account of, towards the close of his sermon, which he concluded with words to this effect: b
 "All these vessels, with their rich lading, their soldiers, and sailors, have been seized by those merciless corsairs. Thy invincible sword alone can break the chains of these unhappy wretches; the son demands his father, the wife her husband and children, of thee; and all of them expect from thy justice and powerful arm a speedy vengeance on these most cruel enemies." *Soliman* was not a little moved at the boldness of the preacher, and much more at the universal murmur which it raised among the audience, so contrary to the behaviour of the *Turks* in their mosques; and, to prevent its rising to a greater height, solemnly promised them, by his grand vizier, that they should all be revenged and satisfied in a little time; and retired, fully resolved, as soon as he was rid of his war in *Hungary*, to turn his whole force against the *Maltese* ^a.

Soliman promises to extirpate the order.

He accordingly held a general council in a neighbouring plain, where all his great officers c assisted on horseback, and in which the reduction of that island was unanimously agreed on, contrary to the advice of *Hali*, one of *Dragut's* most experienced captains, who was sent thither for that purpose, and who gave that monarch the most solid arguments against that enterprize; but which were all over-ruled by the rest of the diwan, and perhaps by the sultan's own ambition and resentment against the whole order. One of his first cares, therefore, was, to send some spies, in the disguise of fishermen, to take a full view of the island, who found means to bring him back an exact plan of it, with all its fortifications, havens, strength, and the number of its inhabitants, &c. whilst he was hastening his armaments against it. By this time, as there was hardly any reason to doubt of its being designed against this island, the viceroy of *Sicily*, *Don Garcia*, was ordered by his master to take it in his way to d the castle of *Goletta*, in order to consult with the grand master about the properest means of providing against the threatening storm; so that, whether it should fall on *Malta*, or on the *Pennon de Velez*, on the coasts of *Barbary*, or on any of the *Spanish* dominions in *Italy*, they might be enabled to assist each other. The grand master acquainting him, that in case his island should be attacked, he should want both men and corn, *Garcia* engaged to supply him with both upon his return to *Sicily*; in pledge of which he left one of his sons with him, who was afterwards admitted into the order. He was no sooner departed, than the grand master summoned all the knights of the order, dispersed through several parts of *Europe*, to e repair to him. Those that were in *Italy* raised a body of 2000 foot, to which the viceroy of *Sicily* added two companies of *Spanish* forces. All the galleys of the order were employed in transporting these troops, together with all manner of provisions and ammunition, into the island; and the knights that were in it, in distributing, disciplining, and exercising, their new levies, as well as the *Maltese* militia, against the siege.

La Valetta summons the whole order to Malta.

THE grand master saw himself by this time strengthened by the arrival of the above 600 knights; all of whom brought with them retinues of good stout servants, fit to assist in the defence of the island; whilst those, who, by reason of age, sickness, or other impediments, could not repair to him, divested themselves of their most precious effects, to assist him with their purses. The pope, on his part, contented himself with sending a good round sum of 10,000 crowns; and the king of *Spain* ordered his viceroy *Don Garcia* to raise an army of 20,000 men, to be ready to sail thither as soon as called for. The grand master, like a most f experienced commander, employed the remainder of his time and care in visiting all the forts, magazines, arsenals, &c. and assigning to each tongue their several posts, and making all proper preparations for an obstinate defence, till the *Othman* fleet appeared in sight of the island, on the 18th day of *May* 1565.

The Othman fleet appears.

It consisted of 159 large galleys and galleons, carrying on board 30,000 forces, janissaries and spahis, besides the slaves at the oar, accompanied by a considerable number of other vessels, laden with artillery, ammunition, and other necessaries for a siege. The whole armament was commanded by *Mustapha* basha, an old experienced officer, aged about 85 years, and an old favourite and confident of the sultan, of an haughty cruel temper, who made it a merit to violate his word, and to use all manner of cruelties against the *Cristians*, but more ef- g

^a BAUDOUIN, l. xvi. c. 3, 4, 5. VERTOT, t. iv. l. xii. p. 429, & seq. & 436, & seq.

- a pecially against the *Maltese*. The fleet cast anchor towards the evening in the bay of *Mugiarro*, alias *Porto del Mugiaro*; at the sight of which, the marshal *Copel*, at the head of 200 knights and 1000 foot, marched with speed to oppose their landing. The basha, by the help of a dark night, ordered 35 of his rear galleys, with 3000 men, to tack about, and land at the ladder-port, otherwise called the castle of *St. Thomas*; which they did without opposition. These, lying concealed among the rocks, had an opportunity of falling upon the patrolling detachments of the *Maltese*, as they actually did upon two of them, the one commanded by a *Portuguese* knight, who was killed on the spot by a shot from the enemy, and the other commanded by the brave chevalier *La Riviere*, who was taken prisoner as he flew to the other's assistance.
- b *RIVIERE* was immediately brought to the haughty basha, who questioned him concerning the number of their forces, the strength of their island, and the disposition of the grand master and his knights. To which he bravely answered, that there was not one of them who would not fight to the last drop of his blood in defence of his religion, and of an island which they esteemed as their own country: that the island was furnished with every thing necessary to sustain a siege, and would soon be as gallantly defended from without by a powerful fleet from *Europe*, as from within by the intrepid valour of his order and the forces they had to engage under them. The basha, looking upon his answer as a mere bravado, ordered him to be put to the torture; which he endured for a while with a surprising constancy; but at length, as if he had been overcome by the violence of it, he told him, in a different tone, that he would find the island impregnable on every side but that of the borough and post of *Castile*, which he said was indeed the least fortified of all; upon which *Mustapha*, who doubted not of the truth of it, resolved to make his attack on that side. In the mean time, the wind having veered that very night, the fleet removed to the bay of *Merfa Sirocco*, where they were to have landed at first, had the wind permitted them to do it. Here *Mustapha* caused two towers to be erected, one at each end of the entrance, to secure the artillery and ammunition they had landed, as well as the fleet from being surprised either by the *Maltese*, or by the *European* ships which they were told were in full sail for that island. The basha, however, still diffident, and resolved to take a view of the place himself, caused *Riviere* to be conducted after him in chains to an eminence called *Monte Calcura*, whence he had a full view of the island and all its fortifications, and bid him shew him the *Castilian* post which he had represented to him as the weakest; and finding it fortified with stout walls, bastions, and other bulwarks, the basha, in a passion, gave him such a blow with his cane as laid him quite flat on the ground, and ordered his retinue to dispatch him. *Riviere taken prisoner, and tortured.*
- c ALL this while the *Turks* who landed were spread over the island, and committed the most cruel ravages; whilst the *Maltese*, on their side, kept patrolling about, and had several bloody rencounters with them. These the grand master was obliged to suppress, because the loss of one man was greater to him than that of 100 to the enemy. At the same time, *Mustapha* having called a council of war, the admiral *Phiali* insisted upon waiting for the arrival of *Dragut*, before they undertook any thing, according to the sultan's express orders; but *Mustapha*, still fearing lest the *European* fleet, which *Riviere* had informed him of, should come and invest theirs in the *Merfa Sirocco*, resolved upon the immediate opening the trenches before the fort of *St. Elmo*, which he supposed might be carried in two days: a conquest that would facilitate the taking of that of *Merfa Musetto*, in whose more capacious and safe haven they might secure their whole fleet; after which they could pursue the siege of the other places with more safety. He had the greater reason to fear the surprise of his fleet in the *Merfa Sirocco*, as *Don Garcia*, viceroy of *Sicily*, had caused a rumour to be spread in the *Turkish* camp, that he would soon be there and attack them at the head of the king his master's fleet. *Fort St. Elmo besieged.*
- d THE difficulty was, in opening the trenches before the fort, which was built partly on the solid rock, and partly on a ground almost as hard; but the basha, who neither wanted pioneers, nor was sparing of their lives, quickly overcame it in part, and, where that could not be done, covered his men with an artificial rampart made of wood, gabions, and the like; so that he was able to raise a battery of 10 cannon that carried 80 lb. besides two culverins of 60, and a basilisk of a monstrous size, which threw stones of 160 lb. weight, and began to fire against the place by the 24th day of the month. These made such terrible havock in the place, that the commander was obliged to send for some farther assistance, whose messenger, named *Lacerta*, magnified the danger the fort was in, in such dismal terms, that the grand master thought himself obliged to give him a very severe reprimand: *You represent, said he to him, the castle to me, before all these commanders, as a body quite emaciated and exhausted for want of strong remedies; I myself will go and be its physician, and, if I cannot cure you of your fear, I will at least prevent the infidels taking the advantage of it.* This might look indeed as too severe a rebuke, considering the desperate situation the besieged were in from the continual fire of such a battery; but there was a necessity of concealing it, in order to prevent the rest from being discouraged,

discouraged, because the safety of the whole island depended upon the lengthening of the siege, to give Don *Garcia* time to send the promised assistance. Having therefore drawn up a sufficient reinforcement, he put himself at their head, resolving, as he said, to defend the place, or be buried under the ruins of it; but he was quickly surrounded with such a number of knights, who offered themselves to go in his stead, that he had nothing left to do but to make choice of such as he thought most proper for that arduous commission. a

New supplies
arrive.

THEY marched accordingly to the place with an undaunted bravery, and most of them lost their lives with the same intrepidity, and were still supplied with fresh ones, who came in droves from *England, Germany, France*, and other parts of *Europe*, with the most surprising diligence, to share in the same danger; many of whom, instead of waiting for the *Sicilian* fleet to convey them thither, ventured themselves in light barks, or what other vessels they could get, whose entrance into the port *Muzetto* the grand master facilitated by the constant fire he made upon the enemy. One of his balls having accidentally fallen upon one of the stones that covered their trenches, a splinter gave the *Turkish* admiral *Phiali* so desperate a wound, that he was taken up for dead; the news of which spread an universal dread through the army, and especially through the fleet. The grand master took advantage of their confusion to dispatch his nephew, with another commander, into *Sicily*, in order to hasten that armament, and settle a proper signal for their reception. He received soon after an express, with a promise from the viceroy, that the stipulated succour would be with him at farthest by the middle of *June*; so that he was forced to throw fresh troops into the castle, in order to spin out the time. b

A bloody fall
made on the
Turks.

IN the mean while the commander *Medran*, who had conducted the last reinforcement, made a lucky fall on the *Turks*, when they were least aware of him, under the continual fire of the artillery from the fort, which threw them into such confusion, that he cut a good number of them in pieces before they could rally themselves. This occasioned a bloody and obstinate contest on both sides: unfortunately for the besieged, the wind blew so full against them, that they were quite suffocated with the smoke of the enemy's fire, which forced them to retreat. The *Turks*, taking the advantage of it, pursued them through it unperceived, and by that means, placing themselves on their counterscarp, made a safe lodgment upon it, with their gabions, woolfacks, and timber, and quickly reared a battery, and fixed their standard upon it. They had such an advantage from thence over the besieged, that scarce any of them dared to raise his head above the ramparts, but he was immediately shot by the janissaries musquetry. Their situation was become at length so desperate, that the pusillanimous *Lacerta*, who had once before been so severely rebuked by the grand master, was now proposing the undermining and blowing up this new battery; which advice, however, was unanimously rejected with scorn, as proceeding rather from cowardice and despair than from any desire of saving the place. c

Uluckiali and
Dragut arrive.

WHILST this bloody contest was carrying on between the castle and the battery, the famous corsair *Uluckiali* arrived with six gallies and nine hundred men from *Alexandria*, and landed at the *Turkish* camp; and some days after the famed *Dragut*, with 13 galliots and 1600 more. This last was received with shouts, and the fire of the whole *Turkish* artillery. Upon his landing, he went to take a survey of the camp, and the principal fortresses of the island, and seemed surprised that *Mustapha* should have begun with the siege of that fort, instead of the castle of *Gosa*, and the *Notable City*, which would at once have cut off all supplies of provisions, and their receiving any reinforcements from abroad. *Mustapha*, who was ordered by the sultan to pay the greatest regard to his advice, having given him the reasons which determined him to do it, readily offered to raise the siege, and to attack the castle of *Gosa* and the *Notable City*; but *Dragut*, fearing lest such a step should inspirit the besieged and discourage the *Turks*, agreed to go on with it; and as he was an old experienced person in all such matters, ordered a new battery to be reared on the 1st of *June*, to keep a more constant fire against an outwork which covered the fort. He raised another over-against fort *Muzetto*, of four cannon, to batter it on that side, and a third of two guns on the counterscarp, to destroy the casemates on the entrance of fort *Muzetto*, which hath been named ever since the cape of point *Dragut*, and where he caused four culverins to be planted to batter the ravelin. d

The Turks
twice repelled

THE *Turkish* engineers, by the assistance of the constant fire of their musquetry, having taken a survey of that outwork, without being perceived, and observing the *Maltese* soldiers all buried in profound sleep, immediately ordered a number of their men to scale the place with their ladders; who quickly gained the top, and cut in pieces most of the Christians. The tumult which ensued having alarmed the rest, a fresh supply of forces, headed by some of the knights, soon came and opposed their progress; upon which an obstinate fight began, and a battery of two cannon, playing briskly against the enemy, made them give way for some time; but, as they were continually reinforced by fresh recruits, they at last got the better of the *Maltese*, and not only lodged themselves in the ravelin, but, with an incredible fury, pursued e
f
g

a pursued the knights in their retreat through the ditch, until they were stopped by the the artillery and wild-fire of the fort. Some authors tell us, that they rallied soon after, and came with fresh force and fury to scale the place; and would, in all likelihood, have carried it, had not their ladders proved too short, which obliged them to retire with great loss. The order, besides the loss of the ravelin, had no less than 20 knights and 100 soldiers killed, and a great many others wounded, and, among them, the baily of *Negropont* and the cavalier *de Guardampa* (M).

It was by those wounded men, who were carefully conveyed into the city to be taken care of, that the grand master was informed of the loss of the ravelin, which obliged him to continue sending supplies of fresh men to the fort, great numbers of whom were almost as soon
b cut off by the constant fire of the enemy. This forced him to send a second message to the viceroy of *Sicily*, in which, after some warm expostulations at his strange delay, he told him, that he would engage to oblige the enemy to raise the siege, if he could but obtain a speedy succour of 8000 men from him. But great was his surprize, when, instead of it, he received only two *Maltese* knights, who, with much difficulty and danger, had passed through the enemy, to come and acquaint him, that *Don Garcia*, instead of sending back the two *Maltese* ships which were to have conveyed him thither, demanded five more of him, before he could set out; by which he plainly understood, that he only sought for a pretence to evade the engaging of the *Turkish* fleet. In this distress *Salvago*, one of those knights, was sent back to him with fresh instances; whilst the other, named *Lamiranda*, begged to be sent to
c take the command of the fort, which was readily granted: upon which he quickly found means to convey himself, at the head of a new reinforcement, together with a fresh supply of wine, and other provisions, into the place; which gave a new life to those that were in it. *Lamiranda sent to command in the fort.*

In the mean time *Dragut* proposed the stopping the communication between the fort and borough, from which it received all its supplies, by planting a new battery at the point of the grand port: but that being thought at too great a distance from the camp, and consequently liable to be seized by the besieged, unless it were defended by a greater number of troops than they could spare, *Mustapha* advised the suspending of it till the arrival of the bey of *Algiers*, who was daily expected, and would be highly pleased to be complimented with that office: the rest of the council acquiesced in the proposal. Then the basha ordered the
d ravelin to be raised, by the help of fascines, woolpacks, and other materials, to a height above the parapet of the place, and a new battery to be planted upon it. By this means they not only gained a full view of the fort, but could prevent, by their fire, any of the *Maltese* soldiers from coming near the parapet. This obliged them to throw up a deep intrenchment within it, to secure their approach; but this also was quickly after destroyed by the help of a bridge, which *Mustapha* ordered to be thrown between the new battery and the parapet, large enough for six men to go over abreast; the planks of which he ordered to be covered with earth to a certain depth, to prevent their burning it. This new bridge opened a way for them quite to the parapet: but *Lamiranda* did not let them enjoy long the fruit of it; for, by the artifice of a feigned sally, he got it burned and demolished by some of his stoutest men on
e that very night. The *Turks*, however, finished a new one by the next day, and at night got down into the ditch, where they reared up their ladders, as if they had designed to scale the ramparts, which quickly obliged the besieged to appear on the breach in crowds. This was what the *Turkish* general wanted, who immediately caused a most dreadful discharge of his artillery to be made upon them, which killed a much greater number of them than had been done since the beginning of the siege. The surviving knights, seeing the desperate condition the fort was reduced to, sent the commander *Madran* to acquaint the grand master with it, who immediately communicated it to the council. The majority agreed upon abandoning the place, which could be no longer kept but by the destruction of those remaining forces which were reserved, and would hardly prove sufficient to defend the other fortresses of the
f island; so that the more forces they sent into it, the greater service they did the enemy, by rendering the rest of the island still more defenceless. One might have expected that a per-

A great number of Christians slain.

(M) This last, we are told, having received a musket ball through his body, refused the assistance which was offered him by some of his men, who were going to carry him to some convenient place to have his wound dressed; telling them, *that they must look upon him as a dead man, and go to the assistance of the living.* This said, he crawled along quite to the chapel belonging to the fort, and expired at the foot of the altar. The baily of *Negropont*, the chevalier *de Broglia*, and some others, on their arrival at the *Notable City*, refused, with no less bravery, the offer which the grand master made them of retiring to the convent till their wounds were healed,

though dangerous, and worn out with fatigues and old age; but begged leave to live and die in the post of honour which their order intitled them to.

Accordingly it was a sight worth admiration to behold men of the first rank, grey with old age and service, wounded and maimed, some with crutches, others with their arms slung in scarfs, assisting in the lowest offices of the siege, carrying stones, earth, planks, powder, balls, and other useful materials, and crawling even upon the ramparts and breaches, to shew the enemy an intrepidity they were utter strangers to.

son of the grand master's experience and sagacity would have readily yielded to such pressing motives; nevertheless, though he acknowledged them all to be just, and that he could not but bewail the fate of those who were obliged to maintain so dangerous and destructive a post, yet he still asserted, that, upon such an exigence as this, it was better to hazard the loss of some of the members, than that of the whole body, assured as he was, that if the castle of *St. Elmo* was once yielded to the *Turks*, they must give up all hopes of receiving any farther assistance from *Sicily*, the viceroy of which had solemnly declared, that he would never hazard his master's fleet and forces in defence of the rest of the island, if that fort was once yielded to the enemy; so that the safety of the former wholly depended upon prolonging the siege of the latter, cost what it would to the order. The council having readily approved the grand master's advice, *Madran* was ordered to go back and acquaint them with their resolution, and their motives for it, and to exhort them, according to the duty of their profession, to defend the place to the very last. This answer was relished only by a small number of the oldest knights, who, to encourage the rest, publicly vowed to do so, or bury themselves under the ruins of it; but the far greater part of them put a much harsher construction upon the grand master's resolution, which they said was only agreed to by those, who, having no share in the danger, were the less concerned how lavish they were of other men's lives.

A mutiny in
the fort.

WHAT still increased the general discontent was, a mine which the *Turks* were pushing forward under the first parapet: upon which they dispatched a letter to the grand master, signed by no less than three hundred and fifty of the order, in which they boldly declared, that if he did not send them that very night a sufficient number of barges to convey them out of the fort, in which they were sure to be all butchered, they would unanimously sally out by the next morning on the enemy, and sacrifice their lives with their swords in their hands, as the most easy as well as honourable death. The grand master, though greatly surprized at the desperation of such a resolution, yet still aiming at gaining time, ordered forthwith three commissaries to pass over into the castle, under pretence of examining the condition it was in, and how long it might hold out, but in reality to expostulate with, and reduce them to their duty. Two of these, being men of sagacity and temper, endeavoured to dispel their fears, by representing the place in a condition to hold out some days longer; but the third, named *Castriot*, and said to be descended from the famed *Castriot*, better known by the name of *Scanderbeg*, a man full of martial zeal, instead of soothing advice, began to rate them for their pusillanimity, alleging, that there were still several means to be used to shelter them some time longer from the enemy's artillery, and ridiculed their fears of a mine in a place that was built upon a hard rock. This language, which cast a most affronting reflection on their want of skill and courage, so exasperated them, that they proposed the retaining him against his will, to display his superior parts, and to put his own lessons in practice in defence of the place. Some of them went so far as to secure the castle gates, to prevent his going away; which raised such a tumult in the garrison as might have been of the worst consequence, had not the commander *Lamiranda* caused the drums to beat to arms, and dispersed them to their respective posts.

The grand
master mortifies
them.

AT their return, the other two commissaries gave it as their opinion, that the place could not hold out another assault; but *Castriot*, persisting still in his own, offered to go himself with a few recruits, and defend it till the succours arrived from *Sicily*; which the grand master readily agreed to, and the bishop of *Malta* furnished him with a sufficient sum to raise these recruits upon the islanders; not perhaps that they depended altogether upon his superior valour or conduct, but as they saw no other way left but that of prolonging the siege. However that be, the recruits were raised instantly, and many volunteers came and offered themselves to be enlisted, not only from the country, but even some of the principal citizens expressed a more than ordinary desire to follow him. The grand master, having bestowed the highest encomiums on them, and especially on their valiant leader, sent them into the castle, and withal gave him a letter to the officers of the garrison, written in harsher terms, ordering them to resign their posts to the new-comers, and to repair out of hand to the convent, where they would be in less danger of their lives, and himself in less fear about the place. Nothing could have been thought of more mortifying than this language, nor more expressive of the greatest contempt, than the ordering them to resign the defence of such an important place to a handful of new-raised recruits. They quickly felt such pungent tokens of shame and remorse, as made them resolve to sacrifice their lives, rather than abandon their posts; and instantly went and intreated the governor to intercede with the grand master to recall his orders and his new troops, and to assure him, that they would maintain their posts to the last drop of their blood, and endeavour, by the most intrepid bravery, to blot out the disgrace of their former behaviour. The governor was easily persuaded to dispatch an account of this to the grand master by an able diver, for it was not possible for boats to pass from one to the other without the utmost danger. The grand master made a shew of rejecting their

a their petition once and again with more than common scorn; but was at length prevailed upon to recall his recruits, and to entrust once more the defence of the place to them. *They are pardoned.*

ALL this while the commander, who, as we hinted above, had been dispatched to hasten the succours from *Sicily*, finding the viceroy still tardy, had ordered the grand master's nephew, together with the commander *St. Aubyn*, who had been sent thither on the same errand, and had each a galley under their command, to gather up what troops they could, and to sail with all speed for *Maltha*. They did so; but, upon their arrival, found the coasts so strongly guarded all round by *Dragut's* gallies, that they were forced to return to *Sicily*, after having tried all means in vain to get to land either at the island of *Gofa*, or in some obscure creek of *Maltha*. They were scarcely arrived at *Saragossa*, before they received fresh letters from the grand master, full of the most stinging reproaches to his nephew for his neglect and disobedience; and an intimation, that a man was unworthy of the order, unless he dared more than a common commander. *Silvago* was no less pressed in other letters, by the desperate condition of fort *St. Elmo*, to hasten the *Sicilian* succours; but had obtained hitherto nothing from the viceroy but pompous promises, and, when he now thought he had prevailed upon him to dispatch at least two of his gallies, with a regiment of soldiers, along with the other two which were waiting for them at *Saragossa*, he was again mortified by him through some new and shameful delays: so that every thing seemed to conspire against the relief of the place. *The viceroy amuses them with delays.*

WHILST the grand master and the rest of the order were waiting with the utmost impatience for the so long promised succours, they employed their thoughts and time in supplying the garrison of *St. Elmo* with all necessaries for sustaining the general assault they were in daily expectation of, and in inventing new means and stratagems to annoy the enemy. It was upon this occasion that some of their engineers found out a new kind of missile weapon, till then unknown, called fire-hoops or circles (N), which made the most dreadful havock among them. On the other hand, the besiegers were not idle in their camp, but continued battering and cannonading the fort from the 17th of *June* to the 14th of *July*, almost without intermission; every day produced some fresh attempt for assaulting the place, whilst every thing was preparing for a general attack; to facilitate which, the 15th day was taken up in battering the wall quite down to the very rock on which it stood.

d THE 16th was no sooner come, than the *Turkish* gallies came and ranged themselves before the castle, and fell to battering it with their whole artillery; whilst the batteries on the land side did the same with theirs, which consisted of thirty-six large pieces of cannon. The *Turkish* forces entered the ditch at the sound of their martial instruments, and, upon the signal given, mounted the breach with undaunted fury, whilst 4000 of their infantry kept firing against the place, to keep the besieged off the breach. This did not prevent their appearing upon it with their arms, and, with an intrepidity more threatening than a bulwark, both sides came to a close engagement; in which the assailants, being annoyed by the lighted hoops described in the last note, and great numbers set on fire by them, sent out such dismal cries as drowned the noise of all the large and small fire-arms both of the besiegers and besieged. Whilst this dreadful onset lasted, the captains of the *Turkish* gallies, observing that the main force of the garrison was run to the defence of the breach, endeavoured to assault it on another side. This being perceived by the grand master, a couple of large pieces were instantly pointed against them, which, at the first fire, destroyed twenty of them, and put the rest to flight. The *Turks* who had mounted the assault had no better success, the boldest of their janisaries being forced to abandon their posts at the sight of the fiery hoops that were continually thrown among them; so that, after a most obstinate contest, which had lasted near six hours, the *bascha* was obliged to sound a retreat, after having lost near 2000 of his best forces. The besieged, on their side, lost seventeen of their knights, among whom were some of the highest rank and merit, besides about three hundred of their soldiers either killed or wounded. *The general assault given.* *The Turks repulsed with loss.*

f By this time *Mustapha* plainly perceived that all his efforts would prove abortive, unless he could wholly cut off the communication between the castle and borough, and thereby pre-

(N) These hoops, which were of a sufficient circumference to inclose two or three men, were made of wood, dipped first in spirits of wine, then soaked in oil or melted tallow; around which was fastened a quantity of hemp, wool, tow, or other such light stuff, deeply impregnated with pitch, tar, brimstone, saltpetre, and other such combustible matter.

These, being thoroughly set on fire, were then cast

amidst the thickest of the enemy, sometimes inclosing two or three men at once, and set their cloaths on fire; so that they must be inevitably burned to death, unless they could instantly run into some water, and continue in it till the flame was totally quenched (8). This new invention stood the garrison in great stead when the general assault was given to it, as we shall see in the sequel.

(8) *De his, vid. Baudouin, lib. xvii. c. 2, & seq. Vertot, lib. xii. tom. iv. p. 507, & seq. & al. mult.*

vent the former from receiving any succour from the latter. We observed before, that this task had been reserved for the bey of *Algiers* and his troops; but, as they heard nothing about his coming, he was obliged to think of some other way. Whilst he was deliberating about it behind the trench, with his chief engineer and the famed *Dragut*, the latter marched out with his usual intrepidity to reconnoitre the ground. They had not followed him far before the engineer had his head shot off by a cannon-ball from the castle of *St. Angelo*, which, hitting afterwards against a stone, threw a piece of it against *Dragut's* right ear with such violence, that it threw him down flat and senseless on the ground, and set his nose, eyes, and ears, a streaming with blood. The basha, apprehensive lest his troops should be disheartened by the loss of this old and experienced commander, ordered a covering to be thrown over him, and had him conveyed into his tent; after which he came out unconcerned, as if nothing had happened, and stood on the very spot where *Dragut* had fallen, till he had descried a proper place where to fix a battery fit for his purpose.

THE fort being thus invested on all sides, and no possibility left to supply it with fresh troops, the grand master, who easily foresaw it could not hold out much longer, unless the *Sicilian* succours came time enough to force the enemy to raise the siege, had recourse again to the commander *Longano*, his resident in *Sicily*, who pressed the viceroy so close, not only by laying before him the desperate state *St. Elmo* was reduced to, and by reminding him of his frequently repeated assurances, but, what was still more cogent, informing him of the express orders he had received from the king his master to send all proper assistance to that island, he at length obtained the two long promised galleys, which had been detained till then upon several frivolous pretences, but which he now gave leave to sail with the other two, commanded by *St. Aubyn* and the grand master's nephew, directly for *Malta*. But the politic *Garcia* had taken care beforehand to give the command of them to one of his creatures, named *Cardona*, with express orders, that if *St. Elmo* was taken by the *Turks*, he should instantly sail homeward, without landing any forces on the island; so that this last succour proved of no use to the order, through the obsequiousness of its commander, who, under some pretence or other, only shewed himself at a distance, waiting till the loss of the fort should authorize his return to *Sicily*. In the mean while the grand master attempted more than once or twice to throw some fresh reinforcement into the place, there being still a great number of knights who expressed the most fervent desire to signalize themselves in its defence, or lose their lives in so glorious an attempt; but the avenues on all sides were so strongly guarded by the enemy, that all his efforts proved abortive; whilst the garrison in it, seeing nothing but death and destruction now before their eyes, unanimously agreed to sell their lives as dear as possible, and to maintain their ground to their very last breath.

THIS resolution they kept with the most surprising bravery. The basha, taking the advantage of their distress, ordered the general attack to be renewed, which continued, after the greatest obstinacy and resistance, till night put an end to it, the *Turkish* general being no less prodigal of his men's lives than the knights now were of their own; and a dreadful slaughter was made on both sides, without losing or gaining any ground. The besieged, who expected that it would be renewed the next morning, employed that short respite in dressing those that were wounded, and enabling all that could make their appearance either with sword, musket, or pike, to come the next morning on the breach, those that could not walk being carried to the place, and all resolutely bent to lose their lives upon it. We omit mentioning their other preparations of a religious nature, such as confession, receiving the sacrament, embracing, forgiving and praying for one another; all which were performed with that seriousness and solemnity suitable to their condition.

ON the next morning accordingly, being the 23d of *July*, the assault was renewed with fresh vigour, and a certainty of victory. The *Turks* found the sorrowful remains of the garrison ready to receive them with their usual obstinacy: the fire and attack lasted four hours, by which time the assailants, having gained the top of the cavalier, and other eminences that commanded the breach, could take their aim at pleasure, and chuse whom they had a mind to kill; by which means the garrison, now dwindled to about threescore, and part of them disabled, was soon reduced to nothing by their continual fire: so that the contest may justly be said to have ended with the death of the last surviving knight. The basha then entered the fort in a kind of triumph; but when he had viewed it, and came to consider the loss which so small a place had cost him, he could not forbear crying out, *What must the father cost us, seeing this little son of his has destroyed us so many thousands of lives?* And well might he, when, according to most writers, above 8000 of his best janitaries and spahis had perished before it; the thought of which raised his brutish fury to such a height, that he caused the breasts of several Christians that were expiring with their wounds to be ripped open, their hearts to be plucked out, and to be shot into the borough, whence the grand master could behold

Dragut mortally wounded.

Garcia still delays his succours.

The attack renewed, and the assailants repelled.

The garrison die of sword in hand.

Mustapha's horrid barbarities.

- a behold all this horrid scene of inhumanity; he likewise caused their bodies to be split crosswise, on their backs and bellies, in derision to Christianity: some of these he caused to be hung up by their necks, hands, and feet, on the ramparts; others to be tied to planks covered with their under-garment, on which the cross of the order was fixed, and to be flung into the sea, in hopes that the tide would throw them against the foot of the castle of *St. Angelo*. In revenge of which barbarity, the grand master caused all the *Turkish* captives to be butchered, and their heads to be shot reeking hot from his artillery into the fort^a. All this time the *Turkish* fleet was sailing into the *Merza Muzetto* in triumph, at the sound of their cannon, trumpets, and other martial instruments. Some of the officers went into *Dragut's* tent, to inform him of the taking of the fort, but found him quite speechless; yet not so far gone, but he gave some tokens of satisfaction, and expired immediately after. The order lost in this siege, which lasted just a month, about 1200 men, among which were 130 knights, and some of them of the highest rank and character. Among these were the noble commander *Lamiranda*, who offered himself a volunteer when the fort was reduced to great straits; the brave high baily of *Negropont*, who, old, lame, and decrepit as he was, caught an old halberd in his hand, and, mixing himself among the thickest of the janisaries, killed several of them, and fought till his head was struck off by one of their officer's sabres, who instantly caused it to be stuck on the head of a lance, and planted in full sight of the borough, where the grand master and the chief of the order stood on an eminence, and, with the utmost grief and consternation, beheld the horrid havock which the enemy made among them.
- b As soon as they were retired, the grand master called a council; in which having displayed some part of his eloquence in the eulogy he made upon those noble champions, his next task was to spend the remainder in exhorting the survivors to imitate their courage and intrepidity in their respective posts. He next ordered them not to make any more prisoners; but, after they had got what intelligence they could of the enemy's measures and designs, to massacre them instantly, to let the enemy as well as their own troops see that they must neither expect nor give quarter. Pursuant to this order, he refused to admit an officer of the basha, who came with the white flag displayed to treat about a capitulation, though he suffered an old Christian slave, who came with him as his interpreter, to be brought into his presence; and
- d having caused him to pass through whole files of soldiers, and to be shewn the fortifications of the place, brought him to the ditch of the counterscarp, and dismissed him with these words: *Go, and tell the basha, that this is the only spot we design to yield to him, and which we purposely reserve for a burying-place for him and his janisaries.* This message soon determined *Mustapha* to alter his measures, and, instead of negotiation, to open the trenches before the castle of *St. Angelo*, the borough, and the peninsula of *Michael*, since called *Cita de la Sangle*, where the hard rock would not permit them to raise a wall or intrenchment of dry stone. Whilst this was doing, his slaves were employed in dragging seventy pieces of his largest artillery, which he caused to be planted upon nine batteries, which were reared in so many different places. All this while *Cardona*, who commanded the four galleys from *Sicily*, had been sauntering out at sea, waiting only, as we lately hinted, for the taking of the fort, in order to return with them homewards. Happily for the besieged, the two gentlemen, who had been sent to enquire about it, officiously concealed the loss of it from him; but told him withal, that it would be quickly surrendered, if some speedy succour was not sent to prevent it. *Cardona* still hesitating, and willing to delay, the knights and secular gentlemen that were in his galley threatened him so hard, that he was obliged to land them at the bay of the *Black Stone*; which done, he instantly sailed back for *Sicily*. The grand master, apprised of their landing, sent them some guides, who conducted them privately to the *Cala de la Scala*, whence, by the help of a thick fog, they safely arrived at the borough, and were joyfully received by the grand master. This timely reinforcement consisted of about six hundred men, forty-
- e seven of whom were knights of the order, nineteen were *Spanish* officers of experienced valour and conduct, twelve were *Italians*, three *Germans*, and two *Englishmen*, who were all dispersed, at their own desire, into the most dangerous posts, together with the troops they had brought with them.
- f

THE basha had, by this time, taken such care to hem them in, that they had now no communication left but by the mouth of the grand port, which could not be stopped by any means but by his making himself master of the cape or point of land of the peninsula. This was at first deemed impracticable by the council, till the admiral proposed an expedient, which was immediately approved of, but was such an one as none of the besieged were aware of,

^a BAUDOIN, ubi sup. l. xvii. c. vi. VERTOT, ubi sup. in fin. l. xii. & al.

or could have dreamed of, and would have been infallibly executed, had it not been providentially discovered to the grand master by one of the *Turkish* council, who, from a motive of religion, as well as a singular esteem for the order, hazarded his life to come and communicate it to him. This gentleman was named *Lascaris*, and had been taken prisoner by the *Turks* at the siege of *Patras*, and educated in the *Turkish* religion; and though born a Christian, had suffered his ambition to efface all the traces of his education till that very time. He had by degrees raised himself so high by his merit as to be one of the head officers of the *spahis*, and a member of the council of war; but the conduct and intrepid valour with which the *Maltese* knights had defended the fort of *St. Elmo*, having inspired him with an uncommon regard for that order, he could not hear such a destructive project agreed upon without feeling the most pungent sentiments of pity and concern for it.

ACCORDINGLY, as soon as the council was broke up, he made the best of his way towards the sea, over-against *St. Michael's* point, whence he made signs with his turban for a boat to bring him over. He was, however, discovered by some rambling *Turks*, who, guessing at his intentions, made all the haste they could to seize upon him. This obliged him, though a novice at it, to save his life by swimming; which being perceived by the Christians on the other side, they dispatched immediately four or five of their best swimmers to fetch him over, who came just time enough to save him from sinking. As soon as he was recovered, he desired to be conducted to the grand master, where he made a full discovery of the *bashas*' and admiral's design, in order to deprive them of all further succours from abroad. We need not tell our readers how thankfully such an important advice was received by the grand master and council. He had a considerable pension immediately settled upon him, which, with all the other favours and marks of esteem and confidence, he was no less zealous to deserve, by the continual services he did to the order *.

THE grand master was not a little surprized at this signal generosity; for which he made him ample returns: but was much more so at the deep-laid project of the admiral, which, if not speedily prevented, would infallibly occasion the loss of the island. But his diligence was equal to the danger; and he made such speed to have not only that point of land, but several others of the like importance, defended by proper wood-works, towers, &c. that the *bashas* was in the utmost surprize to see, as he expressed it, so many *stacadoes* sprung suddenly out of the earth, and which totally defeated the admiral's project. He tried at first to have them cut down by his *Turks*, whom he dispatched thither with axes in their girdles; but they had scarce begun their work before they were surrounded with a shoal of *Maltese*, who swam over to them naked with their swords in their mouths, and killed a good number of them, and put the rest to flight. They resumed the work on the next day, with the same ill success and loss: so that the *bashas*, finding it impracticable, ordered his artillery to begin their fire against the place, from all his batteries, on the 25th of *July*.

Castle of St. Michael sadly battered.

THE castle of *St. Angelo*, in particular, was annoyed by the batteries which they had raised on the fort of *St. Elmo*; the borough and fort *St. Michael* were battered by those of mounts *Coradin*, *Scerberas*, *Calcara*, and other eminences; and the fire was so fierce on both sides, that the island appeared like a dreadful volcano. The besiegers had already demolished several of their outworks, and carried their trenches as far as the ditch of the castle and borough of *St. Michael*, which having no communication either with the great borough or castle of *St. Angelo* but by an unwieldy ferry-boat, could not, without the greatest difficulty and danger, receive succours from either, and, being the weakest part, was the most fiercely attacked. This obliged the besieged, by the advice of the young chevalier *Bosio*, brother to the historian often quoted in this chapter, to build a wooden bridge, supported by barrels and tuns duly poised between them, which proved of singular use in the sequel. The *bashas* had likewise made two considerable breaches in the great borough; but was willing to put off the assault till the arrival of *Hassan* from *Algiers*, whom he expected with a large reinforcement of his choicest troops. He arrived accordingly a few days after, at the head of 2,500 stout veterans; and though but a young soldier in comparison of *Mustapha*, was vain enough to tell him, that if he had been there sooner, the small fort of *St. Elmo* had never held out half so long; and begged of him to have the honour of attacking that of *St. Michael*, which the old *bashas* readily agreed to; and, giving him 6,000 of his men, promised to assist him by land.

Hassan undertakes the siege of St. Michael.

HASSAN being resolved to attack the peninsula *La Sangle* both by sea and land, dispatched an old *Greek* renegado, named *Candelissa*, who had served his piratic apprenticeship under *Barbarossa*, with a good number of his galleys, and half of his *Algerine* forces and slaves, to

* BAUDOUIN, lib. xvii. c. 8. VERTOT, lib. xiii. tom. v. p. 13, & seq.

- a break their way through the *Scerberas* and *Port Muzetto* into the grand port, in order to make himself master of the *stacado*, which the *Turks* had attempted in vain, and to break the chain and palisado of the port, in order to convey his men by land to that peninsula. The brave *Guimerano*, often mentioned, who commanded that point of land, and had raised a battery of six guns upon it, let their vessels approach till they were within shot, and made so good a fire with his cannon and musquetry, that he sunk several of them, and killed about 400 of his *Turks* with that single discharge. *Candelissa*, not at all dismayed, landed at the head of his men, and had gained the shore, when a second shot of two guns, loaded with cartridge, and kept in reserve for him, were discharged, destroyed a good number of them, and put the rest to flight; whilst he, to prevent their getting to sea again, made a signal to his barks
- b to remove farther off: so that now they were obliged to fight or die. The *Algerine* troops returned to the attack, which proved an obstinate one of five hours; at the end of which they gained the post, and planted seven of their standards upon it. They did not keep it long before the few *Maltese* that were left came back, with admiral *Monti* at their head, and renewed the fight with fresh fury, and, being presently after reinforced by a fresh detachment sent by the grand master, drove them away with great loss, *Candelissa* being one of the foremost and swiftest in the flight. The *Algerines*, however, notwithstanding their leader's cowardice, maintained their ground, and retired fighting till they got to their vessels, though many were slain in the retreat. They fared still worse at sea, where their vessels were overwhelmed, and a great number of them sunk, by the fire of the adjacent batteries; whilst those that strove
- c to swim to the shore begged for quarter in the most suppliant posture, and were instantly cut in pieces, without any other answer than that it was *St. Elmo's* pay. The port was soon after seen covered with dead bodies, some whole, others mangled, heads, arms, legs, &c. swimming amongst them: so that of 4000 men which sailed out on that expedition, scarcely 500 got off safe. The Christians likewise lost, besides a great number of their men, above 100 knights, gentlemen volunteers, and other persons of distinction, and amongst them the young chevalier *de Toledo*, son to the viceroy of *Sicily*. What was still worse, those that were wounded were obliged to stay and be dressed in their posts, there being no possibility to get them conveyed to the infirmary, without running a greater danger from the enemy.
- d *HASSAN*, on the other hand, had battered the castle and borough of *St. Michael* with such success, whilst his *Algerines* advanced their trenches almost close to the fosse, that some of his standards soon appeared upon several parts of the parapet. These, however, met with such a hot reception from the batteries of the besieged, loaded with cartridge, and fired through the thickest of them, as cut vast numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to file off by the parapet to another breach which they thought less defended. Here they met at first with better success, through some accident that happened within the retrenchment, which caused the loss of some brave knights who defended it: but these being immediately succeeded by a fresh supply, the contest was renewed with great vigour, till *Hassan*, unable to stand it out longer, was obliged to sound a retreat. They were no sooner retired, than *Mustapha*, who
- e despaired of succeeding by any other means than by tiring out the besieged, immediately supplied their place with some of his best forces; so that the knights, fatigued as they were already both with fighting and the heat of the dog-days, were forced to return to their arms before they had had leisure to refresh themselves; notwithstanding which, they had no sooner exchanged fire with the janisaries, than they attacked them sword in hand. The fury and slaughter was equal on both sides for a long while, till the soldiers, seeing some of their best commanders fall, gathered up multitudes of the inhabitants, men, women, and children, to their assistance, who plied them with such volleys of stones and fiery hoops, as obliged them to retreat, in spite of all the *bascha* could do to prevent it. The *Maltese*, however, lost above 200 of their soldiers, and 40 of their knights and best commanders. That of the *Turks*
- f was still vastly more considerable, as those were some of their best troops, and such as were reserved for the most arduous and dangerous enterprizes.

THIS disaster obliged him to cause such another wooden bridge to be reared as he had done at fort *St. Elmo*, which the grand master, who knew the consequence of it, was not less solicitous to have destroyed; and, as he found it impracticable in the night, by reason of the strong guard set over it, he resolved to do it by day-light, and appointed his own nephew to conduct that dangerous enterprize. He accordingly went at head of a strong detachment, and tried in vain, by the help of cable and other ropes, to have pulled away the supporters from under it; but found himself at once overwhelmed with volleys of small-shot from the enemy, which killed a great part of his men, and put the rest to flight, leaving him and another knight, named *Polastron*, exposed to their fire, which quickly dispatched them both. The *Turks* immediately advanced to carry their heads to the *bascha*, who had fixed a reward upon every knight's head that was brought to him; but their men, ashamed to have thus

basely

Young Valetta killed.

basely abandoned them, came back with double fury, and, after a fierce and bloody struggle, a carried off their bodies unmaimed. The grand master bore the death of his young nephew with a peculiar unconcern, telling those who condoled him upon it, that every knight was as dear to him as he was; and adding, that, unless some speedy succour arrived from *Sicily*, they had no other refuge left than that of burying themselves, every one like him, under the ruins of the place. Being still resolved to demolish the bridge by any means, he caused a hole to be dug through the wall, on the same level with it; and having planted a large cannon in it, the first shot was lucky enough to shake the whole fabric, and a few more brought it nearer to the ground, when they set it on fire the following night, and reduced it to ashes.

THE basha, impatient and fearful of the sultan's anger at his ill success, called a council of war, in which it was resolved, that he and the *Algerine* bey should pursue the siege as usual, whilst the admiral *Phiali*, with his marines, began that of the great borough and of the castle of *St. Angelo*, and *Candelissa* scoured the sea with eighty stout galleys. Both the basha and admiral plied all their batteries with such fury, that the borough and castle of *St. Michael* were almost destroyed, and the great one had received some considerable breaches, especially at the quarters of *Castile* and *Auvergne*. They continued demolishing the fortifications with their constant fire, and harrassing the besieged with their daily assaults and skirmishes. Numbers of them were killed every day by those unintermitted hostilities, and the garrisons became daily weaker and thinner.

The basha
forced to sound
a retreat.

THE basha, encouraged by their visible decay, ventured to make a fresh and furious assault c on the fort and town of *St. Michael*, on the 2d of *August*, in which the *Turks* and *Algerines*, animated with the hopes of a rich plunder, mounted the breaches like desperadoes, and stood the fire and missile weapons of the Christians with such unshaken obstinacy, as gave the *Maltese* knights an opportunity of making a dreadful havock of them during the space of six hours, till *Mustapha* thought fit to sound a retreat, to save the rest. He did not renew it till five days after, when he ordered it to be made in several places, in order to oblige the Christians to divide their forces, whilst himself attacked the fort of *St. Michael* afresh, and, if possible, with redoubled fury, and a greater number of his best troops. The janisaries, who marched at the head of them, were almost all cut off by the besieged before they reached the ditch; so that the rest were obliged to trample over their bodies to gain the breach, where they met d with such fierce opposition, that the place became one continued scene of blood and slaughter during the space of four hours more, the *Turks* obstinately striving to maintain their posts, and the knights as furiously employed in dislodging them.

The women
and children
annoy the as-
sailants.

In this obstinate contest the *Maltese* had the advantage to see themselves assisted by their very women and children, who came with an intrepid bravery to supply them, some with arms and ammunition, others with wine, fruits, and other refreshments; whilst others, more robust, kept pelting the enemy with stones, fire-works, melted pitch, and other destructive missiles. The *Turks* made no difference between them and the soldiers, but massacred as many of those viragoes as they could come at. The dismal outcries of the wounded of both sides and sexes, of the pursuers and fugitives, and especially their reciprocal fire, made the place appear a scene of most dreadful horror; whilst the basha stood at the foot of the breach with his sword drawn, ready to cleave into two all that gave way. The grand master and his officers beheld all this from an eminence, and expected every moment to hear the enemy's shouts of victory, when, to their great surprise, they heard their drums beat a retreat, by the order of the basha. e

THIS sudden turn was, it seems, owing to a detachment of horse, which was sent from the *Notable City* by the commander *Mosquita*, the governor of it, to *St. Michael's* fort. They were commanded by two brave chevaliers of the order, and each trooper carried a foot-soldier behind him. They met on their way a *Turkish* lodgment, where the basha had sent all his wounded, which were in great number, but whose guard was scattered about. He ordered f their men to dismount, and cut in pieces all the sick and wounded; whose grievous outcries soon reached the *Turkish* camp, where the fugitives brought the alarming news, that the *Sicilian* forces were landed, with a full resolution to engage the besiegers, and oblige them to raise the siege. The panic spread itself quite to the scene of action, and caused such a confusion among the combatants, that the basha was once more obliged to sound a retreat. He was soon after apprised of the occasion of this false report; at which he was so ashamed, that he would have renewed the attack with greater fury, had not his officers put him in mind of the approaching night, which, we may well imagine, proved a very uneasy one to him.

The place un-
dermined.

AMONG other destructive ways that were used in a siege, *Mustapha* had not forgot that g which makes the most dreadful havock. His mines had been carried on with such success, in spite of all the grand master's vigilance to discover them, that the besieged looked upon themselves

a themselves as situated between two fires, and had not one spot of ground where they could think themselves safe. The grand master, under all these difficulties, had once more recourse to the viceroy of *Sicily*, and gave his minister such a lively representation of the distress and danger they were reduced to, that he obliged him at length to send him a powerful succour, as we shall see in its proper place.

In the mean time *Mustapha* and *Phiali*, ashamed of so many repulses from so small a force, *A fresh attack.* unanimously resolved either to make themselves masters of the place, or to bury themselves in the trenches; and renewed the attack on the 18th of *August*, beginning it just in the heat of the day, when the besieged were, as they supposed, taking some refreshment. Accordingly, about twelve of the clock, the former began with such a furious discharge on his side, b as almost ruined the remainder of the fortifications of *St. Michael*, and, with his best troops, newly animated with threats and promises, mounted the assault. The slaughter was terrible on both sides; a good number of knights lost their lives, but were quickly succeeded by fresh ones: so that, after an obstinate conflict of six hours, the enemy was at length so powerfully repulsed, that the *basha* was again constrained to sound a retreat, and leave a vast number of his men, either dead or wounded, on the field of battle.

THE admiral *Phiali*, on the other hand, did not appear on his attack till that on *St. Michael* was at the height, in hopes that the grand master would send a good part of his forces to its relief; after which he began his part with springing a mine where the besieged least expected it, and which occasioned such havock and confusion, that he must of course have carried the c place, had the knights been less watchful and intrepid than they were. But as the grand master had taken care to leave no place unguarded, there appeared, immediately after blowing of the mine, a sufficient number to oppose themselves to the assailants, who, on their part, used such surprising diligence, that they had already planted several of their ensigns on the parapet. The grand master, apprised of the bloody contest that ensued, instead of sending them a fresh supply, as they had desired from him, staid only to clap an old helmet on his head, and, taking a pike in his hand, ran at the head of his fresh detachment, and exposed himself foremost in the fight. He was immediately surrounded by a number of his knights, who begged him, in the most moving terms, not to hazard with his life the loss of the island, and of all its inhabitants. But he, with his usual sternness, refused to listen to their intreaties. d *How can I, said he, stand idle here, and see so many of those Turkish standards displayed upon the ramparts? Or where can I, at the age of above seventy, die more honourably than upon this spot, and among my brethren?* These words had such an effect upon them, that they all ran eagerly towards the enemy, and left not off fighting till they had got every standard down, and repulsed the enemy to their trenches. *The Turks driven back to their trenches.*

THIS did not hinder the assault being renewed the very next morning; in which the *Turkish* *basha* did not a little depend upon a new destructive machine, invented by one of his engineers. It was a barrel, of more than common size and length, strongly braced with iron hoops, and filled with gunpowder, shot, chains, nails, and other iron fragments, which was to be thrown with a lighted match amongst the thickest of the knights who defended a e ravelin, and which they threw amongst them; but those intrepid warriors ran to it at all adventures time enough to tumble it back upon them before it had taken fire. It sprang up accordingly, with a surprising explosion, among those that were mounting the breach in thick crowds. Immediately after which a vast number of heads, arms, legs, whole and half bodies, were blown up into the air; which so terrified the rest, that they betook themselves to flight in the utmost hurry and confusion: of which the *Maltese* taking the advantage, they pursued them to their very trenches, and made a terrible slaughter among those fugitives.

THE admiral *Phiali*, on his part, attacked the bulwark of *Castile* with equal fury, and with no less stout resistance. The grand master was there, assisting and encouraging his f forces, till he received a wound in his leg, by the bursting of a hand-grenado, which he took care to conceal whilst the heat of the onset lasted, that is, till his men, who, animated by his presence, fought with the utmost bravery, had regained the parapet, and drove the *Turks* away with great loss. We should become quite tedious to our readers, were we to go on with a journal of the siege, during which every day would only entertain them with new assaults and new losses on both sides. At length the Christians were terribly weakened, and the fortifications of the town and castle of *St. Michael* so utterly destroyed, that the commanding officers thought fit to propose the blowing them up, after they had removed all their sick and wounded, together with the arms, ammunition, &c. into the great borough and the castle of *St. Angelo*; but this the grand master rejected with the utmost scorn, alleging, that the abandoning of the one could not be otherwise followed but by the loss of the g other. His intrepidity was such that he would not so much as listen to a fresh proposal they made to him, viz. to remove at least all the plate and sacred utensils belonging to the church, MOD. HIST. VOL. VII. 6 I as

as well as his own person, into the castle of *St. Angelo*, lest that should encourage the enemy, ^a and dispirit his own men. *This*, said he in a resolute tone, *this is the spot, my dear brethren, where we must either all die, or bravely repel the enemy.* And to shew how much he was in earnest, he only left as many of the garrison in that castle as were necessary to attend the artillery, and dispersed the rest into other posts that wanted to be reinforced. There was still one thing which gave him some uneasiness, *viz.* the cavalier which *Phiali* had reared against the wall of the borough, on which that admiral had left a small garrison; but, on that very night, a hole was made, with as little noise as possible, through the wall, at which some *Spanish* knights sallying out, easily gained the height of the work, whence, with their noise and weapons, they easily drove the guard; upon which they immediately raised a parapet, and mounted some cannon upon it, and plied it against the enemy. ^b

The Turks in want of provisions.

MUSTAPHA, by this time, rightly concluded, that nothing less than famine could ever reduce those intrepid warriors; but whilst he was deliberating about the means of doing it, he had the mortification to find that he was in much greater danger of it than they; his own provisions being nearly exhausted, and a vessel which was bringing him a fresh supply of corn having been taken by some *Sicilian* galleys. This obliged him to alter his measures, and to try his fortune against the *Notable City*, which, being situated nearer to the center of the island, he was told was neither well fortified nor strongly garrisoned: so that if he could but once make himself master of it, he flattered himself he should find in it not only plenty of provisions, but an immense plunder, and make such a vast number of slaves as should at least help to conceal the disgrace of his ill success, and the loss of so considerable a part of ^c his army. Flushed with this expectation, he began his march thitherward on the first day of *September*, at the head of 4000 of his best janisaries and spahis. By this time the governor *Mesquita* was so well prepared, that, upon the arrival of the *Turkish* engineers, who were sent to reconnoitre the place, they found the ramparts, bastions, and other works around it, covered with cannon, musquets, pikes, standards, and a numerous garrison in arms; not only the citizens and countrymen, but even the women themselves, appearing armed *cap-à pié* in soldiers cloaths. This gallant show was accompanied with a fierce discharge of the artillery; which so terrified the engineers, that they went and represented the attacking of the place as impracticable by any other method than by a regular siege. The basha, who hoped to have carried it by scalade, without dreaming of a siege, for which he had not a sufficient ^d force left, and was in continual dread of being surprised by the forces that were expected from *Sicily*, was glad to return to his camp, though without knowing which way to turn himself in this dangerous situation. His last refuge was in a wooden tower, which his engineers contrived, of sufficient height to overlook the whole place. This being wheeled close to the wall, by a well-contrived mechanism within, could, after every discharge, sink itself below the parapet of the wall, and be covered by it from the fire of the besieged. The machine had already done some dreadful execution, and was likely to have done a great deal more, when an expert engineer of the island bethought himself of making an embrasure through the wall; by the help of which he took advantage, when it was raised to its height, to fire a cannon into the heart of it, which broke it all in pieces, and crushed the soldiers ^e that were in it under its ruins. This last resource having failed him, he had once more recourse to his old way of mining; but met with no better success, from the indefatigable industry of the *Maltese*, who did not suffer one of them to take effect; the disappointment of which reduced him to the utmost despair.

By this time the grand master received the agreeable news, that the *Sicilian* fleet had set sail on the first of *September*, commanded by the viceroy, in which were a great number of the knights of the order, and other volunteers, who had waited impatiently at *Messina* a considerable time for this opportunity of embarking for the defence of the island. He had besides about 8000 brave veteran troops with him, with which he gave out that he designed to attack the *Turkish* fleet. They set sail accordingly from *Syracuse*, with the discharge of the ^f whole artillery, and the shouts of the fleet; but being parted by a storm, were not rejoined till the fourth day, on which they weighed anchor again from the island of *Linosfa*. Here Don *Garcia* received a fresh letter from the grand master, acquainting him, that if he made towards the coast of *Mugiaro*, on the flats of *Melecca*, he would find a sure and safe landing; instead of which he sailed directly for the island of *Gosa*, though without entering into the chanel; which made every one suspect that his design was not to land, but to shew himself at a distance to the enemy, till he could find some pretence of returning back into *Sicily*, as he accordingly did, upon his vanguard being parted soon after by a storm.

The Sicilian fleet arrives at Malta.

THE indignation and resentment of the fleet is hardly to be expressed; it was attended with such bitter reflections, and even with such curses, that he was obliged to call a fresh council ^g of war, to advise whether they should attempt the succouring of *Malta*. One may easily imagine what answer the knights and brave volunteers gave to the question; but they were

a were agreeably surpris'd with the loud murmurs of the army and soldiery against him. What was still worse, his shameful return had caused such a desertion by that time, that the army was reduced from 8000 to 6000 men; all which obliged him to sail again: so that, the wind favouring, they arriv'd about evening in the chanel of *Gofa*, where they cast anchor for that night, the viceroy not permitting them to land till the next morning, when himself came on shore, and took a review of them. They immediately took the road towards the *Notable City*, whilst he reimbarked for *Sicily*, though not without a previous promise of bringing 4000 men more, which he expected from *Italy*.

b THIS reinforcement, which, as we hinted above, consisted, besides the 6000 veterans and above 100 knights of the order, of a very great number of volunteers, of the greatest families in *France*, *Italy*, *Spain*, and other parts of *Europe*, all burning with impatience of signalizing themselves in defence of an order, which had been, for above three centuries, the greatest bulwark of Christendom, met with less obstruction in their march towards the besieged, as *Mustapha* had all along expected that the viceroy designed to engage him at sea, in order to convey the more easily his succours to them, and had bent all his thoughts in securing the entrance of the great port by a strong chain and stout barricade, and had kept, for several days, his whole fleet at anchor at the mouth of the port; so that the news of *The siege raised.* their landing at an opposite part of the island so disconcerted him, that, without staying to inform himself about their number or strength, he forthwith raised the siege, withdrew his garrison out of fort *St. Elmo*, and embarked with such precipitation as came little short of a downright flight. He left the greatest part of his large artillery behind, that they might c the sooner get to their vessels; where he was scarcely arriv'd, when a deserter came and informed him, that this new succour, which had put an army of 20,000 men into such a consternation, consisted of no more than 6000 men, half naked, harrassed with the sea, and without a commander. This advice, however, came too late for them to go back and recover their trenches and posts, which the grand master had taken care to have destroyed as soon as they had left the island.

d MUSTAPHA, covered with shame, and in the greatest dread of the sultan's resentment, *Return to the island.* called a council of war, in which it was resolv'd to return into *Malta*, and attack this new succour before they had time to refresh, and dispose themselves in a posture of defence; whilst the bey of *Algiers*, with his gallies, and 1600 of his men, secured their retreat in the *Ula* or bay of *St. Paul*. The greatest difficulty was to prevail upon the soldiers to land, who loudly complain'd of his cruelty, that, after the fatigues and dangers they had undergone, they should now again be led like so many sheep to the slaughter. On the other hand, there was no less a struggle among the commanders of the newly-arriv'd succours how to act against them. *Ascanio*, their field-marshal, who had caus'd them to intrench themselves on an eminence, propos'd waiting for the enemy on that spot: but the commander *Alvarez de Sando*, a person of great experience and sway, boldly declared, that they were not come thither to be inactive, and hazard nothing, but to go and resolutely meet the enemy, and by that means prevent the disgrace of seeing them masters of some of the places they had e abandoned by a fresh and desperate attack. His advice was approv'd of, if not as the safest, yet as the bravest and most glorious; and the far greater part declared, that, rather than stay in their intrenchments, they would, at all hazards, break their way even through the enemy's army, and throw themselves into any place they should chance to besiege.

f ACCORDING to this resolution they march'd down the hill, with *de Sando* at their head, *The new succours attack and defeat the basha.* attack'd the enemy in front, whilst *Vitelli* did the same in flank; but the *Turks*, who were brought back by main force, whether out of resentment, or on account of the excessive heat, could hardly be prevail'd upon to stand in their own defence, and, after the first firing, betook themselves to flight. *Mustapha*, now in the greatest danger of being taken by the *Maltese*, made such haste after those fugitives, that his horse stumbled under him more than once or twice, and he must needs have fallen into the hands of his pursuers, had not some of his bravest officers sav'd him, at the hazard of their own lives. The Christians all this while were so eager in their pursuit after them, that they even threw away their armour, and expos'd themselves to the most imminent danger of being cut off by the fire of the *Algerine* bey, who lay conceal'd behind a high rock, to secure the *Turks* retreat; insomuch that some of them lost their lives, and among them several of their chief commanders. The slaughter might have prov'd still greater, had not the brave *de Sando* come to their assistance with some fresh battalions, repuls'd the *Algerines*, and recover'd the prisoners they had made: and now it was that a new and strange fight began. The *Turkish* fugitives, g without offering to make any defence against their pursuers, thought of nothing but gaining their ships, under the fire *Phiali* and *Hassan* kept up against the Christians. This did not hinder their pursuing them with sword and musket in the water, above their girdles, to their very

The Turks
sail away.

Soliman's re-
solution against
Malta.

very boats, and killing vast numbers of them before they could gain their ships. The number of men which the basha lost, from the beginning of the siege to this last embarkation, is said to have amounted to 30,000; the rest, with the greatest difficulty and danger, got into their vessels; after which the fleet sailed away for the *Levant*. We are told, that the viceroy of *Sicily* saw them in full sail from the top of the castle of *Syracuse*, by which he concluded, without any farther intelligence, that the siege was raised. We shall follow them no farther, nor enter into a detail of the reception they met with at the *Porte*. What concerns our *Maltese* history is, that the sultan, having trampled under his feet the letter which brought him the first news of his ill success, cried out in a fury, that nothing proved successful to him, unless where he was present; and that he was resolved the next year to command his armament in person, and to destroy and exterminate the whole order of *Malta* out of that island ^a.

Thus happily ended this so celebrated though bloody siege, of which we have ventured no farther than to give our readers some of the most material and interesting transactions; though it might have required as many pages as we have given it lines to have gone through all the remarkable occurrences that accompanied it from the beginning to the end: it would take up a whole volume barely to do justice to the merit of the grand master, and those brave commanders who signalized themselves in it, either by the wisdom of their councils, their extraordinary conduct, or intrepid bravery, upon the most desperate enterprises, and in the face of death, armed with all its martial terrors; we hope the account we have given of their gallant and resolute behaviour at the castle of *St. Elmo* will suffice.

As soon as the enemy was sailed out of sight, one of the principal cares of the grand master was, to pay his respects and sincere congratulations and acknowledgements to those noble commanders and captains who had so generously interested and hazarded themselves in the defence of the island, and to distribute some largesses among the inferior officers and soldiers. Several days were spent in feasting them, and in other kind of rejoicings suitable to the occasion; which were, however, very much damped at the sight of the dreadful dilapidations that every-where presented themselves before their eyes; together with the rueful and dismal aspect, and neglected dress, not only of the inhabitants and soldiers, but even of the highest officers of the order, through such a long series of dangers and uninterrupted alarms and fatigues, but still more so upon the retrospect of the many lives that had been lost during that time. The order had no less than 260 of their knights slain at different assaults, and they reckoned above 8000 more among the inhabitants and soldiers who had undergone the same fate; insomuch that there were scarcely 600 left alive in the great borough and castle of *St. Angelo* when the *Turks* sailed away, and a good part of them wounded, maimed, or worn out with hard service, who all became the objects of the grand master's tenderness and care. But his generosity displayed itself most in the valuable presents which he made to those brave officers, and gratuities to their soldiers, upon their return into *Sicily*, notwithstanding the public treasury's being so greatly exhausted.

Honours done
to the grand
master.

THE encomiums and congratulations he received from most princes of *Europe*, on his excellent conduct and intrepid valour in defence of the island, were no small addition to his glory. Among the rest, *Philip II.* king of *Spain* sent him a sword, with a handle of massive gold, enriched with various diamonds, and accompanied with a compliment, that *he looked upon him as the greatest captain of the age, and desired him to make use of that weapon in defence of Christianity*. Pope *Pius IV.* did no less signalize himself in the extraordinary honours he paid to him upon this occasion, not only in ordering the news of *Malta's* deliverance to be published in his capital, by the discharge of its artillery, but, what was still more extraordinary, by presenting him with a cardinal's hat, which however, whether out of modesty, or a right notion that his dignity, as sovereign, could receive no addition from that, he civilly declined.

BUT neither these extraordinary honours and commendations, nor the vast rejoicings which were made in most Christian courts, could assuage his regret for the irreparable loss of so many brave and generous lives, and the miserable state the island and order were reduced to, the greatest part of its fortifications destroyed, and the houses not only in the city and towns, but also the villages, mostly levelled to the ground; the inhabitants dwindled to a small number, and those reduced to extreme poverty and misery; a great part of the artillery either burst or spoiled, and unfit for use; the provisions almost consumed, and the treasury nearly exhausted; to say nothing of his just apprehensions of the enemy's returning with a larger force, before half of these disasters could be repaired. He was actually informed by his spies, that *Soliman II.* kept a prodigious number of hands continually at work in his

^a BAUDOUIN, lib. xviii. pass. & seq. VERTOT, lib. xiii. t. v. p. 85—107. xix. 1—6.

a arsenal, in order to fit out a fleet; to put himself at the head of, against that island. It was this gave him the greatest uneasiness, from which he found no relief, till he got it set on fire, and burnt to the ground, in consequence of which that monarch saw himself obliged to put off his enterprize for another year; so that having now nothing to fear from that prince for a while, he set himself about repairing the devastations which the siege had occasioned, and, by the assistance of the *European* princes, not only restored the island to its pristine strength and splendor, but raised it to a much greater degree of them than ever.

ONE of his first cares, after the works were repaired, was, to enlarge the fort of *St. Elmo*, which was as it were the chief key of the great and little ports; and to add some new works to it. But his greatest design was that of building a city on the inside of the same peninsula, and to fortify it on all sides with all the works that the military art could suggest; and afterwards to remove the convent, or grand residence of the order, thither, as being a spot much safer than the great borough, which is commanded by rocks and eminences almost on every side. This was a noble design, and worthy of so great a personage; but, in the condition the order was in, it required the assistance of all the Christian princes, which his great merit and address easily obtained; and, as soon as he had secured that main point, he immediately set about procuring the best engineers, workmen; and all proper materials, from *Italy*; all which was done with such diligence, that he was enabled to lay the first stone of this new city on the 28th day of the month of *March* of the year following.

THIS ceremony, which was performed with great solemnity, was no sooner over, than all hands were cheerfully employed in the work, according to their stations and capacities; knights, commanders, officers, soldiers, citizens, and country-people, all assisted in their turns, according to their respective provinces; whilst their galleys were employed, some in fetching all necessary materials and provisions, and others in cruising and getting rich prizes, which proved a kind of constant fund towards defraying the expences of the work. The grand master himself, attended with his engineers, scarcely missed a day of visiting and directing the works and workmen; and, when the great number of them had so far exhausted the common purse, that he found it difficult to pay them with the usual regularity, he caused a new copper coin, of different weight and value, to be stamped, with this legend, *Non æs, sed fides, Not the intrinsic value of the metal, but the honour of the sovereign*; which money passed current through the island, and was recalled as often as the remittances came from abroad, by which means the workmen never went unpaid, nor the work intermitted.

WHILST he was thus agreeably employed, a double disaster happened in the island, and even under his nose, which gave him a sensible displeasure. The one was caused by some young *Spanish* libertines, knights of the order, who, in the midst of their jollity and carousings, indulged themselves with singing such songs as highly reflected not only upon some of the principal persons of the order, but upon some of the best ladies of the island. These songs or libels became in a little time so public, that a complaint was made to him of it, who immediately caused the offenders to be seized, and tried before the council, in which he himself presided. But whilst the high chancellor was writing down the sentence pronounced against them, these hot-headed youths broke into the assembly, snatched the pen out of his hand, threw the standish out of the window, and, by the assistance of their friends and accomplices, made their escape in some light vessels, and landed in *Sicily*. The grand master, justly incensed at such unprecedented insolence, tried all means in his power to have them apprehended, in vain; however, he condemned them to be degraded from the order, and imprisoned for life, whenever they should be caught; but they took care to keep themselves out of his reach as long as he lived, in hopes that his successor would prove less severe and tenacious of the ancient discipline.

THE other was equally shocking and disrespectful to him; it was no less than the murder of a god-daughter of his, a young *Rhodian* gentlewoman, who, after the loss of that island, had attached herself to the family of the late *Villegagnon*. She had been since married to a *Florentine*, named *Bonacorsi*, then settled at *Malta*, who, in a fit of rage and jealousy, plunged his dagger into her heart, and, by the assistance of his countrymen, some of whom were knights of the order, made his escape into *Italy*, where he was out of danger of being prosecuted for his crime. These two indignities offered to his authority, so derogatory to the honour of the order, and opposite to its ancient discipline, failed not to affect him in the most sensible manner, and to make him apprehend, that they would quickly terminate, after his death, in a total neglect and contempt of it. This made him look out betimes for a fit successor, whose courage and zeal might put an effectual stop to the licentiousness which had gradually crept into the order since the defeat of the *Turks*, and whom he might recommend to the electors before his death, which he was sensible could not be very far off.

BUT what most deeply affected him, and contributed most to the shortening of his small scantling of life, was, the mortifying usage which he and his ambassador *Cambiani* received

the death of
the grand
master.

about this time from pope *Pius V.* who had lately succeeded *Pius IV.* That new pontif a having, after the example of his predecessor, and other *European* princes, sent him a congratulatory brief on his success against the infidels, and in it expressed a desire to gratify his extraordinary merit by some signal favours, *La Valetta*, after his usual thanks, only begged of his holiness that he would restore to the order their antient privilege of nomination to the grand priory of *Rome*, which some of his predecessors had assumed to themselves, in open violation of their right : a demand so just in itself, and so disinterested with regard to his own part, he flattered himself would hardly be denied him, especially at this juncture. The pope accordingly sent him a new brief, in which he assured him, that, after the demise of the present incumbent, that privilege should be fully restored to the order ; notwithstanding which solemn promise, the incumbent was no sooner dead, than he bestowed the priory upon his b nephew, cardinal *Alexandrino*, and even without subjecting him, as the other priors had been before, to pay the proper responsions and arrears into the treasury of the order.

THE grand master was soon apprised of this double injustice by his ambassador, by whom he sent a letter to the pontif, full of the warmest expostulations and complaints ; and in which he plainly told his holiness, that if the cardinals of every nation should once seize upon the most considerable preferments that belonged to the order, there would soon be an end of their funds, and consequently of all their future efforts to defend the *Italian* coasts, and carry on the war against the infidels. The pope, who could not but feel the strength of his arguments, appeared, however, no less displeased at some pretended disrespectful expressions in the stile. *Cambiani*, on the other hand, not being able to obtain any redress, took the liberty c to disperse some copies of the grand master's letter ; which so affronted the pontif, that he sent to forbid him to come any more into his presence ; upon which, being apprehensive of the displeasure of the grand master, he returned no more to *Malta*, but retired to his own patrimony in *Piedmont*.

Falls into a
deep melan-
choly.

FROM this time *La Valetta* fell into a deep melancholy ; to divert which, he was advised to be often on horseback, and to divert himself with shooting. He rode accordingly on *July 19*, to a plain near the *Cala* of *St. Paul*, to shoot some partridges, attended with his usual retinue, when he found himself on a sudden so affected with the heat of the sun, that he was brought back in a violent fever, which obliged him to take to his bed. During his sickness he received an express, sent on purpose from the viceroy of *Sicily*, to advise him to be upon his guard d against a fresh attempt from the *Turks* ; the surprize of which seized so much upon his spirits, that, being no longer able to attend upon public affairs, he was obliged to commit the care of them to the lords of the council. After this, he minded little else except preparing himself for another life, saving that he earnestly recommended the grand prior of *Castile*, *Andrew de Toledo*, to the council of electors, as a most fit person to succeed him : he likewise begged leave to dispose of 50 slaves, which were his own property, and of 12,000 livres out of his private purse ; part of which sum he bestowed upon the endowing of a chapel which he had caused to be built in his new city of *La Valetta*, in which he designed to be interred, and the rest he distributed among his domestics. He died on the 21st of *August*, and was deposited in the church of *Our Lady of Philermo*, till the chapel above-mentioned, which e is that of *Our Lady de Vittoria*, in the new city, could be ready to receive his remains, whither they were soon after conveyed with great pomp and ceremony.

His death.
1568.

ON the next day the electors met to make choice of a successor. Among the several candidates that laid claim to the dignity, it was supposed that the earnest recommendation of the late grand master would have secured it to the grand prior of *Castile*, lately mentioned ; but his high descent from the house of *Alba*, which it was thought would give a sanction to his known rigid adherence to the strict discipline of the order, proved at this juncture a powerful obstacle to his election, which fell upon *Peter de Monte*, grand prior of *Capua*, by the cabals and interest of the two knights of *Maldonat* and *La Motte*. His surname was *Guidatoti*, but, being grand nephew by the female side of pope *Julius III.* who was of the family of *de f Monte*, he took it upon him as the most honourable of the two, after having given it a new lustre by his gallant behaviour in defence of the castle of *St. Michael*, at the late siege of *Malta*.

48. Peter de
Monte.

The funeral
pomp of the
late grand
master.

His first care, after his election, was, to order the funeral obsequies of his predecessor to be performed, with a solemnity and magnificence answerable to his great character and merit ; which having something singular in them, beyond what was usually practised on such occasions before, we shall close this section with an account of what was most remarkable in that mournful ceremony. We have already observed, that his remains were deposited in the great church of *Philermo*, till the chapel which he had caused to be built at his own charge, viz. that of *Our Lady of Victory*, was finished ; at which time his coffin, with all its proper insignia, was g embarked in the great caracca, in order to be conveyed thither. The ship was without masts or rigging, and covered over with black cloth, which came down on all sides to the water, and

a and was adorned with coats of arms and trophies, and with the standard which had been taken from the *Turks*. Instead of sails or rowers, it was towed by two other galleys adorned in the same manner, and was followed by two others which had belonged to him, and covered likewise with the same funeral ornaments. In these two last assisted the new grand master, the lords of the council, and the chief knights and commanders of the order, all in the deepest mourning, and followed by a number of other smaller vessels.

In this mournful and solemn pomp they proceeded from the grand port to that of *Muzette*, where all the deceased's household, his officers and domestics, in the same grand mourning, landed first, some bearing the standards and trophies above-mentioned, and others lighted wax tapers in their hands, and singing the funeral office before the corpse, which last was borne under a stately canopy, with its proper bearers and funeral embellishments. The grand master and the rest of their order followed the corpse, and the procession was closed with a long train of officers both civil and military, and crowds of other people, who wore their mourning in their looks and hearts, and in their sighs and tears expressed their sincere grief for the loss of so tender a father and protector. The mass, and other rites of his interment, were performed in the same solemn manner, till his body was deposited in the above-mentioned chapel; the rest of the funeral pomp was concluded with all the usual honours to persons of his rank and merit ^b.

^b Auſt. ſup. citat.

S E C T. V.

The ſequel of the hiſtory of Maltha, from the death of the grand maſter John de la Valetta, anno 1568, to the fifth year of Antonio Manuel de Villhona, anno 1725.

c **I**N this laſt ſection of the *Malthefe* hiſtory, we ſhall be obliged to alter our method, and to be much more ſuccinct than we have been, for want of proper materials upon which to form a regular ſeries of hiſtorical events. It hath indeed been juſtly wondered at, that all the authors who have hitherto undertaken to give the world the hiſtory of that order, whether in *Latin, Spaniſh, French, Italian, or Dutch*, have agreed to cloſe it with the memorable tranſaction with which we have concluded our laſt ſection; viz. the raiſing of the ſiege of *Maltha*, the building of the new city, and the death of its illuſtrious founder the late grand maſter *De la Valetta*, as if there had been nothing paſſed in that iſland worthy to be recorded. And indeed, when the reader looks back to the reigns of *Soliman II.* and his ſon *Selim*, in the *Turkiſh* hiſtory, he will find, that their forces were ſo far exhausted by this time, partly by the great loſs ſuſtained at the ſiege laſt-mentioned, and partly by their other wars, that they were in no condition to make any farther attempt againſt that iſland, though they wanted neither will nor powerful motives to have cruſhed an order that was ſo great a thorn in their ſides, and diſgrace to their boated power and greatneſs.

The contents and order of this laſt ſection.

THE grand maſter, therefore, having little to fear from that ſide, at leaſt for ſome time, having paid the laſt obſequies to his worthy predecessor, in the grand and ſolemn manner above-mentioned, made it his firſt care to complete the fortifications, and the reſt of the new city, which he had left unfiniſhed, and repair and enlarge his navy, in order to ſuppreſs the *Algerines*, and other corſairs of *Barbary*, which were now the only enemies he had to encounter; in all which he uſed ſuch diligence, that he quickly regained the command of thoſe ſeas, and increaſed the plenty and wealth of the iſland, by the continual prizes which his galleys made on that piratical tribe, of which we have given ſeveral ſignal inſtances in the hiſtories of *Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli*. Theſe frequent and almoſt conſtant excuſions, joined to the aſſiſtance which they were always ready to give to the Chriſtian powers againſt the *Turks*, and other enemies of Chriſtianity, are the two main points in which the ſequel of the hiſtory of the order conſiſts, and will be the ſubject of this laſt ſection: But as theſe tranſactions, which particularly relate to the *Malthefe* hiſtory, under both heads, and have been referred to this chapter, are at too great a diſtance from each other, in point of time, to be continued in the method of a regular hiſtory, we ſhall content ourſelves, as ſome other late authors have done, with giving them in an annaliſtical order, as they have been taken from the records of that iſland ^a.

Reasons for its different method.

PETER DU MONT, alias DE MONTE, grand prior of *Capua*, is choſen grand maſter inſtead of the late *John de la Valetta*, on the 23d of *Auguſt* 1569, by the general chapter of the order.

THE lady *Hieronima de Oliba*, grand prioceſs of the royal monastery of *Siocena*, of the order of *St. John of Jeruſalem*, ſituate in the kingdom of *Arragon*, is, by the conſent of the

^a VERTOT, ubi ſup. lib. xiv. p. 141, & ſeq.

whole community, restored to the order, and put under the discipline thereof, after having a been some considerable time alienated from it, under pretence that it was dependent on the popes. *Selim II.* undertakes the conquest of the island of *Cyprus*, which gives the grand master time to finish the repairs of the old, and to go on with the new, fortifications of *Malta*, and to complete the building of the new city, with the convent and palaces of the order.

The knights
make rich
prizes on the
Turks

In 1570 three *Maltese* commanders; viz. *St. Aubyn*, *Ferrand de Coiro*, and *Roequelaure*; cruise on the coasts of *Egypt*, as far as the mouth of the *Nile*, where they take several considerable *Turkish* prizes, and, amongst them, one large rich one, in which was the treasurer general of *Egypt*, with his family, who was going to make up his accounts at the *Porte*, and in which were various kinds of presents for the grand signor and the seraglio. On the other hand, a famed *Turkish* corsair, named *Luckiali*, at the head of a powerful squadron, surprised three *Maltese* galleys, commanded by the chevalier *St. Clement*, among which was the great capitana, which, after a stout resistance, ran itself aground against the foot of the tower of *Monte Chiaro* in *Sicily*. The commander *de St. Clement*, conscious of his ill conduct and guilt on this occasion, disguised himself in the habit of a *Franciscan* monk, went to *Rome*, to beg of the *Spanish* ambassador to intercede with the pope, that the pontif might use his influence with the grand master in his behalf. These having given him some assurances that no notice should be taken of his misconduct, he was imprudent enough to embark for *Malta*, where he was scarcely arrived before the whole irritated populace came in shoals, and would have sunk him into the sea with volleys of stones, if he had not drawn back from them. He tried then in vain to have sailed back, but could not for the wind, which still blew him back, whilst the people continued their peltings and outcries against him. At length the grand marshal's order was sent at the heard of a good number of knights, and the secular posse, who rescued him out of their hands, and conducted him by water to the foot of the castle of *St. Angelo*, whence he was drawn up by pulleys into it tied fast to a chair, and taken up through a window or embrasure, and closely confined. He was quickly after tried, and condemned to death, and delivered over to the secular power, which caused him to be strangled, and his body to be thrown into the sea in a sack loaded with large stones. This execution appeased the populace, but did not allay the grief and mourning which so general a loss had caused thro' the island, much less the indignation which the whole order had conceived at the cowardice and disgrace of their commander, and the loss of their galleys, especially the noble capitana, though, contrary to the *Turkish* custom, that corsair treated the knights with great humanity, and shewed himself harsh and cruel to those who had behaved themselves cowardly. Upon the whole, this loss and disgrace to the order was esteemed too great to be in any case compensated by the rich prizes of *St. Aubyn* and his two confederates above-mentioned, which turned only to the advantage of the captors, and of some few other private members of the order.

In the year 1571, the *Maltese* knights signalized themselves at the famed battle of *Le-panto*, in which the *Turks* lost 30,000 men, their general was slain, and two of his sons, together with 5000 officers and soldiers, who were made prisoners, and 20,000 Christian captives recovered their liberty.

In the same year, the grand master having completed the building of the new city called *La Valetta*, begun by his predecessor of that name, the order removes into the great convent erected in it for their public residence; he made his public entry into it on the 18th of *March*, at the head of all the order, with great pomp; soon after which, being discontented at the little regard that was paid to him on account of his old age and uneven temper, he begged leave of the pope *Pius V.* to resign and retire; but died before he had obtained it, on the 27th of *January* following, in the fourth year of his grand mastership, and the 76th of his age.

49. John L'-
Eveque de la
Cassiere.

On the very next day, in 1572, the grand chapter met, and chose *John L' Eveque de la Cassiere*, in his room. He was of the tongue of *Auvergne*, and at that time grand marshal of the order, and on the same day was installed sovereign of *Malta* and *Gosa*. Among other promotions that were made in the order after his election, which it were superfluous to mention, *Hieronymo de Guetta*, grand conservator of it, was appointed his ambassador to the pope, *Gregory III.* who had succeeded *Pius V.* to take the usual oaths of obedience and submission to the holy see in his name. He caused the great church of *St. John the Baptist* to be built in the new city of *La Valetta*, together with a stately chapel, to serve for a burying-place for all the grand masters of the order, and endowed the church with a revenue of 1000 crowns. In the mean time the great armament which was hastening by *Selim II.* in *Turky*, being apprehended to be designed against *Malta*, *la Cassiere* made all proper preparations for a vigorous defence, which proved however needless, that emperor's design being against the *Goletta*, or citadel of

a *Tunis*, of which he made himself master. On the next year, 1573, according to the generality of authors, was the tribunal of the inquisition established at *Malta*, which hath continued there ever since; and on the year following *Amurat III.* having succeeded his father, revives the apprehensions of the order; about which time happened the great rupture between them and the *Venetians*, on account of a prize which the former had made of a vessel richly laden with merchandize belonging to the *Jews* of their republic. This was soon after followed by intestine broils between the tongues, about some rich commanderies and priories, in which the grand master had the misfortune to behave in such a manner, as quite alienated the affections of the convent from him, and occasioned various complaints against him in the grand council, particularly on account of his not making the necessary preparations against the *Turks*, who b threatened that island with a fresh invasion.

The inquisition introduced into Malta.

ANOTHER cause of discontent was, that the senate of *Venice* had so far interested itself in behalf of their *Jewish* sufferers, as to cause all the lands and revenues belonging to the order to be sequestered, and had ordered reprisals to be made on their gallies at sea. *La Cassiere* was obliged to send an ambassy to the pope, to justify that action; and to represent to that pontif, that, the *Jews* not being subjects to that republic, the law of nations allowed the effects of an enemy to be seized as contraband, though found in a vessel which belonged to a friend; notwithstanding which, the *Venetians* refused to take off the sequestration, till the *Maltese* had made full restitution of the *Jewish* effects.

A NEW disaster happened on the next year, in the city *La Valetta*, where one *Cortezza*, a c *Portuguese* knight of the order, was assassinated by six others of his own nation, who broke into his house in disguise. They were quickly after discovered, apprehended, and tried; and condemned by the secular power to be tied up alive in a sack, and flung into the sea. In the same year the order lost one of their gallies, called the *St. Paul*, which was taken by an *Algerine* corsair. They were obliged, however, to submit to some more mortifying terms in this very year, through the arbitrary demands of some *European* princes, to which the pope shewed the first example. That pontif sent a young cavalier, named *Mendosa*, then but a novice, to d the order, with a brief, dated in the foregoing year, enjoining the grand master to admit him, after his arrival, to the highest rank of knights, called of the great cross, with the dignity of *Turcopolerius*, which had formerly belonged to knights of the *English* tongue, but had been, since the reformation, in a great measure, suspended. This brief occasioned a general discontent through the whole order, who thereupon sent an ambassy, to desire his holiness to recall it, and not to insist upon their admitting so young and unexperienced a gentleman into the number of the eight pillars of the order.

The order oppressed by the European powers.

THE king of *Spain*, following the same path, obtained this year much the same kind of brief from that pontif in favour of the young archduke *Venceslaus*, of the house of *Austria*, and newly admitted into the order, in which the grand master was desired to grant him the reversion of the grand priories of *Castile* and *Leon*, together with the bailiwick of *Lora*, and the dignity of the great cross, after the death of the present incumbents. These, tho' some of the greatest preferments belonging to the *Castilian* tongue, they were obliged to consent to, out of complaisance to the *Spanish* monarch; and gave the young *Austrian* a grant of them accordingly, e as soon as he had taken upon him the usual vows belonging to the order. This was followed soon after by a worse infringement from *France*, where the council of *Henry III.* passed an arret, by which they authorised that monarch to name some of his subjects to the grand priories within his dominions; in consequence of which, he sent a letter to the grand master, desiring him to confirm those of *St. Giles*, *France*, and *Champagne*, in favour of *Francis* of *Lorraine*, the queen's brother, which were the three most considerable priories in that kingdom.

THEY were upon the point of receiving a still more mortifying blow from several members of *Germany*, where the diet, then assembled, proposed, that the *German* knights should join themselves to those of the *Teutonic* order, that they might thereby render it more powerful, and f put it in a condition to carry on the war in *Hungary* with more success against the *Turks*: but this motion was strenuously opposed by their ambassador at the diet, and so artfully warded off by his address, that they thought fit to drop it.

THE last remarkable thing that happened in this year, with respect to the *Maltese* order, was, the noble answer which cavalier *Bongranni Giantigliazzi* gave to soltan *Selim II.* at *Constantinople*. This knight had been, with the grand master's consent, sent thither by the duke of *Tuscany*, as his ambassador. The soltan one day having shewn him a plan of the city of *Valetta*, and its outworks, asked him whether it was exact, and whether the place was actually so strong as it was there represented? and was answered by him in words to this effect: *It hath really all the strength that your majesty sees there; but there is one main part of it which your engineer hath not taken notice of, and which consists in the intrepid valour of above 1000 of its g knights, who are all ready to fight in its defence to the last drop of their blood.*

Complaints
made against
the grand
master.

The pope puts a
stop to them.

THE year 1578 was likely to have proved still more unquiet, through the heavy complaints a which eight *Castilian* knights preferred to the council against the grand master, on account of the several grand priories with which he had complimented the pope and the kings of *Spain* and *France*, in behalf of their favourites, and in prejudice to their own rights, in virtue of their seniority and merit. These discontents, which were privately countenanced by some of the principal knights of the order, out of dislike to the grand master, arose to such a height, that he was obliged to appeal to the pope, who, being the first leader of the dance, could not well fail of supporting him in it. The pontif accordingly summoned the malecontents to appear before him, which they at first excused themselves from, under pretence that, being destitute of any patrimony, as well as of preferment in the order, they were in no condition of bearing the charges of such a voyage. The grand master easily obtained from the pontif a dispensation from it, but it was upon condition that they should come and present themselves before him in full council, with each a lighted wax taper in his hand, and in the humblest guise ask his and the council's pardon for their past misbehaviour which they were forced to comply with; and, after having received a very severe reprimand from the grand master, were admitted again to their pristine dignities. b

In the same year happened the death of the grand prior of *Bohemia*, which gave the order fresh apprehensions that the emperor would, as usual, take upon him the nomination of one of his favourite creatures to that considerable post, to the prejudice of the ancient rights of the order; to prevent which, the grand master dispatched the baily *Shomborn* his ambassador to the imperial court, with express orders to take *Prague* in his way, and to secure the interest of the chevalier *de Verdembergh*, a person in the highest favour with the emperor. *Shomborn* accordingly applied himself to him, and earnestly pressed him to ascertain the privileges of the order, and at the same time presented him with a patent from the grand master, which nominated him to that dignity. The stratagem succeeded to their wish, and the emperor confirmed his favourite in that priory without any difficulty. c

A sedition
raised against
the grand
master.

AT the end of the same year arrived the *Portuguese* ambassador, to notify to the order the death of the late king *Don Sebastian*, who had been slain on the 22d of *September* 1578, at the battle of *Alcazar*, in which several *Maltese* commanders likewise lost their lives; and the accession of *Don Henry* to that crown. Presently after this, *Gargalla*, then bishop of *Malta*, and *Cressini*, prior of the same, two turbulent spirits, laid the foundation for that dreadful storm which was not long afterwards raised against the grand master, their friend and benefactor. *Justinian*, grand prior of *Messina*, is sent ambassador by him to condole the kings of *Castile* and *Portugal* on the death of *Venceslaus*, archduke of *Austria*, lately presented with the grand priories of *Castile* and *Leon*, and of *Don John* of *Austria*, natural son to the emperor *Charles V.* He was likewise to make some pressing instances to those monarchs for some speedy succours, in order to put the island of *Malta* in a good state of defence against the *Turks*, who threatened it with a fresh armament. The bishop of *Malta* having taken upon him the juridical visitation of the grand hospital of the new city, which belonged solely to the grand master and council, not only excommunicated the stewards and other officers who opposed him, but, supported by his mutinous clergy, raised a strong party against them, who went about armed, and insulted those that sided with the grand master, who was thereupon obliged to order a guard of fifty men, in the great borough, to suppress their insolence. He sent next an embassy to *Rome*, to beg of the pope to interpose his authority. The pontif appointed the archbishop of *Palermo* to go to *Malta*, and make a strict inquiry into their contest; but, upon his arrival, he found it risen to such a height, and the generality of the order so incensed against the grand master, that he thought it the most expedient way to summon the contending parties to appear before the pope, and immediately after returned to *Rome*, followed by the *Maltese* bishop. d

A plot against
the grand
master.

In the mean while three officers of the inquisition were accused of a design of poisoning the grand master, and, when examined, informed against several knights of the order, some of them of the first rank, as accomplices with them, together with signor *Petrucchi*, grand inquisitor of the island. Some of them, without the least regard to decency or duty, broke into the council-chamber, and insolently asked him what proofs he had that any of them had conspired against his life? and insisted that three knights of the order, whom they named, should be sent ambassadors to the pope, to demand justice against him; but two of them declining the commission, that motion was set aside for a while, in order to be soon after resumed with greater warmth. Accordingly by the next year the council, supported by the principal commanders of the order, declared themselves against him, and insisted either upon his abdicating or being deposed. e

ROMEGAS, one of the heads of the sedition, and remarkable only for his brutish valour, g objected, amongst other things, against him, that he was grown superannuated, stupid, and indolent;

a indolent ; was always observed to be nodding or asleep at the council, and at the most important debates ; and that he was more attentive to the behaviour of the women than to the preparations which the infidels were carrying on against the order. Not content to vilify his character by the most scandalous reflections and insinuations, *Romegas*, with three other chiefs of the faction, at the head of a numerous troop of mutineers, broke into his palace, and seized on his person, in virtue of the decree of the council, and, having clapped him into an open chair, conducted him as a criminal to the castle of *St. Angelo*, amidst the curses, execrations, and insults of an infligated multitude, and there confined him close prisoner. Their next resolution was to send an ambassy, to justify their proceedings to his holiness *Gregory XIII.* ; at the head of which *Romegas* caused one of his tools to be nominated. This was followed closely
b by another from the grand master, who, confined as he was, found means to send four knights of character and merit to defend his cause before that pontif.

Two days after their departure arrived the commander *Chabrilan*, admiral of the order, with his gallies, and a good number of knights. They, immediately upon their landing, insisted upon going to the grand master, which the revolted were obliged to comply with. That brave knight immediately offered to take him out of his confinement, and to conduct him to his palace at the head of 2000 men, which he had under him ; but the grand master as generously refused it ; telling him, that he would owe his restoration solely to the holy see, and not to any hostilities that might be committed by his children in his behalf. Soon after this, the king of *France*, being informed of the ill treatment which he had received from the
c order, sent him word by an express to assure him, that he would assist him with all his power to quell the sedition, and punish the fomentors of it ; but that offer was likewise civilly declined by him.

In the mean time, the pope, having heard the ambassadors of both sides, sent his auditor *de Rota*, in the quality of nuncio, to summon the grand master and *Romegas* to appear before him. *La Cassiere* accordingly set sail, and arrived at *Rome*, attended by near 800 knights of the order, and met with a most gracious reception from the pontif ; whilst *Romegas*, who was no less pressing for an audience from him, was answered, that his holiness was fully determined not to admit him into his presence, till he had divested himself of the administration which he had taken upon him during the grand master's imprisonment. This news affected
d him to such a degree, that, we are told, he swooned away at the first hearing of it. He was quickly after seized with a violent fever, which carried him off in a few days. His ambassadors, and their adherents, were thereupon ordered to appear before the grand master, and to beg his pardon. *Sacquenville*, the chief of the ambassy, appeared at the head of them, and contented himself with asking his hand to kiss : but was thunderstruck, when he heard the cardinal *de Montalto* address him with these words, *Down on your knees, you rebel, and know that it is owing to the singular goodness of your worthy grand master that you have not had your head cut off at the public place of execution.* After this, all the factious party were glad to submit both at *Rome* and *Malta*, and the grand master was restored to his dignity with the greatest marks of honour and esteem. The pope designed to have done the same to him at *Malta* by
e his nuncio, and was even pressing to have him return thither, and resume his former dignity and government ; but death soon after prevented it, and only his remains were carried thither *The grand master dies.* to be interred in the sepulchral chapel which he had caused to be erected for his predecessor, whilst his heart was deposited in the great church of *St. Lewis* at *Rome*. The pope caused the following inscription to be engraved on his monument, as it was composed by the famous *M. Andrea Maretto* : *Fratri Joanni episcopo, magno militiæ Hierosolimitanæ magistro, viro fortissimo, religiosissimo, splendidissimo, cujus, ut igne aurum, sic calumniis spectata ac probata integritas etiam enituit. Sacra sodalitas militum Hierosolitanorum patriæ principi optimo mærens posuit. Vixit annos 78, obiit Romæ 12 kalend. Januarii, 1581 †.* He died at *Rome* about three months after his arrival there, worn out with age, fatigues, and vexations, on the 21st
f of *January*, 1581, in the 78th year of his age, and 9th of his grand mastership. An author, who was then at *Rome*, adds, that he outlived but a few days his competitor *Romegas* ; and that the judges, delegates, notaries, witnesses, and writings, relating to that contest, were all sunk, with the ship that carried them, into the bottom of the sea, by a storm which overtook them in their return to *Malta*, the Divine Providence not permitting that any records or traces of that accusation should remain ^m.

WHEN the council of *Malta* received the news of the grand master's death, they began to be apprehensive lest pope *Gregory* should take upon him the nomination of his successor ; to
The pope directs the election at Malta.

† VERTOT, Hist. Malt. l. xiv. tom. v. p. 161.

‡ NABERAT, Privil. Hierosol. sub *La Cassiere*.

prevent which, they immediately dispatched a new embassy to *Rome*, to beg of him that he would permit them to enjoy their ancient privilege of election. The pope, having caused the records of his predecessors to be examined, dismissed them with a general answer, that he would shortly send them a brief by his nuncio signor *Visconti*, whom they should find to be perfectly well acquainted with his intentions on that head.

THE brief arrived accordingly on the 12th of *January* following, by which that pontif enjoined them to make choice of one of the three persons named in it; viz. *Hughes de Loubenz de Verdalle*, of the tongue of *Provence*, and grand commander of the order, *Panisse*, grand prior of *St. Giles*, and *Chabrilan*, grand baily of *Manosque*, all three natives of *France*, and persons of valour and merit. The chapter, however, knowing the first of them to be in greatest favour with the pontif, having resided at his court as their ambassador, made choice of him without any opposition; soon after which his election was confirmed by his holiness, by a brief, in which he united the dignity of *Turcopalerio*, which had formerly belonged to the knights of the *English* tongue, with that of grand master; to which it hath been joined ever since. Several other privileges and exemptions were confirmed in the same year in favour of the order, both by that pontif and several other Christian princes; particularly in *France*, the parliament of *Dijon* declared the knights to be capable of succeeding and inheriting the estates of their parents, &c. which had been often contested before.

In the next year he summoned a general council, in which several abuses were reformed, not only with regard to some disorders which had crept in, more particularly during the late sedition, but with respect to the revenues and responsions, &c. of the order; after which a general tax was raised out of all the estates belonging to it, in order to provide for the security of the island against the *Turks*, and particularly to add some new fortifications to those of the island of *Gosa*.

ABOUT the same time a contest between the tongues of *Italy* and *Arragon* being brought before the council about precedence, it was given in favour of the former.

IN the succeeding year the *Malttese* admiral, *Avograde*, being accused before the said council of sundry misdemeanors, was deprived of his offices, condemned to a year's imprisonment, and the revenue of his baliwick for three years confiscated to the public treasury. Some gallies were ordered to scour the seas, in conjunction with those of the duke of *Tuscany*; whilst those of the *Venetians* continued to make reprisals on those of *Malta*, and these on theirs. *Andrew Doria*, the famous *Genoese* admiral, arrived at *Malta* about the same time, where he was received with suitable magnificence. He had divers conferences with the grand master and council during his stay; and several proper measures were taken for opposing the *Turkish* power, and assisting the island in case of an invasion from that quarter. In the same year was brought a bull from pope *Gregory*, excluding the knights of the order from being chosen bishops of *Malta*, and priors of that cathedral; soon after which that pontif died, and was succeeded by *Sixtus V.*

THE next year was mostly spent in disquisitions and contests between the grand master and the council, about the right of nominating the admiral of the gallies, and the person who was to command in the grand capitana, which laid the foundation of an irreconcilable misunderstanding between them. The ferment and feuds arose to such a height, that an order was passed on the next year, expressly forbidding the carrying about pocket-pistols, daggers, stilettos, and other such weapons as were only used by banditti and assassins. This prohibition, though it prevented many disorders that frequently happened at this time, yet rather irritated than allayed the reigning spirit of sedition; insomuch that the grand master, unable to support his authority any longer under it, thought proper to leave the island, and sailed directly to *Rome*, whence the pope, in order to procure him greater regard from the malecontents of the convent, sent him back with the dignity of cardinal; which, however, only served to aggravate the resentments of the mutinous, whose chief objection against him was his too great compliance with the see of *Rome*, and his little regard to the rights and interests of the order. Upon his arrival at *Malta*, he appointed *James Bosio* to continue the history of the order, which had been begun by the commander *John Anthony Frossan*. All this while the gallies ranged the seas, and brought in considerable prizes; and the new pope *Gregory XIV.* was pleased, about this time, to publish a brief, by which all the effects of the *Jews* taken at sea, on what bottoms soever, were deemed lawful prizes.

IN this year the island was afflicted with a terrible pestilence, which swept away vast numbers both in the city and other parts of the island. The Jesuits being about this time invited thither by *Gargalla*, bishop of *Malta*, came and settled there; and the grand master erected a convent for the *Capuchin* friars, who came and settled there also.

50.
Hughes de
Loubenz de
Verdalle.
1582.

1584.

• Some contests
between the
grand master
and council.

- a On the next and following years, fresh attempts were made by the pope and *European* princes on the rights of the order, who bestowed several rich priories on their favourites; particularly *Henry IV.* of *France* disposed of that of *Aquitain* in favour of the commander *Chatte*; and that of *Auvergne* was given by him to baron *de Bellegarde*, though a layman. The castle of *Bosqueto*, built by the grand master, was called by his name mount *Verdalle*. All this while, neither his public works, nor other popular acts, being able to suppress the continual cabals of the malecontents, nor allay his uneasiness on that account, he takes his leave once more of the island, and returns to *Rome*, where he died with grief soon after his arrival. Others say that he died at *Malta*^c, full of discontent at the unjust invectives and complaints raised against him for having embezzled the public treasure; though he is said to have remitted no less than 200,000 crowns, which the treasury was indebted to him. However that be, his death happened on the 4th of *May* 1595, after having governed the order thirteen years and almost four months^d.

1593.
The capuchins
introduced at
Malta.

The grand
master dies.

- He was succeeded by *Martin Garzez*, of the tongue of *Arragon*, and at that time grand castellan of the imposts; a person who proved more acceptable to the order than his predecessor. He began his government with abolishing sundry duties, taxes, and imposts; and made an order, that no private knight, commander, or even grand master, should thenceforth be allowed to keep vessels of their own to go a cruising against the *Turks*, for the sake of plunder and their own private emolument. On the other hand, as the *Turks* were ravaging the kingdom of *Hungary*, almost without any opposition, he and the council passed a decree, that any knight of the order, who served in that country against the infidels, should be allowed their respective revenues, in the same manner as if they had been employed in the galleys of the order, or had been residing in the island; upon which great numbers of them transported themselves thither, and signalized themselves against those invaders. This act so far obliged the emperor *Rodolphus II.* that, on the next year, he terminated the long contest about the grand priory of *Bohemia*, to the satisfaction of the order; the diploma of which was dispatched soon after to the grand master. The inquisitors, who had, during the grand mastership of the late *La Cassiere*, caused some disturbances in the island, began afresh to make them feel the effects of their encroachments and arbitrary proceedings, and made the order wish, when it was too late, that they had never given any admittance to that office. This year the grand master and chapter passed a decree in favour of the *Swiss*, by which they were allowed to be admitted into the priory of *Germany*, provided the candidates proved their descent from their progenitors by lawful marriage both on their father and mothers side, during three generations, and all to have been of the catholic religion, and that none of them had ever exercised any mechanic trades, but been employed in military offices, as captains, commanders, &c. in which case their martial calling should intitle them to admission, instead of nobility of blood. This century concludes with making some new fortifications in the islands of *Malta* and *Gosa*; and the next begins with some new contests between the tongues of *Italy* and *Germany*, about the priory of *Hungary*, which are followed by much more dangerous ones between the grand master and the officers of the inquisition, who, to gain the pope's favour, assumed, by that time, such an exorbitant degree of authority, as rendered them odious and insupportable to the whole order, and helped to shorten the grand master's life, who died on the 7th of *February* of the following year, after having governed the order five years and nine months.

1597.
51. Martin
Garzez.

- He was succeeded by *Alof de Vignacourt*, grand hospitaller of the order, and of the tongue of *France*, on the 10th of the same month. This gentleman, who was descended from an illustrious house in *Picardy*, signalized his government, above all his predecessors, not only by the unusual length of it, but much more by the variety of memorable events which happened during the course of it. His first care, after having notified his election to the several Christian powers of *Europe* by splendid ambassies, was to oppose the encroachments of the inquisitor *Veralli*, who had assumed a right of intermeddling with the affairs of government, and was therein openly supported by pope *Clement VIII.* Their insolence was indeed grown to such a monstrous height during the two former governments, that there was a necessity for this new grand master to let them know betimes that he was fully determined to confine them to their own proper province. In the same year the galleys of the order, according to a well-concerted plan, made themselves masters of *Hammamet*, vulgarly called *Mahometta*, belonging to the district of *Susa*, on the coast of *Barbary*, a fortress built formerly by the *Tunisians*.

1601.
The grand
master dies.
52. Alof de
Vignacourt.

- On the next year they were sent on an expedition against *Lepanto*; and on the following, in which was held a general chapter of the order, they were employed in ravaging the island of *Lango*, once belonging to the order, when they were masters of *Rhodes*, but out of which

^c VERTOT, ubi sup. p. 166. NABERAT, BAUDOUIN, DAVITY, DAPPER, & al.

^d Ibidem ibid.

they were driven by the *Turks*, as we have already seen. Nothing remarkable happened upon the two following years, except the death of pope *Clement VIII.* and the election of *Paul V.* who, in prejudice of the right of the order, disposed of three commanderies belonging to the tongue of *Italy*, in favour of his nephews, and not long after, of that of *Benevento* in favour of cardinal *Buffaio*. These were not the only mortifications which that great man was obliged to submit to, from the usurping tyranny of the holy see, as we shall soon see in the sequel.

1607. THESE frequent violations, so detrimental to the order, inspired a *Dalmatian* knight, of the *German* tongue, with a project, which, if it had been put in execution, would have made some amends for their frequent losses. It was to obtain from the *Polanders* the restitution of the rich and extensive commandery of *Posnania*, which had long since fallen into secular hands, upon condition that a new body of knights should be established in that kingdom, whose office it should be to fight on horseback, and defend its frontiers against the *Turks*. The proposal was highly approved of by the grand master and council; but the execution of it proved impracticable, through the obstacles which a prince of the house of *Radziwil* put in its way, whose ancestors, it is probable, had by some means got possession of it.

1608. *A sedition at Malta.* ON the next year a sedition happened in the new city, occasioned by an attempt made by some of the order to get the count *de Brie*, natural son of *Henry* duke of *Lorraine*, admitted into the order; at which those of the *German* tongue were so exasperated, that they took down the arms of the grand master, and of the order, that stood over the great gate of their inn, and left only those of the emperor in their room. The affair was like to have been attended with some fatal consequences, the *Germans* being the most jealous and nice in point of blood and descent; but how it was compromised at last, our author has not thought fit to tell us.

ON the next year three commanders of the order, *Fresenet*, *Mauros*, and *Gaucourt*, surprized the fortress of *Lajazzo*, in the bay of that name, on the confines of *Natolia*. They burst open the gate by the help of a petard, entered and plundered the town, where they loaded themselves with rich plunder, rased the fortifications, and brought away above three hundred captives.

ON the next year the order lost a most noble friend and patron in the person of *Henry IV.* of *France*, who was treacherously stabbed by *Ravillac*.

ON this year the city of *Corinth* was taken and plundered by the gallies of the order.

1611. ON the next the duke of *Vendosme*, who had taken the habit of the order, was declared general of all the gallies belonging to it.

THE corsairs of *Barbary* having entered into a combination to surprize the island of *Gosa*, the grand master ordered some new fortifications to be added to it, and sent a fresh supply of troops and ammunition into it, which rendered the attempt abortive.

1615. *The pope makes fresh infringements.* THE order was alarmed at a fresh infringement of their privileges, by a grant made by the pope of the reversion of the grand commandery of *Reggio*, in favour of a younger son of the duke of *Modena*; a grant which might have been attended with dangerous consequences, had it not been compromised by the address and credit of the grand master.

SIXTY *Turkish* gallies land at *Malta*, and ravage the island, but could meet with no rich plunder, nor make any captives, through the timely precaution of the inhabitants, who had retired with their most considerable effects into the city and other fortresses of the island.

1616. THE grand master causes a noble aqueduct to be made from the city of *Malta*, since called the *Notable City*, to the new one of *La Valetta*, by which the latter is furnished with a sufficient quantity of water to supply a sumptuous fountain, which he caused to be erected in the great square that faces the palace, with a constant stream; a work, says our author, worthy of the magnificence of the antient *Romans*.

WE formerly took notice of the order of *St. Sepulchre* having, for the better defence of Christendom, been joined to the order of *St. John of Jerusalem*; but, about this time, the duke of *Nevers* having formed a project for disuniting them again, the grand master was obliged to send an embassy into *France* to traverse that design. Don *Lewis Mendez de Vasconcellos*, baily of *Acra*, a knight of great penetration and conduct, was the person who was sent ambassador extraordinary to the *French* court, and who, by his credit and singular address, prevailed upon the *French* monarch to oppose it; by which means it was set aside.

ABOUT the same time the famous *Taccardin*, prince of the *Drusii*, arrived at *Malta*, to procure the protection and assistance of the order against the tyranny and persecution of the grand signior, and met with a favourable reception.

1618. THE order caused a new galleon to be built at *Amsterdam*, at the public charge; the construction and equipment of which amounted to 60,000 ducats.

a At the same time the grand master caused some new fortifications to be added to the castles of *St. Paul*, *Marza*, *Sicaco*, and *Marza Scala*, and to those in the small island of *Comin*, situated between *Maltha* and *Gosa*.

In the same year the bishop of *Maltha*, who had for some time made sundry encroachments on the authority of the grand master and council, being complained against to the pope, was obliged to go to *Rome*, to justify his conduct. He left the care of the diocese to his vicar, ^{The bishop of Maltha sent to the pope.} who being a person of a turbulent spirit, exasperated the order against him to such a degree, that the young knights of every tongue agreed to fetch him out of his house, and throw him into the sea. The grand master, being informed of it, caused him to be rescued out of their hands, and sent him after the bishop, to answer for his mutiny and audaciousness before the holy see.

b The pope, pretending to resent the indignity done to the vicar, as done to the whole church, and to himself as head of it, sent orders to the grand inquisitor of the island to make a strict and severe inquiry into the cause of the contest, and to threaten the order with excommunication. Whereupon the grand master finding that the pontif was no friend to the order, was glad to make a feigned submission to him, to avoid the effects of his resentment.

On the same year the order lost a considerable number of knights, and others of their forces, in their fruitless attempt on the town of *Susa*, on the coast of *Barbary*, in conjunction with the rest of the Christian fleet. Many of them returned to *Maltha*, covered with wounds, of which several of them died soon after.

c This year arrived at *Maltha* Francis Ottoman, a Dominican friar, who pretended to be the son of sultan *Achmet*, and on the recommendation of cardinal *Verally*, president of the congregation of catechumens at *Rome*, met with a suitable reception from the grand master and order; soon after which the *Maltese* gallies made an attempt upon *Castell Tornese* in the *Morea*, under the conduct of the commander *Alfonso Castel St. Pedro*, their admiral. They had already opened their way into the place, which was the public magazine of that peninsula, by the means of three petards; when the grand master was informed by a *Greek*, that, if they did not retire with speed, they would be all cut in pieces by 4000 *Turks*, who were then at a small distance, which obliged that general to sound a retreat, which he did time enough to get all his men on board, with their plunder and prisoners.

1620.

d GREGORY XV. succeeds *Paul V.* at *Rome*; and, by a new bull, confirms all the privileges of the order granted by his predecessors, but quickly after invades those which belonged to the *Italian* tongue, by disposing even of the reversion of some of their commanderies; by which they saw themselves deprived of their right of succession to them, according to the title of eldership and merit.

1621.

e ABOUT the same time the commander of *Chatte-Gassan* was sent by *Lewis XIII.* of *France* to desire the grand master to permit the gallies of the order to join with his own against the *Huguenots*, who were in arms in the southern parts of his dominions; upon which the commander *Castellani de Montemedano* was ordered to sail with them, and the galleon newly built at *Amsterdam*, directly for *Marseilles*. Soon after, the grand master being out a hunting in the height of the hot weather, in the month of *August*, and in too eager pursuit of a hare, was seized with an apoplectic fit, and was immediately conveyed to the new city, where, being taken proper care of, he lived till the 14th of *September* following, after having appointed *Nicholas la Marra*, admiral, his lieutenant, and died in the 75th year of his age, and 21st of his grand mastership.

He was succeeded by *Lewis Mendez Vasconcellos*, of the tongue of *Portugal*, and grand baily of *Acra*, who was proclaimed on the 17th of the same month, but had hardly enjoyed his new dignity six whole months before death deprived the order of him, whilst he was taken up in making many new regulations for restoring the antient discipline. He died on the 6th of *March* following, in the 80th year of his age, and was succeeded by

53. Lewis Mendez Vasconcellos.

f ANTHONY DE PAULO, grand prior of *St. Giles*, and then 71 years of age, who had the mortification to find that *Urban VIII.* who succeeded *Gregory XV.* made as little scruple of invading the rights of the order as his predecessors. In the first year of his government, a *Portuguese* novice of the order, named *John Fonseca*, having been convicted of murder and theft, was publicly beheaded; and, on the next year, the prior of *Capua* was condemned to perpetual imprisonment for defrauding the public revenue of several considerable sums, and died in his confinement. On the other hand, there were many of the order, who publicly accused the grand master of several crimes at the court of *Rome*, such as lewdness and simony; upon which he was obliged to send the commander *Hilliar de Polastron*, a person of a most exemplary life, ambassador to *Rome*, to refute these unjust calumnies, and to justify his character.

1624. 54. Antony de Paulo.

g HE had scarcely extricated himself out of that difficulty, before he was involved in a greater; as he had to deal with pope *Urban VIII.* who was both judge and party, and had taken upon him the disposal of all the *Italian* commanderies in favour of his relations and favourites; in-

much

much that they reckoned no less than seventeen of the best of them, which had been thus arbitrarily given away by him and his two predecessors, in prejudice of the *Italian* tongue. This injustice increased the discontent to such a degree among the knights of that nation, that they refused to perform their caravans, and other duties of their order, and many of them abandoning the island retired to their own respective patrimonies, or among their relations and friends. The grand master, unable to put a stop to such complicated disasters by any other means, found himself obliged to send ambassadors not only to the court of *Rome*, but also to the courts of *Germany*, *France*, and *Spain*, who being all staunch members of the order, and men of the highest rank and character, failed not to represent to those Christian princes the injustice of that pontif's proceedings in the most lively terms. These ambassadors were moreover ordered to complain of frequent dispensations granted at *Rome* to the knights of the order, by which they were impowered to dispose of their effects to the prejudice of the common treasury, and consequently the whole community. All these commissions were executed with the utmost exactness and zeal by those ambassadors. Some of those princes were pleased to represent those injuries done to the order, as extremely displeasing to them, by their ambassadors at the court of *Rome*, but without any effect; the pontif proved deaf to all their remonstrances, and complaints of the grand master, and, instead of receding from his pretensions, did only give them a more extravagant scope.

1625.

THIS year the galleys of the order made an unsuccessful attempt on the island of *St. Mauro*, belonging to the *Turks*, in which they had twelve of their knights slain, besides a much greater number wounded, with the loss of their other forces, and some of their vessels. This was followed soon after by the loss of two of their prime galleys, the *St. John* and *St. Francis*, in an engagement at sea against the *Turkish* corsairs. In this likewise several of their commanders and knights were slain, others wounded, and some taken prisoners, and carried into slavery.

NOTWITHSTANDING all these losses, and others of a different nature, which had reduced the order to very great straits, the pope, still inexorable to all their complaints, continued his old way of disposing of the *Italian* commanderies amongst his own relations and favourites.

The grand master orders a new gally to be built, and added to the other five, which the order usually kept at sea, in order to suppress the insolence of the *Barbary* corsairs. *Urban VIII's* enmity to the order still increasing, by the continual complaints they made against his violent proceedings, he published this year an ordinance, *motu proprio*, by which he altered the order which had hitherto been observed in the election of their grand masters.

1628.
The pope alters
the order of
electing the
grand master.

ANTHONY BOSIO, the natural son of *Ottavio de Bosio*, and since adopted by his brother *James*, famous for his great learning, particularly his knowledge in ecclesiastical history, as well as for his other learned works, and, among them, his *Roma Subterranea*, succeeded his adoptive father in the office of agent of the order at *Rome*, and, being the last of that name, inherited the great estates of that illustrious family. The pope, still more eager in pursuit of his own private views, attempted to change the ancient customs, that, till then, were used in the general chapters of the order; but was soon after obliged to recede from some of his new regulations.

1631.

The pope makes
some new
changes.

ON the next year the Christian slaves belonging to the *Turkish* ship commanded by *Manni Beigh* of *Famagusta*, in the island of *Cyprus*, revolt and kill him and all the rest of his soldiers, and sail with the galley to *Malta*. A general chapter of the order being to be convened on the 11th of *May* of the same year, the pope consented that they should proceed according to the ancient custom of choosing sixteen commissaries, two for each tongue; but insisted upon his inquisitor's presiding over them, and upon his appointing, during his absence, whom he should think fit, to perform that function in his stead; and that he should moreover be authorized to prorogue or suspend the chapter, if he saw it proper. To which the grand master answered the pontif, that he, for his own part, was ready and willing to comply with his holiness's orders; yet the rest of the community so highly resented his introducing a stranger into the government of the order, under the title of president, that, to prevent the ill consequences that might ensue, he thought himself obliged to intreat him to desist from such an unusual and dangerous proceeding. The pope paying no regard to their remonstrances, and the grand master and council seeing themselves forced to obey, a general revolt was likely to have ensued in the convent, especially among the younger members. To avoid which, they thought it expedient to send them out a cruising, during the whole sitting of the chapter.

ON *Sunday* the 11th of *May*, accordingly, the grand chapter assembled, at which the grand master presided as usual, and a great number of the chief commanders, grand priors, and other officers of each tongue, assisted. The inquisitor immediately, after the usual formalities, presented them with the pope's brief, which appointed him president over the sixteen commissaries, but without any authority to vote or intermeddle, to propose or advise, in any matter on the tapis. The grand master and chapter thought it the most prudent way to accept of it on those restrictions; and it was accordingly received, and submitted to. The chapter

a chapter proceeded soon after to the election of sixteen commissaries, who, with the inquisitor at their head, retired to the hall or room appointed for their session, and proceeded to the business which was committed to their management, without any molestation or demur on the part of the pope's inquisitor. This being the last general chapter that was held at *Malta*, the regulations and decisions of it have served ever since as a rule and law, by which all disputes and debates that have happened since then have been determined, and are like to continue so as long as the order subsists.

THE following year was rendered remarkable by the general census which was taken of all the inhabitants of the two islands of *Malta* and *Gosa*, which were found to amount to 51,750, Number of inhabitants in Malta and Gosa.

b men, women, and children, exclusive of the knights of the order, the ecclesiastics and familiars belonging to the inquisition.

ABOUT the same time one of the gallies belonging to the order, called the *St. John*, being driven by stress of weather on the coasts of *Calabria*, was dashed in pieces; but the crew got safe to land, and the artillery, with a considerable part of the cargo, was likewise saved.

ON the following year, *Imbrol*, prior of the church, and one of the commissaries chosen by the late chapter, offers himself to write a general history of the order, and obtains leave to search all the records and registers of chancery, &c. in order thereunto; not long after which another knight of the order, named *Cæsar Mugalotti*, a person of great learning, is recommended by cardinal *Barberini*, as a proper person to compile the same history. They were

c both approved of by the council, and both set about the work; but neither of them have completed it. And it is not unlikely, as we observed at the beginning of the last section, that they found the subject exhausted by *Bosio*, so far as his own had been continued; and that what had happened since that time was too inconsiderable to countenance the compiling of two new ones. And may not that be the reason why no other author, who hath writ the history of the order, hath thought fit to carry it on further than we have done?

BE that as it will, in the next year general *Valdi*, admiral of the *Maltese* gallies, attacked The Maltese four *Moorish* vessels, about the latter end of *April*, near the coasts of *Lepanto*, laden with 650 take several negroes, and other commodities from *Barbary* for *Constantinople*, and, after an obstinate fight, made himself master of them. He fell soon after upon some corsairs belonging to *Tripoli*, and

d carried off 338 slaves, and delivered about 60 Christian captives.

THE *Venetians* sent heavy complaints to the grand master, on account of his gallies making such prizes on the seas belonging to the republic; to which he ordered his ambassador there to declare, that he would willingly surrender all the subjects of the grand signor that were taken on the *Adriatic* gulph; but, as to the *Barbary* corsairs, he should make no scruple to sell them for slaves, as profligate wretches, that were sworn enemies to all nations and religions. Much such another misunderstanding happened about the same time between the order and the republic of *Lucca*, and was likely to have been attended with some dangerous consequences, which the pope, however, prevented, by interposing his authority.

ABOUT this time appeared the prince *Guchia*, who gave himself out to be a son of *Mohammed III.* by one of the Christian princesses of the house of *Comneni*, emperors of *Trebizond*, and pretended that his mother had caused him to be educated in a Christian country, and in the Christian faith. Few princes in *Europe* gave any credit to this story, though interest prevailed upon several of them, and amongst them the grand master and order, to engage in his quarrel, whether right or wrong.

IN the year following the pope applied himself to them, to endeavour to recover mount *Calvary*, the church of *St. Sepulchre*, the city of *Bethlehem*, and other places of the *Holy Land*, which had till lately been in the custody of the *Franciscan* friers of *Jerusalem*, but had been wrested out of their hands, by dint of money, by the *Greek* schismatics. The grand master and council readily approved of their design; but gave it as their opinion, that there was no

f other way of succeeding in it but by open force of arms, and in conjunction with other Christian princes, who, in that case, ought to shew no more mercy to any *Greek* schismatics that should fall into their hands.

THE next year was attended with the death of the grand master, who was attacked by a severe sickness, which held him near three months, whilst he was taken up in fortifying the new city with a new wall.

HE died on the 19th day of *July*, in the 85th year of his age, and the 14th of his government.

HE was succeeded by *Paul Lascaris Castelard*, great baily of *Manosco*, who was descended from the famed counts of *Vintimillia* in *Piedmont*, who were themselves descended from the imperial family of the emperors of *Nice*. His singular merit had got him admitted into the order so early as the 24th of *April* 1583; and he was now seventy years of age upon his being

1636.
The grand master dies.
55. Paul Lascaris Castelard.

^m VERTOT, ubi supra, vol. v. p. 199, & seq.
^e Ibid. vol. vi. p. 628, & seq.

ⁿ De his vide Ant. Hist. vol. vii. p. 290, & seq.

chosen to the grand mastership. The island, at this time, laboured under a great scarcity of corn, which made him apply himself to the president of *Sicily* for a fresh supply, as usual; but that being refused, the commander *Nati*, admiral of the *Maltese* gallies, had recourse to the viceroy of *Naples*, who readily furnished him with a large quantity of it, without duty or impost; which was the more welcome at this time, as the new grand master had kept a great number of workmen constantly employed in carrying on the fortifications which his predecessor had begun. The person who presided over them was the famed engineer *Floriano*, whom he had honoured with the habit and the cross of the order, on account of the great skill and diligence with which he acquitted himself of that trust.

The inhabitants formed into regiments, &c.

THAT nothing might retard the work, as the island was threatened with a new armament from *Turkey*, he ordered some money to be coined, as formerly, for the more regular payment of the workmen; and, for the better security of the inhabitants, he caused them to be regularly divided into regiments and companies, commanded by knights of the order, and to be duly armed and exercised, so as to be always ready to oppose the descents of the *Turkish* and *Barbary* corsairs.

The viceroy of Sicily refuses the usual supply of corn.

ABOUT the same time Don *Pedro de Vintimillia*, another knight of that family, settled an income of 2000 crowns *per annum* for ever, for the maintenance of an extraordinary galley, which was to be called the *St. Peter*. His example was followed by the grand prior of *Venice*, who founded another under the name of *St. Nicholas*; and the commander *Conrard Scheifurt*, of the *German* tongue, founded the new commandery of *Breslaw*, for the service of the order. These fair beginnings of his new government were, however, quickly overclouded, by the inveterate rancour which the viceroy and president of *Sicily* bore to the order, who not only refused to supply it with the usual quantities of corn specified in the grant of the emperor *Charles V.* but ordered an embargo to be laid upon any *Maltese* ships that should sail into any of their harbours.

THE occasion or pretence for this misunderstanding was, that, the crowns of *France* and *Spain* being then at war, some *French* knights of the order had been suffered by the grand master to make some considerable prizes in *French* gallies at the very entrance into the harbour of *Malta*; in revenge of which the regency of *Sicily* had ordered two *Maltese* gallies, then in the port of *Syracuse*, to be disarmed; which the *Maltese* commander being timely apprised of, forthwith set sail and got away. The governor tried to bring him back by firing upon him, and at length discharged his whole artillery upon him, in spite of which the ships got off, and arrived safe at *Malta*. This strange conduct of the *Spanish* governor caused an universal surprize, but more especially in *Italy*, whose dominions had been so long protected by the bravery of the *Maltese* gallies from the ravages of the *Turkish* and *Barbary* corsairs. This was the first time that this Christian bulwark had ever been cannonaded by any but infidels; but that they should be so now by the *Spaniards*, who had reaped the greatest advantages from their valour and protection, was justly deemed a piece of the foulest ingratitude; and the duke of *Montalto*, the then viceroy of that island, was so ashamed of it, that he openly disapproved and condemned the deed, and laid all the blame on the governor of *Syracuse*, and, by way of satisfaction to the order, promised, or at least gave out, that he would suffer corn to be exported by their gallies; though we see by what passed afterwards that he never designed it.

The grand master's partiality to France.

HOWEVER, the viceroy, as well as his master, had just reason to complain against the order, for suffering the *French* ships to cruise even to the very chanel of *Malta*, and make prizes of their ships; and the grand master was loudly complained against for winking at it, insomuch that he was shrewdly suspected of being privately a favourer of the *French* court. To wipe off which aspersion, one of those *French* vessels having brought an *Algerine* prize into his port, the grand master charged the captain, and all the knights of the order, not to make any prizes or take up arms against Christian princes, as contrary to the design of their institution. He afterwards complained of it to the *French* king, and in the strongest terms, represented to him the discredit it was to his order, as well as the injury it did to commerce, to suffer the knights that fought under his banners to attack and carry off the *Sicilian* vessels as lawful prizes; and how much such a proceeding must exasperate the court of *Spain* against his whole order, and especially against himself, as acting in concert with its enemies. These representations, though they made a great noise, yet proved of little effect, either towards suppressing these abuses, or the clearing of him from the suspicion of being too partial to the *French* interest.

IN the same year *Charolt*, admiral of the *Maltese* gallies, made several considerable prizes on the *Barbary* corsairs, particularly on three large vessels belonging to *Tripoli*, which were sent to escorte a much greater number of other rich vessels, and whom he boarded at once, without the usual salute of a broadside. The engagement was fierce and bloody, the *Turks* having in their little fleet above 450 soldiers, commanded by a *Marisian* renegade, named *La Becasse*, who had served a long while as pilot in the gallies of the order, and whose wife

a wife and children were still in *Malta*; but who having been taken by the corsairs of *Tripoli*, was turned *Mohammedan*, and by his valour was now raised to the dignity of admiral.

IMMEDIATELY upon their boarding the *Turkish* gallies, *Marcel de Chateaufneuf*, brother to the commander of the *St. Peter*, attacked the renegado, mounted his ship sword in hand at the head of a number of other knights, and, having seized on the traitor, caused him to be conveyed into his brother's ship, where he had served as pilot, and where he was quickly clapped in irons, whilst he and the rest of his knights fell furiously on the *Turks*, and, after a long and sharp contest, made themselves masters of the ship. The other commanders were no less successful against those they attacked, insomuch that not one vessel, great or small, belonging to the *Turkish* fleet, escaped them, but were all brought safe to *Malta* by the victorious admiral, to the number of twenty, all richly laden. Besides the richness of the loading, they took 312 prisoners, and a number of Christian captives; but the prize cost the lives of several of their bravest commanders, besides a greater number of wounded; it being usual among those of the order to fight upon such encounters with much more heat than discretion.

WHILST this was transacting abroad, the bishop of *Malta*, desirous to increase the number of his clergy, made no scruple to ordain a great many young men, who seemed to take the habit merely to exempt themselves from the military duties and exercises to which the grand master had subjected the inhabitants. Complaints of it being sent to the courts *Rome* and *Spain*, the conduct of the bishop was highly blamed, and those new ecclesiastics condemned to perform the duties of their function, without being exempt from the military ones which were imposed on the seculars. This wise precaution put an end to that shameful practice, which there was then the greater necessity to suppress, as the island was in no small apprehension of a speedy visit from the *Turks*. However, though the pope indulged the order so far in that one instance, yet, in the main, he never departed from his unfriendly conduct towards them; and, in this very year, issued out a brief, by which the knights were impowered to make wills, and bequeath their effects to their relations, which was an expeditious way of ruining the public treasury, and was no less inconsistent with the institution and constant practice of the order, in virtue of the vow of poverty which they took at their first admission into it.

d By this time the jesuits, who, as we have lately observed, had been permitted to settle in the island, were become so obnoxious to the generality of the order, by the great influence they had gained over the grand master and principal commanders, that some of the younger knights took the advantage of the carnival season to go about masked in the habit of the society. These immediately brought their complaints of it to the grand master, who ordered them to be arrested, and closely confined; but their comrades came soon after, and, breaking the prison open, brought them out in triumph. Not content with this, they marched directly to the college, drove the jesuits out, and flung their books and other moveables out of the windows, and at length obliged the grand master to banish them out of the island. Eleven of them were accordingly forced to embark for *Europe*; and only four of them, who had concealed themselves in the new city, staid behind. This riot, however, was so far from being attended with any ill consequences, that the council, and the far greater part of the order, seemed to be well pleased that it had proved such an effectual means of ridding the island of a set of members, who, to their great dislike, had so long usurped a kind of sovereignty over their grand masters.

f THE prince of *Hesse Darmstadt*, commander of the *Maltese* gallies, sails to the very port of the *Coletta*, and brings away from thence six *Barbary* corsairs, into the port of *Malta*; a timely help this, considering that the order had scarcely received any part of its revenue during the space of 20 years, whilst the greater part of the *French* and *Italian* commanderies were in a great measure ruined through the wars that reigned; insomuch that the exchange was become extravagantly dear; which obliged the grand master, who still continued carrying on the fortifications of the island, to borrow the sum of 200,000 crowns from the bank of *Genoa* at the common interest, in order to complete them. On the year following, 1641, the *Venetians* sequestered afresh all the revenues of the order in their dominions; and *Uladislaus IV.* king of *Poland*, insisted, by his letters to the grand master, that the grand commanderies in *Bohemia* should be in common between the *Polish* and *Bohemian* knights, as both belonged to the same tongue. These two difficulties contributed still more to embarrass the affairs of the order, which were yet more entangled in the following year, when *Urban VIII.* to prevent the league which was then forming in *Italy*, to invade the dominions of the duchy of *Parma*, sent to desire the grand master to assist him with some of his gallies; which he had no sooner completed, than he saw all the priories and revenues in the allied princes dominions seized by way of reprisal. It is easy to imagine what difficulties so many cross accidents must throw the *Maltese* council into, besides their continual apprehensions of a *Turkish* war.

However,

The bravery of the knights.

The young Maltese take orders, to avoid military exercise.

Prince Darmstadt's success against the Turks.
1640.

However, the grand master lost no time to disculpate this last step of his, which was taken a merely in obedience to the pontif, who was sovereign of the order ; and by assuring those princes, that he had given exprefs orders to his commanders to keep themselves on the defensive, according to the constant practice of it, which had always paid a due regard to the flag of all the Christian princes ; by which means he got those revenues restored quickly after.

ArichTurkish
galleon taken
by the Mal-
these.

1644.

IN the year following the gallies of the order, being on the cruise, perceived a large *Turkish* ship in full sail, at about four leagues distance from them. The capitana, which was the foremost, and nearest to it, began to give it chace, and was soon after joined by the *St. John* and *St. Joseph*. The *Turks* soon put themselves in a posture of defence, and kept making a continual fire upon them, both from their artillery and small arms ; which did not however prevent its being stopped by the grappling irons of the pursuers, and as quickly boarded and b taken. Three other gallies, viz. the *St. Laurence*, *St. Mary*, and the *Victory*, met soon after with a large galleon of the same nation, which, to allure them, had concealed its strength and artillery, and seemed to wait patiently for them ; whereupon the *St. Mary*, which was the best manned, quickly got the start of her, and, without regarding the disparity between them, grappled and attacked her sword in hand, but met with a most obstinate resistance. The other two coming up to his assistance, a fresh combat began with great fury on both sides, which lasted almost seven hours, in which the *Turkish* commander and several of his officers were killed, before the rest would surrender. The number of the slain on both sides was very great ; the *Maltese* lost nine of their bravest knights, besides a greater number of wounded ; the *Turks* lost 600 men, the greater part of whom were made prisoners, and, among them, a c lady of the seraglio and her young son, who were making a religious voyage to *Mecca*. This son, whom she was said to have had by soltan *Ibraim*, was afterwards converted, and became a monk of the *Dominican* order. As for the cargo of the galleon, it proved to be of immense value, and of singular service towards reimbursing the public treasury for the vast expence it is obliged to be at in keeping up such considerable armaments. However, the joy which this valuable prize occasioned at *Maltha* was in a great measure damped by the news they heard soon after, that soltan *Ibraim*, to whom the galleon belonged, had vowed a terrible revenge against the whole order ; in consequence of which he sent the year following a herald to *Maltha*, to declare war against the grand master and the whole island.

Ibraim resents
the loss of it,
and declares
war.

1645.

THIS alarm, though it proved a false one for the present, the storm having fallen elsewhere, d as we shall soon see, failed not to awaken the whole order, and put them upon making all the proper provisions to oppose so formidable a force as they were threatened with. The fortifications were carried on with the utmost vigour, the gallies employed in fetching all sorts of arms, ammunition, and provisions ; and the absent knights were every-where summoned to repair to the island, and to bring with them what volunteers and other forces they could get, to assist them in its defence. Among all those brave personages who signalized themselves upon this occasion, we cannot in justice omit mentioning the viscount *Arpajon*, a nobleman of one of the greatest families in *France*, who not only summoned all his vassals, but raised an army of 2000 men, armed and equipped them cap-à-pié, hired and loaded a great number of vessels with all necessaries for a war, embarked at the head of them, accompanied with a large train e of noble volunteers, and presented the order with such a considerable succour, as they could have hardly hoped for from any one crowned head. The grand master was so sensible of this important service, that, to gratify the viscount in the most honourable way he could, he nominated him generalissimo of all his forces, with full power of chusing two such lieutenant-generals as he thought fit, to command under him.

THIS dreaded storm, however, as we observed a little higher, instead of *Maltha*, fell upon the island of *Candia*, the success of which we have already seen in the *Turkish* history ; so that the grand master had nothing to do but to send his squadron of gallies to its assistance. As for the noble *Arpajon*, he took his leave of him with the most engaging politeness, and, with the consent of the council, presented him with an exprefs diploma of the order, by which he f and his eldest son were authorized to wear the golden cross ; one of his youngest sons was intitled, even in his minority, to be admitted into the order ; and, when of age, to wear the large cross ; and the heads of his family were from that time to wear it on their escutcheons, and in their coat of arms.

A Tunisian
prince, con-
verted, is re-
sued admit-
tance into the
order.

1646.

ON the year following the pope, at the request of the court of *Spain*, desired the grand master to admit Don *Philip*, the son of the king of *Tunis*, who had embraced the Christian religion, among the knights of the great cross. This request was however strongly opposed by the *Maltese* council, who thought it repugnant to the dignity of their order, that a *Moor*, whose conversion was still liable to suspicion, should have a rank among the pillars and principal members of it. In the course of the next, prince *Maurice* of *Savoy* g solicited the grand master and council in favour of *Jacaya*, who gave himself out to be a prince of the *Othman* family ; but they prudently declined engaging in his behalf, on

account

- a account of the small likelihood there was of placing him on the *Turkish* throne, unless the greatest princes of *Europe* should declare themselves for him. In the same year, pope *Innocent X.* conferred the grand priory of *Parma* upon a young nephew of his sister-in-law, named *Malda-Cbino*. This fresh invasion of the rights of the order obliged the grand master to send ambassadors not only to the court of *Rome*, but likewise to some of the chief princes in *Europe*, to represent to them the impossibility of the order's subsisting much longer, or of their being able to protect the Christian religion and commerce, whilst their rights, privileges, and revenues, which were the sinews of their power, were thus suffered to be infringed. This year the order lost two considerable members, *viz.* the commander *de Guise*, who was killed by the bursting of a new cannon; and the admiral *Jay*, who was killed by a musket-shot from an
- b *Algerine* corsair, whom he had attacked in the chanel of *Malta*, as he was going to make reprisals on the *Venetians* for sequestering the revenues of the order. Another great loss they sustained by the treaties of *Munster* and *Osnaburgh*, which disposed of several of their grand commanderies in *Germany* in favour of Protestant princes.

- In this year the island of *Malta*, labouring under a grievous famine, was providentially relieved by a fresh supply of corn. The master of a *Flemish* vessel was met, in his return from *Apulia*, where he had bought 2000 loads, by the commander *Cinqmar*, who offered to buy it of him, which he absolutely refused; not long after which a violent storm obliged him to put into the harbour of *Malta*, where he was glad to dispose of it, to the great joy of the inhabitants. At the same time four other gallies of the order, having been on the cruise
- c in the *Levant*, returned to the port of *Messina*, where the government, being apprehensive lest they should seize on some of the vessels riding in the harbour, laden with corn for other countries, laid an embargo on one of their ships, called the *St. Joseph*, commanded by Don *John de Bicki*, of the *Italian* tongue, and let the other three sail away for *Malta*, with a letter to the grand master, importing, that they had secured the *St. Joseph* merely to prevent an insurrection among the people, who laboured under as great a scarcity of grain as he did; upon which, without expressing any resentment against the *Messinian* magistrates, he ordered the same ship to sail for port *Augusta*, whence they quickly returned laden with it; yet was this new supply so far from sufficient, that even their infirmary was in want of wheaten, and the convent reduced to barley bread, and the rest of the inhabitants to the greatest distress for
- d want of it. The grand master was obliged again to send out his gallies in quest of it; but forbade the commanders to come near the ports of *Messina* or *Palermo*. The fate of sultan *Ibrahim*, who was strangled this year, and his son *Mohammed IV.* raised to the throne, did not prevent the war in *Candia* from being carried on with as much vigour as ever; nor was the grand master negligent in sending his gallies thither, with such other succours as he had formerly furnished. In the following year was fought the famous battle of *Foggia*, at the mouth of the *Dardanel*s, in which the *Venetians* gave the *Turks* a signal overthrow.

A famine in
Malta.
1648.

The war in
Candia con-
tinued.
1649.

- SEVERAL of the *Maltese* commanders signalized themselves at the siege of its capital, particularly their admiral *Balbiano*, a man of such experience and bravery, that the governor *Mocenigo* scarcely ever undertook any thing of moment without consulting him. The debate
- e being one day about recovering a half moon which the *Turks* had made themselves masters of, *Balbiano* immediately undertook the task, and, by the assistance of about 30 of his knights, and about 100 of his best soldiers, which he took out of the capitana, scaled the important work in the dead of the night, and, after a furious onset, forced the *Turks* to abandon the place, with the utmost confusion and precipitation; an enterprize which was admired even by the very enemy. The besiegers, emulous to retrieve their honour, endeavoured with a much greater number of men to recover it from them; to facilitate which, the basha caused a mine to be sprung, which blew up several *Maltese* knights, particularly one named *Fales*, a gentleman of a great family in *Switzerland*, who was buried up above the middle, but was immediately dug up, and helped the rest to repulse the enemy, and drive them off with
- f great loss.

ALL this while the scarcity continued raging at *Malta*; and corn became so excessive dear, and difficult to be procured, that the treasury was almost exhausted, to prevent the inhabitants from perishing through want; notwithstanding which, the grand master found means to raise a stout fort, called the castle of *St. Agatha*, on the coast of *Melecha*, which lay most exposed to the descents of the *Algerine* and other corsairs; put a good garrison into it, and caused it to be well provided with necessary stores, both for war and for the mouth.

- In the next year, when he sent to *Sicily* for the usual supplies, he was not a little surprised to find the viceroy as stiff in refusing them as ever, under pretence that he could not suffer
- g either corn or biscuit to be exported without manifest detriment to his *Spanish* majesty's subjects. This obliged him to have recourse to Don *John* of *Austria*, to whom he sent an extraordinary embassy for that purpose. Don *John* soon removed those obstacles by his authority; but that

1650.

did not prevent the viceroy's making very loud complaints against the grand master, who, it seems, still suffered the *French* gallies, under command of knights of the same nation, to make frequent prizes of those of *Spain* and *Sicily*; and insisting on that as a sufficient reason for his forbidding any provisions from being carried out of his government into *Maltha*. These complaints were carried on by both sides with much vehemence, and made a great noise in other *European* courts for a considerable while; notwithstanding which, we do not find that the grand master took any proper measure to prevent his *French* knights from infringing his former prohibitions, as well as the statutes of their order. This year a resolution having passed thro' the council, of erecting a library in the new city of *Valetta*, a regulation was made by it, that all the books, which should be found among the effects of a deceased knight, should not be sold with them, but sent to *Maltha*, to be deposited in the said library.

A large prize taken.

In the year following, the *Maltese* gallies took a considerable prize off cape *Bona*, a large *English* vessel, freighted for the *Turks* of *Barbary*, in which they took about thirty-two prisoners, and, among them, prince *Mehemed Ben Tbesi*, the son of the emperor of *Morocco* and *Fez*, then about 21 years of age; soon after which they sailed away to join those of the pope and *Venetians*. At the same time the *Spanish* and *Sicilian* courts, being more and more exasperated at the continual prizes which the *French* made of their ships, issued an express order, that all the lands and revenues within that kingdom, belonging to the order, should be sequestered, and that no *Maltese* ship should be admitted into their port, or be furnished with any kind of provisions. This obliged the grand master to have recourse to his former palliatives, and to renew his express prohibitions against those unlawful practices, under the severest penalties; and, to shew himself now in earnest, he strictly enjoined the commanders in all the ports of *Maltha* and *Gosa* to keep off all those privateers far enough from this coast; and to fire on them if they offered to come into any of the harbours of either island; which order was so punctually executed, that Don *John* of *Austria*, the *Spanish* generalissimo, was satisfied with it, and ordered the embargo and sequestration to be taken off. On the other hand, the pope, being informed that the number of slaves belonging to the *Maltese* gallies was considerably lessened, through their constant courses to and from *Candia*, made the grand master a present of 250 of his own, to supply their place.

The isles of St. Christopher, &c. bought by the order.
1652.

In the next year the grand master ordered a new galley to be built, and to be added to the other six; and much about the same time the order made a new purchase of the island of *St. Christopher*, by a contract made with the king of *France*, and ratified at *Maltha* by the grand master, and principal officers of the order. The conditions on which this cession was made from the former to the latter were contained in the two following articles; viz.

FIRST, That the order should engage to pay all the debts due from the company of proprietors to the inhabitants of the islands. 2dly, That they should pay the sum of 125,000 livres (*French*) for the purchase of the said island of *St. Christopher*, and those of *St. Martin*, *St. Bartholomew*, *St. Cross*, and some other small ones, together with all lands, houses, negroes, merchandize, provisions, ammunition, &c. which purchase was afterwards ratified and confirmed on both sides accordingly; soon after which the grand master appointed his nephew, the chevalier *de Sales*, to go and take possession of them in the name of the order, and to assist *Monf. de Poincy* to regulate the government, &c. of those islands, that commander being very old, and in a declining state. As for the pretended effects of that old knight, who died quickly after, they were found to be so far from answering the account he had given of them, that nothing appeared but debts which he had contracted, in order to keep himself in his government; but the purchase made amends for the want of effects to pay them.

1653.

In the next year happened an engagement between the *Maltese* squadron, whose crew of rowing slaves was considerably weakened by a contagious distemper which was got among them, and three vessels belonging to *Tripoli*, which they met in the chanel of *Maltha*. After some mutual cannonading, the *Maltese* admiral, not finding himself strong enough to oppose them, dispatched a light vessel to the island, to obtain a reinforcement. This action caused a general murmuring and dislike among the order, that being, it seems, the first time that any *Maltese* gallies had cannonaded an enemy a whole day, without attempting to board him; upon which the grand master sent him a fresh number of gallies well manned, with ten knights in each of them, to his assistance. But a favourable wind, which arose in the middle of the night, gave the infidels an opportunity to sail away unperceived; so that by the next morning they were got quite out of sight, and the squadron was obliged to return without success, to the great mortification of the grand master, who was in great expectations to see his grand nephew, who commanded it, enter the port victorious, and laden with plunder. In the same year happened a notable contest at the court of *Spain*, between the ambassador of the order and that of the duke of *Tuscany*, about precedence, which was at length decided in favour of the former, who was, by the peculiar privileges granted by several popes to the former grand masters, allowed to take place of those of all other princes who did not bear the royal title.

- a In the year following the order was in no small danger of having all their lands and revenues in *France* confiscated by the incensed *French* monarch. We have seen lately, that the grand master had been obliged, through the frequent complaints and threats of the *Spanish* court, to forbid all *French* ships to land in the island. A violent storm having thrown the *French* fleet upon the coasts, it was forced to retire by the fire which the grand master ordered to be made upon it from his artillery. This affront was highly resented by the *French* monarch; and his courtiers represented it as a crime amounting to no less than high treason against his person, and easily persuaded him to sequester all the lands and priories of the order to his own use. The grand master used all proper means to justify what he had done, affirming that it was pursuant to the engagements laid upon the order by the emperor *Charles V.* a copy of whose grant he sent to the *French* court by the baily *de Souvre*, his ambassador. The matter was at length compromised, by the address and mediation of the then secretary of state, whom the grand master had lately obliged, by admitting a young son of his, a minor, into the order, and bestowing a rich commandery upon him; and had no farther consequence.

The French
gallies fired
upon at Mal-
tha.
1654.

- In this year the *Genoese* ordered five gallies to be seized in their port, for having entered it without saluting their fleet; and contented themselves with paying that honour to the city and the *Spanish* capitana, whilst the magistrates sent them word, that, if they continued in their refusal, they would cause their artillery to fire upon them, and tear them in pieces; upon which the *Maltese* admiral was obliged to comply, to save his squadron, and sailed out soon after, with full resolution to be revenged upon them. He fired accordingly on the first ship he met with, which bore the colours of that republic; but, upon his being informed that it was only a merchantman, he contented himself with tearing its flag in pieces, in hopes of finding some more worthy object upon which he might wreak his resentment. The grand master and council, on their part, passed a decree not long after, that no *Genoese* should be admitted into their order, till that republic had made them ample satisfaction for the affront offered their squadron.

The Maltese
gallies affront-
ed at Genoa.
1655.

- In the same year the gallies of the order having joined the *Venetian* fleet consisting of 24 gallies, seven galleasses, and 28 other high vessels, under the command of the famed *Lance Marcella*, at the mouth of the *Dardanel*s, gained a complete victory over the *Turks*, which was followed by the reduction of the island of *Tenedos*. In the same year died the duke of *Ossuna*, viceroy of *Sicily*, and was succeeded by the commander *Martin de Redin*, of the tongue of *Arragon*, who sailed soon after to that island, to take possession of his new government. About the same time a young *Turkish* gentleman, who passed for the son of Soltan *Ibrahim*, together with *Mehemed Ben Thesi*, the son of the king of *Fez* and *Morocco*, were publicly baptized at *Malta*.

The Turkish
fleet twice de-
feated.

- In the year following, the *Maltese* squadron joined again the *Venetian* fleet, commanded by *Don Lazaro de Mecenigo*, in the chanel of *Jaro*, in order to prevent that of the *Turks*, commanded by the grand vizier *Mohammed*, recovering the island of *Tenedos*. They were joined by the pope's gallies, commanded by the grand prior *Bicchi*; soon after which, a fresh and fierce engagement ensued, in which the *Turks* were again defeated with great loss. This new victory was unanimously ascribed to the bravery and dexterity of the *Maltese* admiral; and the *Venetian* admiral sent to compliment him upon it; but having soon after closely pursued some of the *Turkish* vessels which had sheltered themselves under the cannon of the neighbouring fortresses, he had the misfortune to receive a cannon-ball into his ship, the *St. Barbara*, which setting it on fire, quickly blew it up, together with the *Venetian* admiral, and about 700 men that were in it. The Christian fleet retired soon after, each to their respective homes, which gave the *Turks* an opportunity of recovering the island of *Tenedos*.

- THE next year was attended by the death of the grand master *Lascharis*, in the 97th year of his age, and the 21st of his government, over whose remains *Lascharis*, his grand nephew, caused a stately mausoleum to be erected, with a suitable inscription, in the chapel belonging to the tongue of *Provence*, in the great church of *St. John*. Two factions immediately started up, the one for *Martin Redin de Navarre*, then in his government of *Sicily*; and the other, which called itself the flying squadron, consisted of ancient knights of the great cross, headed by the grand inquisitor *Odi*, who was an enemy to *Redin*, and who, to oppose his election, produced a brief from the court of *Rome*, which declared any knight, who had been guilty of bribery or corruption, incapable to succeed to that grand dignity, as being a simoniac, which crime he intended to fix upon him. *Redin* was nevertheless chosen by a great majority, in spite of all the cabals of the inquisitor and his party. These protested against the election; but *Redin* took care to be beforehand with them, and sent the whole process of it to *Rome*; to which he added a solemn declaration, that if his election was not acceptable to his holiness, he would cheerfully renounce it: but the pope, in no way inclined to follow the passionate steps of his inquisitor, and vexed that he should have opposed the election

Death of the
grand master.
1658.

56 Martin.
Redin de Na-
varre chosen.

of so worthy a knight, and minister of the king of *Spain*, quickly dispatched a brief to him, a by which he confirmed the election, and ordered him to carry it himself to the grand council; so that he, who had so strenuously opposed it, had the mortification to be the person appointed to declare his holiness's approbation of it. With this brief arrived *Bicchi*, the pope's nephew, and admiral of his galleys, who complimented the new grand master in his uncle's name; in gratitude for which honour he was by him presented with the grand commandery of *Polizi*, in *Sicily*, and, at his departure, with a large cross of the order enriched with diamonds.

1659. ONE of the first public acts of the grand master was, to secure the island from the descent of the infidels, by night especially; to which end he ordered strong towers to be built at proper distances along the coasts, into which the peasants of the island retired, and kept watch by turns; and settled a fund out of his own coffers for the maintenance of those that were employed to mount the guard, and to watch their respective coasts by night. He had the pleasure soon after to see his antagonist *Odi* recalled, and succeeded by *Casanetta*, a person more acceptable to him; but though the pope was thus complaisant to him in this respect, he was no less injurious to him and the order, by bestowing the richest commanderies in *Italy* upon his nephews. This did not hinder their joining their squadron with his, and making jointly several considerable prizes on the *Turkish* corsairs in the following year, and taking a sufficient number of prisoners to reinforce the crew of the *Maltese* squadron, which a contagious disease lately mentioned had greatly weakened. In their course they received a letter at one of the *Dardanel* islands, from the *Venetian* admiral, importing, that the *Turkish* fleet was retired to *Rhodes*, whence it was to sail soon after for *Constantinople*, and inviting them to come and join his fleet, and share with him the glory of defeating that of the *Turks*. Unluckily they met, in their way to him, three *Turkish* gallies, which they immediately prepared to engage; one of them, however, escaped by dint of its oars, the other ran aground, and one of them was taken; of which the grand prior *Bicchi*, the pope's admiral, had no sooner made himself master, than he resolved to sail with it to *Civita Vecchia*, in spite of all that *Mandolx*, the *Maltese* commander, could urge against it. After many warm expostulations, he found him inflexibly bent upon returning home; and, not daring to hazard the pope's squadron to sail without him, lest it should be attacked by the *Turkish* corsairs, he took the same rout, till they were got out of danger; after which the two squadrons parted each for its own port.

The grand master dies at Rome. THE next year, 1660, was remarkable for the peace which was concluded between *France* and *Spain*, which freed the grand master from the difficulties he had laboured under, as well as his predecessor, during the war; and gave him an opportunity of maintaining that neutrality between Christian princes, which the institution of the order laid him indispensably under. But he did not long enjoy his happiness, before he was taken off, on the 6th of *February*, in the third year of his grand mastership, by a violent fit of the stone, which, when extracted, weighed four ounces: his character, signal services, and the various dignities which he had enjoyed, are expressed in the epitaph which was afterwards engraven on his monument.

57. Annet de Clermont. HE was succeeded with the unanimous consent of the electors by *Annet de Clermont de Chattes Gessan*, grand bailly of *Lyons*, a person of a most illustrious family in *High Dauphiny*, and whose ancestors had been sovereigns of a territory between that and *Piedmont*, with the title of viscounts of *Clermont*. His piety, wisdom, and valour, gave the whole order great hopes of his future government; when the Divine Providence was pleased to dash them at once by his unexpected death, which happened four months after his election, occasioned, as was thought, by the wounds which he received at the taking of *Mabametta*, formerly mentioned, and which now opened afresh, and, to the inexpressible sorrow of the order, deprived them of him on the second of *June*, in the 73d year of his age.

58. Raphael Cotoner. HE was, after much caballing, succeeded by *Raphael Cotoner*; grand bailly of *Majorca*; who was accordingly proclaimed and installed on the fourth of *June*, with the usual solemnities. By this time the war between the *Venetians* and the *Turks* was at the height, and the former were forced to apply themselves to most of the *European* princes for assistance. *Lewis* of *France* had already sent them 3600 troops ever since the latter end of *April*, and pope *Alexander VII.* in conjunction with the new grand master, sent a number of their galleys to join their fleet. The design of the confederates was to recover the city of *Canea*, in the island of *Candia*, from the *Turks*; but as they had not a sufficient number of land-forces to form the regular siege of it, nor any likelihood of surprising it, they began with attempting several strong forts in the neighbourhood of it. We shall refer our readers for the sequel of this campaign to what hath been already said in the *Turkish* history; and only add, that the *Maltese* signalized themselves in it according to their wonted bravery, though the success of it did not answer their valour and conduct.

a THEY proved more fortunate in the following year, 1661, in their sea-excursions, when, at the very beginning of it, their admiral took a rich prize belonging to *Tunis*, near *Cape Pafaro* in *Sicily*, in which, besides the cargo, they took 130 prisoners, among whom were the *Cadi* of *Tunis*, and his son, and a *Turkish Chiaux*, who had been carrying the grand signor's orders to all the regencies on the coast of *Barbary*.

ABOUT the same time, another of their gallies, commanded by one *Gavie*, a servant at arms, took such another vessel near *Tripoli*, which had on board 150 janissaries, who were sent to reinforce the garrison of *Gigobarta*, a stout fortress on the coast of *Barbary*. About the middle of *April* came into the port of *Maltha* another servant at arms, named *Paul*, with three gallies belonging to the *French* king, and met with a most gracious reception from the grand master.

b ALL this while the *Maltese* gallies assigned to the assistance of *Candia*, sailed regularly thither every year, and about this time had joined those of the pope, commanded by *Bichi*, near *Augusta*; from whence they moved towards the *Venetian* fleet, which they met near the isle of *Andros*, and all three of them went in search of that of the *Turks*, but without success; so that after a long cruise, without being able to get any tidings of it, they thought proper to separate, and return to their respective homes. The *Maltese* squadron, unwilling to come empty-handed, attacked in their way two *Turkish* galliots, of which, after a fierce and bloody struggle, they made themselves masters, and brought them home with them. In this year, according to most authors, the senate of *Venice*, to express their gratitude for the signal services which they had received from the *Maltese*, passed an act, that the knights of the order should be allowed to appear in their proper arms both in their capital, and in all the other parts of their dominions; a privilege which is denied to the subjects of that republic, though of small service towards the reimbursing their treasury for the expence they were yearly at in sending so many ships to their assistance; yet such was the grand master's œconomy, that he found means not only to maintain that squadron for their service, but likewise to enlarge the infirmary, and to present the grand priory of *St. John* with stately pictures, and other ornaments of great value, to embellish the church of it, and which are still there to be seen, as so many monuments both of his piety and munificence.

c ALL this while the distressed *Venetians* were soliciting the pope and him, more and more pressingly, for their early supply; but whilst the *Maltese* squadron was waiting for that of the pope, news came that he had ordered it to stay at *Civita Vecchia*, to screen them from the *French* king's resentment, whose ambassador and his lady that pontif's garde de corps had insulted in a singular manner; upon which they were ordered to set sail from *Maltha* on the 15th of *January* of the following year, under the conduct of the commander *Breslaw*, who took some small prizes in his way, which he sent to *Maltha*, whilst he proceeded with his squadron to join the *Venetian* fleet. Upon their arrival near the isle of *Andros*, on the 22d of *May*, they were informed by the *Venetian* admiral *Morosini*, that the *Turkish* fleet had not sailed out that year; so that they had nothing to do but scour along their coasts, and make what prizes they could upon them.

d e WHILST they were thus employed at sea, the grand master was carried off by a malignant fever, which had raged some time in the island, and more particularly in the city of *Valetta*, in the month of *October*, in the 3d year of his grand mastership. His remains were deposited with the usual solemnity in the chapel belonging to the *Arragonian* tongue, of which he was; on whose tomb the knights of that tongue caused a noble inscription to be engraved.

f HE was succeeded, with the unanimous consent of the electors, by his worthy brother *Nicolas Cotoner*, then grand prior of *Majorca*; a thing which never happened since the foundation of the order. But his merit was so universally known, that all the voters and electors declared themselves for him as soon as his elder brother expired; so that they proceeded to the ceremony of election only for form's sake; and when Don *Emanuel Arrias* proclaimed him to the rest of the order, the news of it was received with the sincerest applause.

g ONE of his first cares, was to suppress the insolence of the *Barbary* corsairs, who were grown so numerous and bold during the *Candian* war, that they extended their excursions and ravages as far as the coasts of *Provence* and *Languedoc*. Hitherto the *Maltese* gallies had been mostly employed in assisting the *Venetians* in *Candia*; but now, at the desire of the *French* king, *Lewis XIV.* they were sent to assist his forces in his expedition into *Africa*, the ill success of which, through the want of a sufficient number of *French* forces to support it, we have already given an account of.

h IN the following year the islands of *St. Christopher*, *Bartholomew*, &c. were sold again by the order to a company of *French* merchants, who put themselves under the protection of their native prince. At the same time, whilst the *Maltese* squadron was scouring the *Archipelago*, without meeting any *Turkish* vessels, or making any considerable prizes, two young knights of the order signalized themselves on the coasts of *Barbary* and the *Levant*; the one named

The Maltese
gallies cruise
without success.

1663.

Death of the
grand master.

59. Nicolas
Cotoner.

1664.

The islands of
Christopher,
&c. sold back
to the French.
1665.

Crainville, commanded a galley of forty guns, called the *Dutch Garden*, which he had taken the year before from an *Algerine* corsair, though with only a frigate of 22 guns, which the other knight, named *Temericourt*, was then commander of. These two met in the chanel of the isle of *Samos* a caravan going from *Alexandria* to *Constantinople*, consisting of 10 large vessels and 12 saics. The first thing they did, was to get into the midst of them, and to make a continual brisk fire upon them, by which they sunk some, took four of the richest, and put the rest to flight.

The noble defence and escape of the commander Hoquincourt.

In the same year another *Malttese* knight, named *Hoquincourt*, signalized himself in a most surprising manner in the port of the *Dolphine Island*, where he was at once surrounded by the whole *Turkish* fleet, consisting of 33 gallies, which were transporting fresh troops into that of *Candia*. The *Turkish* admiral had ordered a continual fire to be made upon him by his best gallies, both from the great and small artillery, till they had in a great measure destroyed the tackle and rigging of his ship, and killed a great number of his men, after which he commanded some of his stoutest men to board him. *Hoquincourt* stood all the while upon deck like a man invulnerable, with his sabre in his hand; and his men following his example, threw down the *Turks* into the sea as fast as they mounted, to such a prodigious degree, that it was with great difficulty that the admiral could make the rest to follow them. Provoked at length at such a brave resistance, he ordered the gallies to open a way for his capitana to come up to him; which he did with such force, by dint of rowing, that he did not doubt but the violence of the shock would have shattered *Hoquincourt's* ship, already damaged to a great degree by his artillery, into pieces: instead of which, it only helped to push it with greater force out of the haven into the open sea, where plying all the sail he had left, he safely got into the nearest Christian port, after having sunk several of the enemy's ships, and killed above 600 of their soldiers. This brave commander had no sooner refitted his ship than he sailed out again, and in that same campaign was shipwrecked near the isle of *Scarpanto*, and perished with all his company, to the number of 170 persons. About the same time the duke of *Beaufort*, high admiral of *France*, who had commanded the late unhappy expedition in *Barbary*, landed at *Malta*, and was saluted by all the artillery of the city; as was not long after *M. de la Haye*, the *French* ambassador at *Constantinople*; but the grand master declined seeing the former, because he did not think proper to give him the title of highness.

1666.

Nothing happened considerable to the order on the following year, except the accession of *Don Carlos* to the crown of *Spain*, by the demise of *Don John* of *Austria*, which obliged the grand master to receive a new investiture, in the usual form, from the duke of *Sermonetta*, viceroy of *Sicily*; soon after which the admiral of the *Malttese* gallies was sent with his squadron to *Barcelona*, to escort the *Spanish* infanta, now empress, to his imperial majesty, who had only married her by proxy; and who, upon her landing at *Final*, sent a most obliging letter of thanks to the grand master, for the good offices she had received from the admiral. The pope, this year, pursuant to the example of his predecessors, disposed of some more rich commanderies in favour of his relations and favourites, to the great prejudice and mortification of the order.

Achmet comes to the siege of Candia.
1667.

In the year following, the grand vizier *Achmet*, being come in person to put an end to the *Candian* war, and to the siege of the capital of that island, the *Venetians* had recourse, as usual, to the pope and grand master, who dispatched their respective squadrons accordingly to their assistance; soon after which *Alexander* died, and was succeeded by *Clement IX.* who gave fresh cause of complaint to the order by his infractions on their rights. On the other hand, the prince landgrave of *Hesse*, cardinal and grand prior of *Germany*, came to an agreement with the grand pensionary of *Holland*, the lord *John de Vigers*, about the lands and revenues belonging to the order in the great commandery of *Harlem*, situate in the province of *Holland*, which the states of that province had seized upon. By these agreements the said states of *Holland* and *West Friesland* engaged to pay to the order the sum of 150,000 florins, in consideration of which the grand master and the other were to renounce all farther property and pretensions on those lands, &c. that were situate within those two provinces only, without including those which they had in other dominions of that republic, and of which they should be still allowed to insist, and endeavour their restitution, or to exchange them for an equivalent. This agreement was chiefly transacted by the mediation of the *French* king, and negotiated by his minister in *Holland*, the count d'*Estrade*.

A fierce engagement with 2 Turkish sultanas.

Among other extraordinary succours which were sent by several *European* princes into *Candia*, the grand master dispatched a battalion of 400 men, under the command of *Hector de la Fay*, who having lost a good number of them, immediately after his arrival, by the contagious disease that then reigned, thought it adviseable to save himself and the rest, by leaving a place whose infection was capable of destroying all the forces that were sent to its assistance, and sailed back with them for *Malta*. In this year happened likewise a fierce engagement between a brother of the knight *Temericourt*, lately mentioned, who was licensed to cruise under *Malttese* colours, and

- a and two *Turkish* sultanas bound for *Alexandria*, richly laden. His galley being a brisker sailer, he easily got before them, in order to stop their entrance into the mouth of the *Nile*, and immediately saluted the foremost with a broad-side. He was preparing to board her, when he received a musket-shot in the head, which threw him flat on the deck, but did not prevent his inspiring his officers and soldiers to continue the fight. The *Turks* finding themselves fast grappled beyond the possibility of escaping, whilst the Christians poured in upon them with incredible speed and bravery, were just upon the point of surrendering, when the *Turkish* commander ordered a lighted match to be clapt to their powder, in order to blow up both together. The chevalier *de Barre*, who was in another *Maltese* galley, and engaged with the other sultana, seeing the danger his friend's ship was in, abandoned the sultana, to go and save the *Maltese*, which was already set on fire by parting it from the *Turkish* and quenching its flames. The success, however, did not answer his bravery; his friend *Temericourt's* brother died soon after of his wound, and the other sultana, which he had engaged, took the opportunity of his being otherwise employed to give him the slip.

Ill success of the attempt.

- THE peace which was concluded the following year between the *Turks* and *Venetians*, upon the loss of *Candia*, and the constant assistance which the order had sent to the latter, during the war, gave them new cause to apprehend the resentment of the former, and that it would not be long before the sultan turned his whole force against them; to be therefore prepared against it at all adventures, the grand master sent for an excellent engineer, named *Valpergo*, from *Savoy*, to whom he committed the repairing of the old, and the addition of such new fortifications, as he thought necessary to secure the island, and especially the port, against any invasion. This gentleman, having taken a view of the port, caused several new outworks to be made in it. One fort was called, from the grand master, *Cotonero*; another *Ricasoli*, from one of the commanders, who gave 30,000 crowns towards the building of it.

- In the next year *Clement X.* having succeeded *Clement IX.* at *Rome*, sent an embassy to *Malta*, as was usual, to notify his election to the papacy, and at the same time to congratulate and commend the grand master for his care in fortifying an island which was the bulwark of Christendom; yet did not this hinder the pontif's bestowing the reversion of the grand priory of *France* on the knight of *Vendosme*, maugre all the opposition of the grand master and the whole order against that infringement. In the same year, prince *Charles* of *Lorrain*, son to the duke *d'Elbeuf*, and some other persons of distinction, were admitted into the order. About this time the number of the servants at arms being become excessive, the council made a decree against admitting any new ones till farther order.

- A GREAT scarcity being felt soon after through most part of *Italy*, and the pope being obliged to send his galleys out in quest of corn, he wrote to the grand master, to send some of his to escort them; which was readily complied with, and the command of them given to some of the most distinguished commanders. About the same time the brave *Temericourt*, being cruising in one of his own galleys, was attacked by no less than five large corsairs of *Tripoli*, against whom he made such a noble defence, and such dreadful havock among their men, that they were glad to save the rest by a hasty flight. But he was soon after overtaken by a sudden storm, which drove him against the coasts of *Barbary*, where his ship was dashed in pieces, himself taken prisoner, and sent to *Tripoli*, and thence to *Adrianople*, where *Mohammed III.* asked him whether he alone had beat the five large *Tripolitan* vessels? To which he boldly answered in the affirmative. Being asked what countryman he was, he told him he was a *Frenchman*. Thou must then be a deserter, said the sultan, for there is a solemn peace between the king thy master and me. To which *Temericourt* replied, I am indeed a *Frenchman*, but, what is still more, I am a knight of *Malta*, and am obliged by my profession to hazard my life against all the enemies of the *Christian faith*. The sultan, who admired his bravery, and was willing to engage him in his service, sent him at first to a prison, where he was treated with great humanity, and made him several advantageous offers, capable, as he imagined, to tempt so young a warrior, who was then, it seems, no more than 22 years of age, and, amongst them, he offered to marry him to a princess of the blood, if he would consent to turn *Mohammedan*. Finding him inflexible to all these promises, he resolved to try what effect a contrary treatment would have upon him, and ordered him to be remov'd into a dungeon, and kept him there a whole fortnight. He moreover caused him to be severely bastinadoed, and afterwards tortured, even to have some of his limbs mutilated; all which he bore with an heroic constancy, begging of Christ to enable him to confirm him in his resolution of dying a martyr to his faith. The tyrant, exasperated at his firmness, did not suffer him to wait long for that blessing, but ordered him to be brought out and beheaded, and his body to be thrown into the river that runs through the city, to prevent the Christians paying any veneration to it.

Temericourt taken and sent prisoner to the Porte.

Beheaded.

- In the following year there happened a fierce contest between the commanders belonging to the *French* king and those of the order, about the salute; which, being brought at length before that monarch, the commander *Hautefeuille*, then ambassador at his court from the grand

Decision of Louis XIV. in favour of the order.

1673.

grand master, prevailed upon him, by his address and interest, to decide in favour of the order. Much about the same time a far more momentous controversy happened between the latter and prince *Demetrius*, about the lands and effects of the late duke of *Ostrog*, which he had, with the consent of the *Polish* senate, bequeathed to the order ever since the year 1618. That noble family now being extinct by the death of prince *Alexander Ostrog*, prince *Lubomirski* immediately informed the grand master of it, who sent him back letters of attorney, empowering him to defend the rights of the order against the said prince *Demetrius*'s pretensions, who claimed that estate in right of his wife, who was sister, and, as he thence concluded, heiress, to the duke *Alexander* above-mentioned. Soon after this, the *Mainots*, a sort of mongrel *Greeks* of *Morea*, pretending to be weary of the *Turkish* tyranny, sent a deputation, to beg the assistance of the order to enable them to recover their liberty; upon which the grand master forthwith ordered the *Maltese* gallies to sail thither; but, upon their arrival, the commander found the people so divided, some being for shaking off the *Turkish* yoke, others for continuing patiently under it, that they were obliged to sail back without effecting any thing.

1674.

THIS year the viceroy of *Sicily* having sent to desire the assistance of the order, the grand master dispatched his squadron thither, in which a great number of knights of the great cross zealously embarked, as subjects of the king of *Spain*; soon after which the commander *de Valbelle* brought a new one, with fresh succours from *France*. The grand master about the same time settled a fund, out of his own private purse, for the maintenance of the fort *Ricasoli*, lately erected in the isle of *Malta*.

The English
fleet well re-
ceived at
Malta.

IN the following year, king *Charles II.* having declared war against the *Algerines*, the *English* fleet came into the port of *Malta*, where they met with a kind and honourable reception, for which our polite monarch sent the grand master a most obliging letter of thanks. The viceroy of *Naples* having formed a design of employing the *Maltese* gallies and succours against the *Messenians*, the grand master thought fit to countermand his orders; and to let that minister know, that it was inconsistent with the design and statutes of his order to intermeddle in any war between any Christian princes; and that, from the beginning of its institution, none of them had ever fought against any but infidels. The same year arrived at *Malta* *Frederic de Mogelin*, ambassador from the crown of *Poland*, with a letter to the grand master, importing, that his dominions being terribly harrassed by the frequent incursions which the *Turks* made into them, he should be highly obliged to him and the order if he would please to send some powerful diversion into the *Turkish* territories. To which *Cotoner* answered, with his usual politeness, that, complying with his *Polish* majesty's desires, he should only fulfil the obligations which his profession laid him under, his order having been always ready to assist Christian princes against the infidels; and that in conformity to his majesty's wishes, he would immediately order his armaments to be considerably augmented, that he might render their service more effectual to him. In the same year he caused the foundation for a new lazaretto to be laid in the castle of *Marza Muzet*, which hath been since that time fortified with several strong bastions, and other outworks.

A grievous
pestilence rages
in the island.
1676.

A GRIEVOUS pestilence, which had begun to rage about the latter end of the last year, continued to make such havock both in the island and in the convent, that they could hardly find a sufficient number of forces in the former to man their caravans, and were obliged to lessen the number of knights in each galley from 21, the usual number before the plague, to 11 in the capitana, and nine in each of the rest. About the same time the dignity of grand marshal being become vacant, and claimed by two considerable commanders of equal merit and pretensions, the one named *Macsonseule*, and the other *Gerlande*, both of the tongue of *Auvergne*, the contest being likely to rise to a dangerous height, and the grand master unable to decide it, he betought himself of an effectual expedient to end it amicably, by ordering that each party should enjoy it alternately only, from month to month.

1678.

ABOUT two years after, during which interval we do not read of any thing material that happened at *Malta*, the former of the competitors died, and the latter sailed out with his squadron of five gallies; and meeting with two *Algerine* corsairs near cape *Passaro*, fell a cannonading them without attempting to board them. This occasioned a general murmur in the convent, which began now to wish he had died instead of the other. A complaint was preferred against him in the council at his return, when he got himself off, by alleging, that the wind was full against him, and would not suffer him to approach the enemy. Soon after this, *Peter Fletcher*, a *Majorcan* privateer, sunk another *Algerine*, out of which he saved 100 *Turkish* soldiers, whom he went and sold at *Malta* for 100 piasters per head. About the same time Don *John* of *Austria*, grand prior of *Castile*, being dead, the grand master and council were consulting to alienate about 8000 ducats per annum of the revenue of that vast rich priory in favour of some of their favourites; of which the king of *Spain*, who lays claim to the sole patronage of it, being apprised, expressly forbade their lessening, in any instance, the income of that overgrown benefice; with which injunction they were obliged to comply.

a IN the next year, a peace being happily concluded between *Spain* and *France*, by the marriage of the princels *Maria Louisa*, eldest daughter of the duke of *Orleans*, Don *John de Villa Viciosa* was sent by the grand master on an ambassy, to congratulate the *Spanish* monarch upon it, and took that opportunity to obtain from him a fresh supply of corn for the island of *Malta*, which began to labour under a great scarcity. The peace concluded with France. 1679.

IN this year the grand master, who had been for several years afflicted with a paralytic disease, fell into a complication of the stone and gout, accompanied by a lingering fever, which gradually exhausted his strength, without diminishing any thing of his usual vigilance and application; till a dysentery, which ensued some time after, obliged him to keep his bed, and to nominate Don *Orlando Seralto*, grand prior of *Catalonia*, for his successor. He languished till the 29th of *April* Death of the grand master. 1680. of the same year, and expired in the 73d year of his age, and 17th of his government, greatly regretted by the whole order. His remains were deposited, with the usual ceremonies, in the chapel belonging to the tongue of *Arragon*, and over his stately tomb was engraven an epitaph.

THE choice of a successor, after a great deal of caballing and bribery, which began during the late grand master's sickness, fell upon Don *Gregory Carafa*, a *Neapolitan*, to the great joy of the *Italian* tongue, who had not seen an *Italian* chosen to that dignity during the space of one hundred and twenty-eight years. One of his first cares was, to complete the fortifications of the island, which his predecessor had not been able to finish, and to rectify some abuses which had crept into the order during his long sickness. In the following year he had the pleasure to see the admiral *Carrea* return with six *Algerine* vessels which he had taken, by his address and bravery, when they thought themselves almost sure of him. He resigned soon after his place to the baily *Colbert*. In the year following the vice-chancellor *Arrias* resigned that office into the grand master's hand, after having enjoyed it above twenty years with great integrity and reputation, and was succeeded by the commander *Carrero*. About the same time father *Jerom Molina*, bishop of *Malta*, was, at the grand master's recommendation, presented to the bishoprick of *Lerida* by the king of *Spain*, and succeeded by *David Cocco Palmieri*, a person highly esteemed for his probity. The grand master having received a letter from *Lewis XIV.* notifying the birth of his grandson the duke of *Burgundy*, caused the usual rejoicings to be celebrated through the island, in which the knights of the three *French* tongues signalized themselves in an extraordinary manner. Soon after which, the dukes of *Gaufron* and *Berwick* landed at *Malta*, the latter of whom was admitted into the order, and presented with the great cross, together with the grand priory of *England*. 60. Greg. Carafa. 1681.

IN the following year happened the memorable victory over the *Turks*, and the raising of the siege of *Vienna*, which was followed by the Christian league against them, set on foot by pope *Innocent XI.* into which the grand master readily came, and ordered very great preparations to be made for the prosecution of the war; soon after which the *Maltese* squadron sailed out, under the command of the baily of *St. Stephen*, which spread a general terror over all the coasts of *Barbary*, and he drove the *Turks* out of the islands of *Previsa* and *St. Maur*. 1682.

THE year following, the *Maltese* squadron, commanded by *Hector de la Tour*, being joined by that of the pope and the *Venetian* fleet commanded by signor *Morosini*, sailed directly to *Coron*, a sea-port in *Morea*, and, after a brisk and bloody siege, in which the knights of the order greatly signalized themselves, and their general *de la Tour* lost his life, made themselves masters of the place. All this while the grand master caused the new fortifications to be carried on with all possible diligence: so that they, especially those of the castles of *St. Elmo* and *St. Angelo*, were in a great measure completed by the following year. Coron, &c. taken from the Turks. 1683.

THE squadron of the order sailed out again in the beginning of the following spring, under the command of their new general *Orbestine*, grand prior of *Hungary*, and, in conjunction with the confederate fleet, went and besieged *Old Navarin*, another sea-port, about 12 miles from *Coron*; and, next to that, the *New Navarin*, a place of great importance, not only on account of its advantageous situation, but likewise for the conveniency of its haven in the gulph of *Zunto*. Both places were well fortified, and defended by a good garrison, yet were both surrendered to the *Venetian* general in a few days; after which the whole fleet sailed to *Modon*, in the same peninsula, but much stronger than any of the former, and in the attack of which a good number of knights lost their lives; but the place was, after a stout defence, forced likewise to surrender. This success encouraged the confederates to attempt the reduction of *Neapoli de Romania*, capital of *Morea*. The place was accordingly besieged in form on the 30th of *July*. Modon, &c. taken. 1684. The seraskier tried in vain to succour the place, and was three times repulsed with loss; and 19 knights of the order, with a great number of their troops, were slain, either in those attacks, or at the siege. The city at length surrendered, after a month's defence; after which the *Maltese* squadron parted from the rest, and sailed homewards. In the same year the pope, to shew his grateful regard for the order, bestowed the cardinal's hat upon Don *Fortunatus Carafa*, brother to the grand master, *Francis de Medicis*, grand prior of *Pisa*, and *Leopold Kottonitsch*, bishop of *Newstadt*, all of the order. 1685.

Descent into
Dalmatia.

1687.

In the following year, the grand master ordered eight galleys to be equipt for that campaign, the command of which he gave to the chevalier *Claude de Mechatein*; these, in conjunction with the confederate fleet, made a descent on *Dalmatia*, laid siege to *Castle Novo*, the surrender of which rendered the *Venetians* masters of the whole *Adriatic* gulph. The knights signalized themselves in this siege to such a degree, that the pope wrote a letter of thanks to the grand master, full of encomiums on their bravery, and the great services they had done at that siege.

1688.

The following year produced nothing interesting at *Malta*, except some considerable promotions and successions from one preferment to another, which we need not dwell upon.

1689.

In the following year the *Maltese* squadron sailed out under the command of their general *Mechatein*, and joined the *Venetian* fleet, now no longer commanded by *Morosini*, who was by this time raised to the dignity of doge. The confederate fleet having attempted the reduction of the strong fortrefs of *Negropont*, were forced, after a long and difficult siege, to abandon it. The order lost in that expedition 29 of its most valorous knights, besides a great number of their men, who were cut off by the *Turks*. The loss of these so affected the grand master, that he was quickly after attacked with a violent strangury, attended with a raging fever, which carried him off on the 21st of *July* of the year following, in the 76th year of his age, and 10th of his government. His remains were deposited in the chapel belonging to the *Italian* tongue, in which he had caused his tomb to be erected in his life-time, and on which was engraven an epitaph, said to have been written by himself about two years before his death.

Death of the
grand master.

1690.

61. Adrian de
Vignacourt.

He was succeeded by *Adrian de Vignacourt*, grand treasurer of the order, and nephew to the late famous *Alof de Vignacourt*, who had been raised to that dignity many years before. Not long after his election the *Maltese* squadron, returning from the *Levant*, brought the first news of the taking of the city and castle of *Valonna* in *Albania* by the confederate fleet, which occasioned great rejoicings to be made through the island. But, as we observed a little higher, the *Turkish* war having cost already a vast number of lives, and reduced the widows and children to extreme indigence, the new grand master made it one of his first cares to give them a speedy relief, and to make a proper provision for them, the rest of the convent following his example, and contributing towards so pious a work. His next care was to suppress the insolence of the *Barbary* corsairs, who, in the absence of their squadron, made frequent incursions into their chanel, and as far as the coasts of *Sicily*; to which end he ordered a strong galliot, well manned and armed, to be constantly upon the cruise in those seas. He was no less diligent in what concerned the security of the island, to which he added several new fortifications, and built fresh magazines where-ever he thought they were wanting, particularly a magnificent arsenal for the galleys of the order. Whilst he was thus generously taken up, he received a letter from the emperor *Leopold*, which imparted to him the welcome news of the complete victory which prince *Lewis* of *Baden* had gained over the *Turks*, and which caused general rejoicings through the island. All this while the pope's courtiers were soliciting for some of the priories of the order, as had been the custom during the reigns of the fore-going pontiffs. But the new pope *Innocent XII.* put a generous end to that shameful practice soon after his election, by a new brief, in which he confirmed all the ancient rights and immunities of the order.

1691.

1692.

In the following year, the grand prior of *Messina*, general of the *Maltese* galleys, joined those of the pope and *Venetians*, and accompanied them to the siege of *Canea*, one of the most convenient ports in the isle of *Candia*. But, having cannonaded the place during the space of 25 days, they were forced to raise the siege, on account of the season being too far advanced; and the squadron of *Malta* arrived at that port at the time the order were making fresh rejoicings for the taking of the strong fortrefs of *Great Varadin* by the imperialists; about which time arrived also the marquis of *Orville*, nephew of the grand master, and was received by the order with the pomp and honours suitable to his rank and proximity to their sovereign.

A terrible
earthquake at
Malta.

1693.

In the beginning of the following year the island felt a terrible earthquake, which began on the 11th of *January*, at ten of the clock at night, and lasted three whole days, by which several buildings were overthrown, and other considerable damage done; soon after which, four *Sicilian* galleys arrived, which acquainted the grand master with the dreadful fate of the city of *Augusta*, which was totally overthrown by the same earthquake; so that he was now wholly taken up in sending proper assistance to the sufferers, in ordering public fasts, prayers, and processions, forbidding the usual diversions of the approaching carnival, and repairing the damages which the public and other edifices, as well as the vessels riding in the port, and other parts of the island, had received by it. In the interim arrived the grand prior of *Messina*, at the head of the *Maltese* squadron, bringing in a large vessel which he had taken from the *Tunisians* in his return from the *Levant*, in which were 150 soldiers. Upon his appearing before the grand master, he was accused of having suffered three *Barbary* corsairs and a tartan to escape. He was

- a was however acquitted soon after, when at his trial he made it appear, that he had chased them the whole day with all the sail and rowing he could make, till the night put an unavoidable stop to his pursuit. He was nevertheless deprived of his post, which was, the following year, conferred on *Francis Sigismund*, count of *Thum*, who, having joined the confederate fleet, assisted in the reduction of the city of *Chios*, which they took after an eight days siege. In the mean while *Lewis XIV.* and the duke of *Savoy* had begun to seize on several lands and revenues of the order, under pretence of carrying on the expensive war they were engaged in. The grand master failed not of making proper remonstrances to both courts; which, being backed by the pope's mediation, put a happy stop to that unjust attempt. That pontif at the same time was pleased to take a special cognisance of the long contest which had reigned between
- b the order and the republic of *Genoa*; and, partly by his address, and partly by his authority, put an effectual end to it; immediately after which several *Genoese* noblemen were admitted into the order.

In the year 1695 the admiral *Sigismund* sailed out with his squadron, and took a large vessel belonging to *Tripoli*, after a bloody contest of two hours, and sent it to *Malta*. He then proceeded to join the confederate fleet; but the *Venetians* refusing to enter upon any enterprize, on pretence that the season was too far advanced, they all returned to their respective posts, without effecting any thing worth notice.

- THE pope, next year, transmitted a considerable number of galley slaves over to *Malta*, to reinforce the galleys of the order. The grand master falling ill of old age, and other infirmities, the candidates for the succession began their cabals and bribery betimes, and continued them till his death, which happened on the 4th of *February* of the following year, in the 97th year of his age, and 7th of his government. His remains were deposited in the chapel belonging to the tongue of *France*, and his just encomium was engraven on his tomb.

1696.

Death of the
grand master.
1697.

- HE was succeeded by *Raymund Perellos de Roccasoull*, of the tongue of *Arragon*, and grand baily of *Negropont*; one of whose first public acts was, to call a council of the order for the suppression of sundry abuses, particularly that crying and destructive one of bestowing the best commanderies on junior knights, at the recommendation of the pope, or other crowned heads; which so frequently disgusted the seniors, who had more just pretensions to so high a degree, that they bequeathed their riches and effects to their near relations, which ought in course to have
- d been sunk into the public treasury. The first step that was taken, in order to prevent it, was, to make pressing instances to the pope against all such partial recommendations, which tended to subvert the design of their institution, and ancient discipline. The next was, to pass a decree, expressly forbidding all the religious of the order the carrying of either gold or silver about them, and suppressing all cards, dice, and other games of chance.

62. Raym.
Pereillos.

- THE peace of *Reswick* being concluded between *France* and *Spain*, the grand master caused great rejoicings to be made throughout the island; about which time arrived *Boris Petrowitz Xeremetof*, a relation of the late czar of *Muscovy*, with recommendations from that prince, from the pope and the emperor; and was received with all the honours due to his rank by the grand master and convent. In the next year, pope *Innocent*, having decided the contest which had
- e so many years been warmly carried on between the bishop of *Malta* and the grand prior of that church, about their respective jurisdictions, to the satisfaction of the order, the grand master caused a brazen statue of that pontif to be set up before the great gate of the church of *Victory*, with the inscription which the reader will find in the margin (N). The same year some *Turkish* corsairs having escaped being taken by the *Maltese* squadron, by a sudden change of the wind, the grand master and council, afraid lest it should be owing to the negligence of the commanders, ordered them to be tried for it; when it plainly appeared to have been owing to a contrary wind which prevented their pursuit; upon which they were honourably acquitted.

1698;

- ON the 15th of *February* of the following year happened a notable engagement between Don *Spinola*, the *Maltese* admiral, and a *Turkish* vessel near the coast of *Sicily*. The galley which first came up with the enemy having lost her mainsail by a sudden gust of wind, the admiral, who came next, advanced to the attack. The combat was sustained with great bravery; and the admiral's brother received a mortal wound in it, as he stood close to the grand prior of *Messina*, who, by reason of his great age, was incapable of standing upon his feet. His valet de chambre came next to keep him up, and was likewise shot to death by his side; upon which he supported himself by leaning his hand on the binacle that contained the compass, and continued the fight with fresh fury. The victory was just upon the point of declaring for the *Maltese*, when the *Turkish* commander came with full force, and struck his prow into the capitana, and made a dreadful gap in her.

An obstinate
engagement at
sea.

1700.

(N) Innocentio XII. optimo & sanctissimo pontifici, liberaliter restitutis, em. & rev. dom. frater D. Raimondus de Roccasoull, grato & unanimi omnium voto tot tantaque beneficia æt. unitati dedicavit, an. M.D.C.IC.

THE wind chopping immediately to the south, was followed by a sudden storm, which quickly parted them, and dispersed the rest. The commander *Javon*, captain of the *St. Paul*, made all the diligence he could to assist the sinking capitana, and saved about fifty persons, among whom were the admiral *Spinola*, and some other commanders. His extreme desire of saving still more of them from the shipwreck made him tarry so near that place, that his pilot was forced to apprise him of the extreme danger they ran; yet all in vain, *Javon* being more intent to save others, than solicitous about his own life, would in all likelihood have perished, had not the violence of the wind driven him away against his will, and preserved him from the same fate. The order lost, either in the fight or shipwreck, no less than 21 knights and 500 soldiers and slaves, besides a good number of brave officers. The rest of the squadron were scattered at a great distance from each other; but quickly rejoined at *Augusta*, and arrived safe at *Malta*, though very much shattered by the storm.

A noble resolution of the grand master against the corsairs.

THE news of this disaster, attended with so considerable a loss, deeply affected the grand master; and that which more sensibly afflicted him was, to see what advantage the *Turkish* corsairs had gained by degrees over the order, and what prizes they were continually making upon the Christian merchants ever since the order had discontinued, as it had for many years, the maintaining of some stout men of war to keep those freebooters in awe, and contented themselves with the bare keeping up of a squadron of galleys against them. He had for some time entertained a desire to revive the old custom, but feared the difficulty of gaining the consent of the order. The horrid depredations which they now made on those seas, the number of families ruined by them, and the vast number of Christians that were condemned by those pirates to a most dreadful slavery, joined, without doubt, to the daily complaints, if not harsh reflections, which were made on an order which had been for so many centuries the bulwark of Christendom, and security of their commerce, was now become a cogent motive for them to enter into his views; and he succeeded in it even beyond his expectations, as soon as he declared his design to them.

As soon, therefore, as he had gained their consent, and raised a proper fund for it, his next care was to commit the management of it to some of the most experienced members of the order, and the execution of it to some of the best shipwrights. The choice of the former fell upon a knight of the family of *St. Peter* in *Normandy*, who then commanded some *French* vessels, and who, by his signal services to that monarch, had been advanced to the command of the foot soldiery; and it is to that worthy commander that we are beholden for that noble project, so highly approved by most Christian princes, and since printed among his brother the abbot of *St. Peter's* works, for utterly extirpating the whole nest of *Barbary corsairs*, and which was closely followed by the grand master. In the same year the brave commander *Javon*, lately mentioned, was unfortunately cast away with his ship the *St. Peter*, which struck among the rocks of the small island of *Ostria*. He was drowned, with three knights, and about 70 other persons; but the rest were saved by the other galleys.

A large prize taken from the Turks.

1701.

1702.

IN the year following the *Maltese* squadron, coasting along the *Barbary* shore, met with the great soltana *Binghen*, carrying 80 guns and 300 soldiers. They engaged her with their usual bravery, and met with a suitable resistance; the combat was long and furious, and had cost a great number of lives before the knights could make themselves masters of her. Upon her being brought to *Malta*, the grand master ordered her flag to be hung up in the church of *St. John d'Aix*, the birth-place of the commander *Ricard*, who had first boarded, and had the greatest share in taking her, in order to perpetuate the memory of that noble action. Soon after, this squadron set sail again towards the coasts of *Barbary*, and advanced as far the *Goletta*, or citadel of *Tunis*, and brought away from thence a large *Turkish* vessel, and a brigantine, with the loss only of one knight and four soldiers. In the same year *Philip V.* having succeeded to the crown of *Spain* by the death of *Charles II.* confirmed all the rights and privileges of the order within his dominions, as did also *Clement XI.* who had succeeded *Innocent XII.* at *Rome*, by a new brief.

An embassy to the new pope.

1703.

THE grand prior of *England* was sent in the following year on a congratulatory embassy to the new pope, with order to obtain from him a regulation about the pretensions of the grand inquisitor of *Malta*, to a greater jurisdiction than was consistent with the privileges of the order. The court of *Rome*, according to custom, spun out the contest a considerable time, but it was at length decided by that pontif to the satisfaction of the order.

1707.

IN the year 1706, the admiral *St. Peter*, at the head of his squadron, sailing into the *Levant*, encountered three vessels from *Tunis*, richly laden. One of his galleys, named the *St. James*, having lost its mainmast in the engagement, and being forced to retire, the *St. John* came forwards, and attacked and took the *Turkish* admiral of 50 guns, and 370 soldiers, whilst the rest of the *Turkish* vessels made all the sail they could from the *Maltese*. This prize, being brought to *Malta*, was soon after converted into a galley of the order, and added to the squadron, under the name of the *Holy Cross*. On the following year, the commander of *Langon*, being

a being ordered to convey a supply of ammunition, in the *St. Peter*, to the city of *Oran*, which was invested by the *Algerine* fleet, commanded by their bey, fought his way thro' the midst of the fire they made upon him on both sides, and, with that one galley of fifty guns, penetrated through the midst of them into the place, and conveyed the wished-for succour into it; for which he was advanced to the post of lieutenant-general of the squadron, and commander of the *Maltese* fleet.

In the year 1703, the king of *Spain* wrote a very pressing letter to the grand master, desiring him to send some farther succours into that city, with which he readily complied: but whilst the preparations were making for it, news was brought, that the *Turks* had made themselves masters of the place, which put a stop to that convoy. The news of the loss of that *Oran taken*.
 b important place was soon followed by intelligence of a vast armament which was carrying on at *Constantinople*, and was commonly supposed to be designed against the isle of *Malta*; both which so deeply affected the grand master, that he was quickly after seized with a severe fit of the gout, attended with a violent fever, which would not permit him to attend to any public affairs for a day or two. On the third, finding himself a little better, he acquitted himself of some of his late obligations to the pope, by bestowing the commandery of *Viterbo* on his nephew *Alexander Albani*. Finding himself recover strength by degrees, he applied himself again to business with his usual diligence, especially about making preparations against the *Turkish* armament, which, he was now informed, consisted of twenty soltanas and forty gallies, and a proportionable number of forces. His first care was, to send for
 c the assistance of the pope, and other Christian powers; his holiness dispatched to him immediately one of his tartans laden with powder, and other warlike ammunition, against a siege, and 150 soldiers, with a promise of sending him in a little time a much more considerable reinforcement. His other ambassadors returned likewise from *France* and *Spain* with fresh supplies of troops and ammunition; and the whole amount of those forces, upon a review, were found to consist of 10,000 effective men, well armed and disciplined, and all of them, as well as their officers, fully resolved upon a brave defence.

This vast pretended armament appeared soon after to consist only of five *Turkish* soltanas, which came to join other vessels at *Tunis* and *Tripoli*; which made the grand master suspect that their first attempt would fall upon the island of *Gosa*; upon which he immediately dispatched
 d some of his best forces thither, together with all other necessaries for its defence, whilst the brave grand prior of *Messina*, lately mentioned, was, at his earnest request, notwithstanding his extreme old-age, nominated to go and command them, in conjunction with general *Langon*, and the commander *Mountfort*, governor of the island.

ALL these preparations, together with the repairs which had been lately made to its fortifications, which were not, in all likelihood, unknown to the *Turks*, did so far discourage them from making any attempt upon it, that they contented themselves with setting fire to some *Maltese* vessels and houses they found along the coasts; after which they sailed back directly for the *Levant*. This sudden retreat did not hinder the grand master's finishing those magazines which his predecessor had begun, and filling them with all sorts of stores both for the war and
 e the mouth; by which means the island begun again to enjoy a better commerce, and greater abundance, than it had done for a considerable time before. A rumour being afterwards spread, that the four soltanas, and a brigantine, were gone to make a descent on the coasts of *Calabria*, the grand master forthwith ordered the squadron to sail away under the conduct of the commander *Florigny*.

He had not made above three days sail before he perceived a large vessel, which, upon closer *Florigny* inspection, proved the *Capitana* of *Tripoli*, commanded by a famed corsair, named *Basha-Ali* burns two
Anbulla-Ogli-Stamboli, carrying 56 large pieces, and 40 patereroes, and about 600 men. vessels from
 This was followed by a tartane of 12 pieces and 30 patereroes, commanded by *Mohammed Ogli* Tripoli.
Casali, who, in spite of his general's orders, resolved to sustain the attack of the *Maltese*
 f squadron. *Langon*, who commanded the *St. James*, began the onset with such a brisk and continued fire, that he quickly set the whole rigging of both *Turkish* vessels in an universal blaze; the enemy, not being able to quench it, jumped into the water in the utmost consternation, but were for the most part saved by the *Maltese* long-boats, which came on all sides to their assistance; and, amongst them, took up the *Rais* or commander of the soltana of *Tripoli*, and about fifty Christian captives, to whom they gave their liberty, and about four hundred *Turks*, whom they carried off prisoners. The *Maltese* lost only one knight and five soldiers in this engagement. All the rest of the *Turks*, except the four hundred above mentioned, perished, as well as the two vessels. After this combat, the commander *Langon* sailed towards the coasts of *Spain*, and, in his way, met with the *Capitana* of *Algiers*, which
 g mounted 50 guns, and had 500 men on board. A fierce engagement ensued, which lasted some hours; neither did the *Algerines* yield till all their officers were slain. But this victory proved a dear one to the order, by the death of the brave *Langon*, an officer of great courage

and conduct, who lost his life in the engagement. His body was conveyed to *Carthage*,^a and interred under the great altar of the cathedral; after which the grand master ordered an epitaph to be engraven on a sepulchral monument, set up in the memory of him in the church of *St. John* in the new city of *Valetta*.

IN the following year the grand master, not having been able to receive any supplies of corn from *Sicily*, according to the treaty, the viceroy obstinately refusing it, sent some of his gallies into the *Levant*, which returned soon after laden with it, and put a happy end to the scarcity which had prevailed in the island above a year.

1711.
The pope's in-
quisitor renews
his tyrannic
practices.

THIS year the *Maltese* inquisitor, notwithstanding the pope's regulations concerning his jurisdiction, begun afresh to make some encroachments on the infirmity of the order, and took upon him to enter it in quality of visitor, accompanied with some of his officers, whom he^b sent to visit several apartments of the palace. The commander *Avernes*, the then grand infirmary, was no sooner informed of the insult done in defiance of the statutes, then he came in person, and forthwith drove them out of the apartment. The inquisitor not only complained of the opposition offered to his officers, but entered a protest against it as null, and done against his authority; and, by that presumptuous step, laid the foundation for a fresh contest with the grand master, which he was in hopes would be decided more in his favour than the former had been. The grand master was again obliged to send two ambassadors, the one to *Rome*, to complain to his holiness of the intolerance of his inquisitor, and the other to the *French* court, to desire his majesty to interpose his good offices with his holiness to put an effectual stop to the infractions made by that minister upon the rights and privileges of the order. Upon^c the memorial presented to that monarch by the infirmary himself, *Lewis XIV.*^m immediately wrote to the pope in the most pressing terms: but the inquisitor had by this time given the order fresh cause of discontent, by the frequent patents he had granted to several *Maltese*, by which he pretended to exempt them from their obedience to the grand master, their lawful sovereign. Against these the commander *Zondodari*, his ambassador extraordinary, made some very pressing complaints, the small success of which did but plainly shew, that the pontif was neither ignorant of, nor dissatisfied with, the proceedings of the inquisitor and his tribunal.

1713. YET did not all these just complaints discourage him from writing pressingly to the grand^d master the very next year, for the assistance of some gallies of the order to come and repress the frequent excursions of the infidels on the coasts of *Italy*, where they made very considerable prizes, and committed dreadful outrages, besides carrying off great numbers of inhabitants into slavery.

IN the same year *Adrian Langon*, a near relation of the brave warrior lately mentioned, who now commanded the *St. Catherine*, being on his cruise in these seas, attacked the *Algerine* squadron, consisting of seven gallies, which he put to flight, except one called the *Half-moon*, of 40 guns and 400 men, which he boarded and took; thirty-six Christian slaves, who rowed in it, were set at liberty by him, and a great number of *Turks* slain, and the rest made prisoners, with the loss of only seven men.

1714. IN the next year he attacked a stout *Algerine* corsair of 56 guns and 500 men, near the isles of *Hieres*, and fought with him near six hours, without being able to force him to surrender, tho' he shot away his main-mast, and killed a great many of his men; so that, to prevent his escape, he was obliged to sink him, by which only two Christians and five *Turks* could be saved out of the whole crew. He took soon after another *Barbary* corsair, out of which he made 95 of the crew captives.

Great prepa-
rations at the
Porte.

ALL this while the Soltan was carrying on a vast armament at *Constantinople* with more diligence than before. The grand master, still apprehending that it was designed against *Malta*, sent his summons all round to the knights, to repair thither with their usual arms and retinue, whilst he was taken up at home in putting it in a condition of defence. Upon receiving his sum-^f mons, most of those knights and commanders, dispersed in several parts of *Europe*, made all the proper preparations to repair to the convent. Some who, by reason of old age, infirmities, or other impediments, could not appear in person, resigned the revenues of their respective preferments towards the expence of the war; whilst others, tho' not less infirm and disabled, did yet cause themselves to be transported thither to assist the rest at least with their advice. Many of those that were unable to contribute to the public expence, either as being yet in their noviciate, or without any preferment, did yet signalize their zeal, by becoming sureties for a variety of large sums that were contracted by the order for the procuring of arms, ammunition, and other necessaries, for a gallant defence. The grand master, over and above all those contributions, drew the sum of 150,000 crowns out of the public treasury, and borrowed a^g much larger sum, by help of which he provided the island with every thing that could be thought

^m Vide Memorial presented to *Lewis XIV.* 1712.

a wanting for a vigorous opposition against so formidable a power. To all these preparations the pope contributed a small number of men and galleys, together with a full power to levy money on the ecclesiastical state.

WHILST these precautions were taking at *Malta*, an unknown person arrived there, of a good aspect, who offered his services to the grand master as an engineer, and gave such proofs of an uncommon skill in military architecture, that the grand master made no scruple to accept of them, and to let him take a full survey of the chief fortifications of the island, especially of the city of *Valetta*, which he did with much exactness and judgment, in company with some of the knights who had been deputed to attend him. He disappeared two days after, to their great surprise, which gave them just reason to suspect him to have been a spy sent from the *Porte* to take an exact view of the state and strength of the island, and confirmed their apprehensions that the *Turkish* armament was designed against it. To be fully satisfied about it, the grand master resolved to dispatch some trusty and expert person to *Constantinople*, to gain the best intelligence he could of the design of those preparations.

A Turkish spy takes a view of the fortifications. 1715.

He pitched upon a wealthy merchant, named *Andrew Veran*, a native of *Provence*, whom he sent thither in a ship richly laden with a variety of merchandizes. *Veran* landed first at *Neapoli de Romania*, capital of the *Morea*, where he was informed by the captain-general of the *Venetians*, that the *Turkish* armament was designed against his republic; and, upon his sailing through the *Dardanelles*, he received the news of the *Porte's* having declared war against the *Venetians*. Upon his arrival at *Constantinople*, he applied himself to the *French* ambassador, the count d' *Alleurs*, and put himself under his protection, and was by him more fully assured of all the sultan's designs. All this while numbers of knights and commanders of the order arrived at *Malta*, and brought with them volunteers, forces, ammunition, and other kinds of supplies, which the grand master made use of to reinforce his squadron, and sent it to join that of the pope and the *Venetian* fleet. Whilst these were at sea, *Veran* returned from *Constantinople*, and informed the council, that, from all he had been able to learn or observe, either the grand signor never designed that armament against *Malta*, or, if he ever did, he was since diverted from it, by the information he had received of the state of defence which the grand master had taken care to put the island in, and of the number of knights and other forces which came flocking to his assistance from all parts of Christendom.

d In the following year the *Venetians* failed not to apply to the grand master for fresh succours against the *Turks*; upon which he ordered five large vessels, and some galleys, to sail out to their assistance. These meeting with some *Barbary* corsairs, gave chase to them, and took one of the largest, of 54 guns and 500 men, and brought her to *Malta*, together with several saicks laden with all sorts of provision. Soon after this a contest arose among the commanders of the auxiliary squadrons, which was like to have had some dangerous consequence, when his holiness was pleased to put an effectual end to it, by declaring the *Maltese* admiral his lieutenant-general. After this the *Maltese* squadron fell on several *Turkish* vessels laden with variety of rich merchandize, and carried them off to *Corfu*, where he found the commander *Lugo*, who was admiral of the pope's galleys, and who, on his part, had been no less successful against the *Turks*, from whom he had taken a considerable number of vessels.

1716.

e In the following year the squadron set sail from *Malta*, reinforced by two frigates, and some other light vessels, in order to join the confederate fleet; and, in their way, sunk a large *Turkish* vessel, after a fierce engagement on both sides, but saved a great part of the men by the help of those light vessels, and made them prisoners. Soon after which the auxiliary forces had a fierce engagement with the *Turks*, in which the latter were so terribly treated, that they betook themselves to a speedy flight, after a combat of two hours, sustained on both sides with great obstinacy. The *Maltese* admiral *De Bellefontaine*, who commanded the whole fleet, behaved in that engagement with such conduct and bravery, that he was received, on his arrival at *Malta*, with the greatest marks of honour and distinction by the grand master.

1717.

f THE next year produced little that is worth recording; the grand master had indeed reinforced the squadron with the large galley called the *St. John*, and they actually sailed out at the usual time, and joined the confederates; but the *Turkish* courage was so effectually cooled by this time, that they did not care to give them a fresh occasion of signalizing themselves against them. In the same year the pope honoured the natural son of the king of *Poland* with the cross of the order.

1718.

THIS year produced nothing considerable, except some prizes which the *Maltese* squadron took from the *Turks*; two of which were richly laden for *Constantinople*; and on board another was the basha of *Romelia*, with his whole family, bound for *Neapoli de Romania*.

1719.

g THE next year was remarkable for the demise of the grand master *Raimond Perellos de Roccafull*, who died of extreme old age, accompanied with a lingering disease, under which he had laboured above a year, after a glorious reign of near twenty-two years, during which he bestowed most of his time and care in fortifying *Malta* and *Gosa* with variety of works, in building

1720.

building of magazines, arsenals, and other public edifices, in making a necessary provision for the widows and children of those of his forces who died at sea or in the war, and in all other public acts which could add strength to the island, and a lustre to the order.

63. Mark
Anthony
Zondodari.

HE was succeeded by *Mark Anthony Zondodari*, a native of *Siena*, and of an illustrious family, who had been some years before sent ambassador to the court of *Rome* by his predecessor, to complain to the pope of the insolence and encroachments of his inquisitors at *Malta*. The general joy which accompanied his election, was soon after increased by the success which his squadron met with against the corsairs of *Barbary*, two of the largest of which were brought into the port, and, not long after, were followed by the *Algerine* admiral of 80 guns and 500 soldiers. In the same year the new grand master obtained a brief from the pope, by which every knight of the order, who had 300 livres *per annum*, was obliged to maintain one soldier at his own expence, for the security of the island; but we do not find that it produced any effect.

Adrian Langon's success at sea.
1721.

THE *Maltese* squadron under the command of the brave *Adrian Langon*, who was sent, at the desire of the king of *Spain*, to cruise along his coasts, was no less successful against the *Barbary* corsairs. They began with chasing one of their galliots on the coasts of *Sardinia*; but this proving too brisk a sailer for them, they only retook a pink from it belonging to the Christians, which had been forced to surrender to it a few days before. Soon after this the *St. John*, commanded by the admiral, took an *Algerine* of 40 guns and 350 men, after an obstinate fight of an hour, by which about 20 Christian slaves were set at liberty, and 250 *Algerines* were chained to the oars. The next that fell in their way was the squadron of *Tunis*, consisting, among others, of the *Patrona*, the *Capitana*, and the *Porcupine*: the two former of which, taking advantage of a dark night, gave them the slip, after having maintained a long and bloody fight; but the last of them, called the *Porcupine*, was obliged to surrender, after having stood a continual fire till ten of the clock at night. Above 30 Christian slaves gained their liberty by that prize; and the success and valour of the commander *Alognis* struck such a general terror among the *Barbary* corsairs, that they dared not to stir out of their ports.

1722.

In the following year the grand master, who had been afflicted with a gangrene in his bowels above six months, expired on the 16th of *June*, in the 64th year of his age, and 5th of his government, greatly lamented by the order and the *European* princes, on account of his exemplary piety, extensive charity, and his strenuous application in putting the island in a better posture of defence than it had ever been in before; and in restoring, as well by his example as his authority, the antient discipline and privileges of the order, both in church and state.

64. Antonio
Manuel de
Vilhena.

HE was succeeded by *Don Antonio Manuel de Vilhena*, a *Portuguese*, of the *Castilian* tongue, a person of an illustrious family, who had, by his valour and merit, gradually passed through all the other dignities of the order, and was perfectly well acquainted with all the interests and maxims of it. The island being still in danger from the *Turks*, he made it his first care to complete the fortifications which his predecessor left unfinished, and to add some others where they were thought wanting, especially on the peninsula of *Marza Muzetto*, which still lay so exposed to the attacks of the *Turks*, that they might easily have made themselves masters of it, and by that means have facilitated their attempts on the adjacent works. On that he ordered a stout new fort to be erected, called by him *Fort Manuel*. Whilst that was constructing, he issued out an order, that all knights, who had attained the age of nineteen, should repair to him, with their proper arms and retinue, in order to be ready to oppose the *Turks*, in case the armament that was carrying on at *Constantinople* should be designed against their island, as it really proved to be.

It must be here observed, that all these vast preparations at the *Porte* were made at the instigation of a *Turk*, named *Hali*, who had been a slave at *Malta* a considerable number of years, and had afterwards served among the marines, and having acquired great favour with the *Maltese* knights, had been raised to be chief master of the *Turkish* slaves. This man did *Mohammed Effendi* redeem on his arrival at *Malta*, in his way to *France*, whither he was sent ambassador, and brought back by him to *Constantinople*, where he informed the ministers of the *Porte* of the state of that island, and of the order, with the great number of *Turkish* captives of all ranks, who groaned under a cruel slavery, and would not fail of raising a general revolt among them, if a proper attempt was made to surprise the island, they being there much more numerous than the inhabitants.

By these remonstrances he easily obtained a squadron of ten men of war, commanded by *Abdi Capitan*, which he told them would be sufficient to accomplish the design, as they would have nothing to do but appear before the island, where they would find all the slaves up in arms. *Hali* was allowed to accompany them in this expedition, with the title of captain; and the squadron set sail accordingly for *Malta*; yet their design had not been kept so secret at the *Porte*, but the grand master had intelligence time enough to frustrate it, by the care he took

to

a to have all the slaves closely secured, and put out of a condition to answer their end ; so that when the *Turkish* squadron appeared before the island, all their hostilities terminated in some few discharges of the artillery on both sides ; after which they presently retired, only *Abdi Capitan*, the commander of it, took care to have the following letter conveyed to the grand master :

“ THE chief of the island of *Malta*, the officers of his council, and the heads of the tongues of *France*, *Venice*, and other nations, who worship the *Messiah*, are given to understand by this letter, that we have been expressly sent by the grand signior, lord of the universe, and refuge of mankind, to enjoin them to deliver into our hands all the slaves who are found under their miserable government, to the end they may go and present themselves at the foot of his supreme and august throne. Such is his will ; and the end for which he has thus armed us ; and if you fail of complying with his commands, you will be made to repent of it by the most dreadful punishments. Send your answer to *Tunis*.”

THIS haughty and threatening stile being so well known to be the language of the *Porte*, the grand master did not fail to send a proper answer, which was to this effect : “ That his order was not instituted merely to rove on the seas, and make slaves, but to cruise upon them with their armaments, in order to secure the navigation and commerce of the Christians ; that they attacked none but such as did annoy it, and, by making slaves of the Christians, did justly deserve to be made such themselves ; that he had nothing so much at heart as to procure the liberty of those that were captives in the sultan’s dominions ; and that if his highness entertained the same views, he was ready to enter into a negotiation with him for a mutual restitution of their captives, either by way of exchange or ransom, on the footing on which it was practised by other princes ; and that if his highness would be pleased to signify to him that such were his intentions, he would omit nothing that was in his power to second them.”

THIS answer was not sent, as was desired, to the admiral of the *Turkish* squadron, but to the count *de Bonac*, then ambassador from the *French* court to the *Porte*, who was left at his liberty to deliver it to whom he should think best, who accordingly presented it to the grand vizier. He was a few days after agreeably surprised to find that minister disposed to treat not only of an exchange of captives, but even of a peace with the grand master. The vast advantage which not only the order, but all Christendom, would reap from such a peace, easily encouraged the ambassador to use all the address and application he was capable to obtain it : and as he was in high favour and esteem at that court, and especially with the prime minister, he quickly gained his assent to the articles which he had proposed to him.

THE plan was thereupon sent both to *France* and *Malta*, where it was equally liked and approved of, excepting only that the grand master preferred a limited truce to a peace, and apprised him of his reasons for it, which may be easily guessed at.

THE following articles were soon after agreed upon between the grand master and prime vizier ; viz.

1. THAT there should be a reciprocal exchange of captives ; and that if those of either side should be found more numerous than the other, they should be redeemed at the rate of 100 piastres per head.

2. THAT this exchange should extend no farther than to those captives which had been taken under the *Maltese* and *Turkish* flags.

3. THAT the truce should be for twenty years, which might be renewed after that time.

4. THAT the states of *Barbary* should be excluded out of the treaty ; and that the *Porte* should not give them any assistance, directly or indirectly, against the *Maltese*.

5. THAT these last should enjoy the same privileges within the grand signor’s dominions which the *French* did.

6. THAT this treaty should become null as soon as any Christian prince was at war with the *Porte*.

THESE articles, tho’ generally approved, and even applauded at *Constantinople*, were nevertheless strenuously opposed by the captain basha, partly, as is reasonably supposed, because he had not been consulted about them ; whereas, being of a maritime nature, they equally belonged to his province ; and partly because all such pacific treaties were generally disagreeable to the whole posse of sea-officers ; so that he found no difficulty to exasperate them against it, whilst the grand vizier, apprised of the universal discontent they had given to that powerful body, saw himself obliged to suspend that negotiation for a time. It was not long, however, before he took an opportunity of acquainting the *French* ambassador, that it might easily be revived, provided some effectual methods were taken to induce the captain basha, and the rest of the maritime chiefs, to come into it : the plain meaning of which was to make it their interest to do so. The count *de Bonac* easily apprehended him ; but as that required time, as well

as new instructions and remittances from *France* and *Malta*, the further negotiation was suspended till they could be procured. a

A Tunisian
vessel taken.

In the mean time, the grand master being informed that a *Tunis* vessel, followed by a tartane, had taken two barks, the one belonging to *Sicily*, and the other to *Genoa*, near the island of *Pantalèria*, dispatched the *St. John* galley, with another frigate, after them. The latter, being the better sailer, soon overtook and attacked the vessel, and after a mutual fire, which lasted near four hours, obliged it to surrender. It was a noble ship and excellent sailer, carrying fifty-eight guns, fourteen brass patereroes, and 400 men. It had been made a present of by the *Porte* to the Dey of *Tunis*, to serve him for a patrona, and had infested those seas for some time with no small success. As for the tartane, it was chased by the *St. John* a considerable time, and made a stout defence; but was at length forced to yield, and both were brought into the port of *Malta*. b

1725.

In the following year, with which we shall close the *Maltese* history, as having little or nothing considerable, except the yearly excursions and successes against the *Turks* and *Barbary* corsairs, pope *Benedict XIII.* to express his esteem and gratitude to the grand master and the order, for their vigilance over, and great services to, Christendom, sent to him, by one of his *Camerarii*, the helmet and estock which he had blessed on *Christmas-day*. The latter of which is a silver gilt sword, and the other a purple cap or bonnet of velvet, embroidered with gold, and adorned with a dove, the emblem of the Holy Ghost, enriched with pearls, diamonds, and other precious stones; which present was received with the usual tokens of gratitude and professions of loyalty and zeal for the holy see, by the whole convent. c

B O O K XXIII.

C H A P. I.

The History of Spain.

S E C T. I.

The history of the kingdom of the Visigoths in Spain, from the accession of Euric, or Evaric, to that of Recared the First, who is also styled the Catholic.

THE Visigoths, who triumphed over the Suevi in Spain, under their king Theodoric, became masters of that extensive country under his successor Euric, who is therefore commonly, and with no great impropriety, considered as the founder of the Gothic kingdom in Spain^a. With his reign, therefore, the Modern History of that nation properly commences; but, to render it the more intelligible to the reader, it will be requisite to say something of the state in which things were, in that as well as the adjacent countries. The eastern coasts of Spain were the greatest part of them at that time in the hands of the Romans, though their power was in a manner ruined, the western empire at that juncture having no head^b. As for the empire of the east, Leo the First then held the sceptre; and not long after named, as we shall see, an emperor of the west^c. As for the western coasts of Spain, they were almost wholly in the hands of the Suevi; and their king Resmund, having married the daughter of Theodoric, remained in quiet possession of those territories which this conqueror had still left him^d. But for the interior provinces, together with those of Gaul, bordering upon Spain, they were in the hands of the Goths, who fixed the seat of their kingdom for the present at Thoulouse^e. As for the Vandals, who had transported themselves to Afric, and were masters of all the coasts opposite to Spain, they had for their monarch Genseric, who had been very successful against the Romans, and was now considered both as a lawful and very potent prince^f. In point of religion, all these nations were Christians; but the Visigoths, Suevi, and Vandals, were Arians, and are charged with dealing very harshly by the Catholics, that is, with the inhabitants of those provinces of Gaul and Spain which they had torn from the Roman empire^g (A).

The situation of things in Spain at the time Euric ascended the throne.

A. D. 466.

EURIC,

^a MARIANA, Historia de Hispania, lib. v. cap. 5. ^b MAYERNE TURQUET, Histoire general d'Espagne, l. v. c. v. ^c FERRERAS, Historia de Hispania, P. iii. sect 5. ^d JORNAN. cap. xlv. ^e IDAT. JORNAND. S. ISIDOR. ^f CASSIODOR. MARCELLIN. Chron. Alexandr. ^g SIDON. APOLLON. IDAT. JORNAND. JORNAND. cap. xlvii. S. ISID. ENNOD. vit. S. Epiphan.

(A) The history of the kingdom of the Goths in Spain is in itself fruitful of great events, and capable of affording the reader entertainment, at the same time that it is the fundamental history with respect to the inhabitants of that extensive kingdom; and without a thorough knowledge of which, even the relations of much later times can be but very imperfectly understood (1). Besides, this history is of great consequence towards giving a just idea of the political constitution which originally subsisted among that brave and warlike nation, and the several alterations that became necessary in different conjunctures (2). Add to all this, that it affords us very full evidence against the prejudices of

those who would persuade us, that all was so dark and barbarous within the compass of that period, which is our present subject, as to exclude us from all hopes of seeing it reduced in any tolerable order or certainty. Yet amongst the original authors, on whose authority the principal facts are taken, some were very eminent for their abilities, learning, and veracity (3). As for instance, Idacio, bishop of Lemgo, who wrote a chronicle grounded upon that of Eusebius, and continued down to his own times, in which he is allowed by the best judges to have set things down with great punctuality and exactness (4). St. Gregory of Tours, who wrote the history of the Franks in ten books, and delivered

(1) L'englet du Fresney, Methode pour etudier l'histoire, chap. xxxii

(2) Vida de Don Nicolas Antonis, escrita por Don Gregorio Mayans y Siscar.

cap. viii.

(3) Selden's Titles of honour, chap. iv.

(4) Felix Tolet. de viris illustr.

the title,
temper, and
views, of this
monarch.

A. D. 466.

EURIC, EUVORIC, EUVARIC, EUTHORIC, or EVARIX, for by all these names we find a him mentioned, was a younger son of *Theodoric* the First, king of the *Visigoths*, in *Gaul*, and ascended the throne of his father by the murder of *Theodoric* II. his brother, who had before fixed himself thereon by the murder of their elder brother *Thorismund*^b. It does not appear that *Euric* met with any difficulty in obtaining the possession of any part of those extensive dominions which *Theodoric* acquired; neither does it appear, that *Resmund*, king of the *Suevi*, made the least attempt to revenge the death of his father-in-law, or disputed the succession. On the contrary, mutual civilities and reciprocal embassies passed between them^c. *Leo*, emperor of the east, thought fit to associate *Anthemius* in that dignity; and soon after both emperors began to make great warlike preparations both by land and sea, with an intent, as it afterwards appeared, to attack *Genferic* king of the *Vandals*, who, having entered into a close alliance with *Resmund* and *Euric*, these two princes, as well to favour their own views, as to create a diversion, resolved to attack the countries in *Spain* which were still in the hands of the *Romans*; and this they did with so great success, that they both made very considerable conquests, the former making himself master of *Lisbon*, and the latter taking considerable tracts of country^k, which hitherto had made parts of the *Roman* province. *Euric* entered afterwards into a negotiation with *Anthemius*, probably that he might obtain better information as to the state of affairs in the empire, that he might take his measures more effectually for driving the *Romans* intirely out of *Spain*, where his power was already so great, that instead of being jealous of the *Suevi*, he looked upon them rather as his dependents, and, being a prince of great address as well as ambition, managed them at his pleasure^l (B).

A. D. 467.

As soon as he had obtained an account of the success of the *Vandals*, and that the western empire was in the utmost danger of being intirely subverted by domestic intrigues,

^b IDAT. JORNAND. C. XLV. ISIDOR.

^c IDAT.

^k ISIDOR. IDAT.

^l ENNOD. vit. S. Epiphan.

therein a multitude of particulars relating to the monarchy of the *Goths* in *Spain*, is also in very great credit. (5). To these we may add St. *Isidore*, metropolitan of *Seville*, who left not only a chronicle, in which the transactions, for which we have occasion to cite him, are set down according to the regular order of time, but also a history of the *Goths*, the *Suevi*, and the *Vandals*, extremely useful in this history, and a treatise of illustrious persons, which afford still farther light as to the passages in the two former works, that would otherwise be somewhat obscure (6). We have added, more especially at the beginning of every reign, the authorities of such general histories of *Spain* as are in the highest esteem, such as those of the Jesuit *Mariana*, who wrote concisely, but very elegantly, of the affairs of his country in *Latin* (7), and more largely in his own language, and with great spirit and freedom (8). We have quoted, as occasion required, from both these works. *Mayerne de Turquet* has written in *French* a general history of *Spain*, collected from *Mariana* and other authors (9). His work was formerly more considered than it is at present; but inasmuch as it serves for the ground-work of most of those histories of *Spain* which have been written in other languages, it is not amiss to indicate to the reader in what part of his performance the detail of those things which we have represented succinctly may be found. The history of *Spain* by Don *Juan de Ferreras* is allowed to be the most copious and exact of any now extant (10). This author lived in our own times, was indefatigable in the study of the antiquities of his own country, extremely accurate in chronology, very impartial in his narratives, and one, who as he enjoyed great opportunities of correcting the errors and mistakes of other writers (11), so he has practised it freely and fairly, not with the dogmatic air of an angry critic, but with all the candour and modesty that becomes a man of letters, and a sincere inquirer after truth.

(B) In the course of the ensuing history, we follow, generally speaking, the chronology established by *Ferreras*, not only because he has been remarkably careful in that respect beyond most other historians, but also because he had far better lights, and has shewn very great judgment in making the best use of them. We may join to these two a third reason, which is, that the chronology of this author agrees the best of any with all the foregoing histories, in which there is incidentally any mention made of transactions with the court of *Spain* (12). As for that æra by which most of their old historians account, and which for that reason has been styled the æra of *Spain*, men even of very great learning have been very much divided in their sentiments about it. St. *Isidore* of *Seville*, in his etymologies (13), asserts, that this term is derived from the *Latin* word *æ*s, and that the occasion of it was the general description and taxation of the *Roman* empire in the reign of *Augustus*. As his opinion is both rational and probable, we may as well adopt it as any other. But then as to the time when this æra commenced, it admits of as great, or rather greater, variation in sentiments. There has been printed of late years in *Spain*, by the care of Don *Gregorio Mayans y Siscar*, a very curious and judicious work, by one of the most eminent antiquaries in that kingdom, upon this subject (14). However, in this too we follow the sentiment of *Ferreras*, and allow the *Spanish* æra to be earlier than the common calculation of the birth of Christ by thirty-eight years. We mention this, that in case the reader should have recourse to any of those ancient authors which compute by the æra of *Spain*, he may be under no difficulty in reducing it to the computation followed by us: which may be done with the utmost facility, either by subtracting thirty-eight years from their computation, or adding the year of our Lord as it stands in ours.

(5) Oudin, de Scriptor. Ecclesiast. tom i. col. 1445, 1446, 1447. (6) Bellarm. de Script. Eccles. L'Abbé Scriptor. Eccles. tom. ii. p. 644. (7) Historia de rebus Hispaniæ, libri xxx. Mogunt. 1605, 4to. (8) Historia general de Espana compuesta, emendada, y anadida, por el Padre Juan de Mariana. Leon de Francia, 1719. 12mo. (9) Lenglet du Fresnoy, Methode pour etudier l'histoire, tom. iv. p. 277. (10) Don Juan de Ferreras, Synopsis historica chronologica de Espana formada de los autores seguros y de buena fe, 4to. Madrid, 1700, 1702, &c. (11) Preface pour le premier tome de l'histoire generale de l'Espagne, traduite par M. d'Hermilly. (12) See the Preface to the first volume of Ferreras's history. (13) Lib. v. cap. 34. (14) Era Espanola, origen de su nombre, ano da su introduccion, i tiempo quo procedio al computo de la natiwidad de Jesu Christo. Obra cronologicas de Don Gaspar Ibanez de Segovia, Peralta, i Mendeza, Marques de Mondrjar, &c. en Valencia, 1744, Folio.

- a *Euric* resolved to carry his scheme into execution without delay ^m. His forces, having passed the *Pyrenæes*, presented themselves before *Pampeluna*, which speedily submitted. From thence they proceeded to *Saragossa*, which made no great resistance, any more than several other places in its neighbourhood. The nobility and gentry, assembling in arms, endeavoured to stop the progress of the *Goths*, but, being easily defeated, what is now stiled the principality of *Catalonia*, and the kingdom of *Valencia*, were quickly overcome ⁿ. At this time, as some authors say, *Euric* himself passed into *Spain*, and, putting himself at the head of his armies, penetrated as far as *Lusitania* ^o; which giving him an opportunity of entering the *Roman* province on all sides at once, he became in a very short space intirely master of all that they possessed. Having settled garrisons in such places as he thought most convenient, and b provided in the best manner he could for the administration of the civil government, he returned again into *Gaul* ^p, without giving any disturbance to the *Suevi*, who by this time saw their error, and that, by assisting the *Romans*, though they had extended their territory, they had notwithstanding diminished their power ^q.

He reduces the greater part of Spain under his power.

A. D. 571.

- THE confusions in the western empire, where *Olybrius* had defeated and put to death *Anthemius*, encouraged *Euric* in his views of enlarging his dominions by attacking the *Romans* in *Gaul*. While he meditated this expedition, *Olybrius* dying, *Glycerius* assumed the purple; and, that he might be in a better condition to oppose the *Visigoths*, he took a great body of *Ostrogoths*, under the command of *Widimer*, into his service, and sent them into *Gaul*, for the defence of the provinces ^r. The subjects of the empire, being catholics, behaved so differently towards these strangers, who were *Arians*, that they quickly deserted the service, c and went over to *Euric*, who was of their own communion ^s. *Siagrius*, at the head of the *Roman* forces, and *Childeric*, king of the *Franks*, had assembled a numerous army, in order to oppose *Euric*; and, by bringing things to a quick decision, were defeated in a general engagement; soon after which, *Euric* made himself master of *Tours* ^t. His victorious army being strongly reinforced by the troops under *Widimer*, the monarch of the *Visigoths*, he turned his arms against *Bourges*, which he likewise reduced, after defeating an army raised for its relief ^u. He was prevailed upon by *St. Epiphanius*, bishop of *Paria*, to make peace with the emperor *Julius Nepos*. This however, he soon after broke, and besieged *Clermont* in *Auvergne*, which, not without some difficulty, he reduced ^v. After this conquest, he gave d some time to repose; and keeping his court at *Bordeaux*, received there, as we are told by an eye-witness, in a royal manner, the ambassadors of all the neighbouring princes ^x (C).

He conquers almost all the country between the Loire and the Rhosne.

A. D. 473.

A. D. 475.

- THE western empire being intirely overthrown, on the deposition and death of *Augustulus*, by *Odoacer*, king of the *Heruli*, who thereupon assumed the title of monarch of *Italy*, that prince thought he could not take a more prudent step, in order to establish his new-founded state, than to make an alliance with *Euric*, king of the *Visigoths*, to whom, at the same time that he proposed this alliance, he made an offer of all the places that were still in the hands of the *Romans* ^y. *Euric* readily embraced these terms, and soon after took the field, in order to reduce the cities to which this treaty gave him some colour of title. He besieged, and, after some resistance, made himself master of *Arles*, and soon after *Marseilles* shared the same fate; e yet he did not enjoy these conquests in peace ^z. The *Burgundians*, who had before seen the increase of his power with envy, grew jealous, now he was become their neighbour; and, to stop the progress of his arms, made an irruption into his territories with a mighty army. *Euric* marched against them with his veteran troops; and the dispute being ended by a decisive battle ^a, in which he gained a complete victory, he returned afterwards to *Arles*, where he spent the few remaining years of his life in peace. He turned his thoughts now to the cultivation of the milder arts; and as he knew that a government could never subsist long where the laws were uncertain, he caused a complete code of those made by his predecessor and himself to be collected and published ^b (D). He was a zealous *Arian*, and is said to have persecuted the catholics in

His conquests in Gaul, to the time of his death.

A. D. 477.

A. D. 478.

A. D. 479.

^m ISIDOR. Hist. Goth.

ⁿ ID. Chron.

^o IDAT. ISID. JORN.

^r GREG. Tur. lib. ii.

^p JORNAND. GREG. Tur.

^s JORNAND.

^q PROCOP. Bell. Goth. lib. i.

^t JORN. ISID.

^u JORNAND. cap. xlv.

^y ISIDOR. Hist. Goth.

^v JORN. cap. 45, 46.

^z GREG. Turon. lib. ii.

^a SIDON. APPOL. l. viii. ep. 9.

^b JORN. ISIDOR.

^c SIDON. APPOL. lib. ii. ISIDOR.

(C) The author, upon whose credit these facts are related, is one of the most celebrated of that age, *Sidonius Appollinaris*, who was upon this occasion at the court of our *Gothic* monarch, and speaks of his grandeur and magnificence from his own knowlege (15). It is from him likewise that late writers have taken what they object to the memory of this prince, in relation to his ill usage of the catholics; but then it is to

be observed, that they carry things much farther than our author did, and make him appear a much greater bigot than he really was.

(D) The person chiefly employed by our monarch in compiling this code was *Leo*, his prime minister; he was descended from *Cornelius Fronto*, preceptor to the emperor *Marcus Aurelius*, and the most eloquent person of the time in which he lived (16). This descendant

(15) Lib. viii. ep. 9. p. 229, 230.

(16) Sidon. car. xxi. p. 412.

in *Gaul* with great severity; but the accounts we have of this seem to be exaggerated, since it is allowed, that his subjects in *Spain* enjoyed, during his reign, a profound peace^a. He is on all hands allowed to have been a magnanimous and a magnificent prince, and to have ruled wisely the territories which he had valiantly acquired. He died in the month of *September*, in the year of our Lord, four hundred eighty four, and in the nineteenth of his reign^d. He had by his queen *Ragnachild* a son, who succeeded him, and a daughter, whom he gave in marriage to *Sigismer*, a prince among the *Franks*^e.

Alaric II.
succeeds and
governs his
subjects with
great mildness.

ALARIC the second succeeded his father, and reigned quietly over all his dominions in *Spain* and in *Gaul*^f; but, if there be any credit due to some writers, he sullied the very beginning of his reign with a very mean and unworthy action. *Siagrius*, a *Roman* general, who still held *Soissons*, and some other places, was attacked by *Clovis*, king of the *Franks*, and, in his distress, took refuge in the dominions of *Alaric*, who at first received and protected him, but afterwards delivered this unfortunate person to that vindictive monarch, who put him to death^g. *Theodoric*, king of the *Ostrogoths*, having, at the instance of the emperor *Zeno*, entered *Italy*, where he defeated and put to death *Odoacer*, king of the *Heruli*, remained quiet possessor of his dominions, and governed them with such wisdom, as induced *Alaric* to court his alliance. Accordingly he espoused *Theudicota*, who some say was the natural daughter of that monarch; which was very acceptable to his subjects, as it seemed to presage a lasting peace, without prejudice to the interests of their nation^h. Two brothers, *Gondeband* and *Godefill*, at that time governed the *Burgundians*, the former making *Lyons*, the latter *Geneva*, the seat of his residence; and entering into a war with each other, drew *Clovis*, king of the *Franks*, into the quarrel, who took part with *Godefill*, as *Alaric* did with *Gondeband*, who, having slain his brother, and united his dominions to his ownⁱ, soon after deserted the *Visigoths*, and reconciled himself to the *Franks*; which, as may be gathered from the historians of those times, produced a jealousy between *Clovis* and *Alaric*, who appear to have been both of them naturally haughty and suspicious^k.

A. D. 493.

A. D. 500.

THE *Goths* having now enjoyed many years peace, law-suits and disputes about property became much more frequent than in former times, which induced *Alaric* to direct *Anian*, one of the most famous lawyers of that age, to make an abridgment of the *Theodosian* code for the benefit of his subjects, which was afterwards published by his authority^l (F). He likewise laboured to compose amicably the differences that had arisen with *Clovis*; and, for that purpose, there was an interview between the two princes, which, tho' it produced a good correspondence in appearance, was far from putting an end to their animosities, as to the cause of which historians differ; but it seems most probable, that *Clovis*, who had lately become a Christian, was excited to make war upon *Alaric* by the bishops and clergy in his dominions, who hated their sovereign for being an *Arian*, and this notwithstanding he had permitted them to hold a council very lately at *Agde*^m. *Theodoric*, king of *Italy*, offered his mediation, and threatened to act with all his forces against the aggressor; which however did not hinder *Clovis* from making an irruption into the territories of the *Visigoths*, where the city of *Tours* was presently yielded to him by his partisansⁿ. *Alaric* marched against him with a numerous army, with which he acted for some time upon the defensive; but, not being able to restrain the ardour of his forces, it came at length to a decisive battle, in which the *Visigoths* were totally routed, and *Alaric* killed, as the *French* historians say, by the hand of *Clovis*^o. This engagement happened within three leagues of *Poitiers*, in the year of our Lord five hundred and seven, according to the best historians, tho' *Mariana* places it in the year before^p (G).

Clovis, king
of the Franks,
declares war
against him, in
which Alaric
is killed.

A. D. 505.
506.

AFTER

^a JORNAND. SIDON. APPOL. GREG. TURON.

GREG. TURON. ^f MARIANA, Historia de Hispania, l. v. c. 6. MAYERNE TURQUET, l. v. FERRERAS, Histoire generale d'Espagne, P. iii. sec. 5.

^g GREG. TURON. ENNOD. PROCOP.

c. 41.

PROCOP.

^m GREG. TURON. SIGEBERT.

^p Historia de Hispania, l. v. c. 6.

^d SIDON. APPOL. lib. vii. ep. vi.

^e JORN.

^h GREG. TURON. AIMON.

^h JORN. PROCOP.

^k GREG. TURON. ENNOD. MEZERAY.

ⁱ Morales, l. ii.

ⁿ Idem, & CASSIODOR.

^o GREG. TURON. JORN.

of his was also in all respects a man of singular abilities; he professed the catholic religion in the court of a monarch who was an *Arian*. He was a person of great learning, unblemished character, and, which which is no less to our present purpose, was esteemed the best civilian of that age (19). In all probability it was from him the advice came of collecting and publishing these laws by the authority of king *Euric*, whose preface stands before them, and it is said they were considered and confirmed by an assembly of seventy bishops (20).

(F) In order to have a clearer conception of this matter, it may be necessary to observe, that the subjects of this monarch being *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, as well as of his own nation, the *Goths*, and as these had lived long under the dominion of the *Romans*, they had contracted not only a deep reverence, but a warm affection, for their laws, upon the capital maxims of which those of the *Goths* were likewise founded (21).

(G) It is somewhat strange, that *Mariana* and *Ferreras*, writing after the same authority, should differ in

(19) *Idem* lib. iv. ep. 22. p. 119. lib. viii. ep. 3. p. 215. Ferras, P. iii. sec. 6.

(20) Ferreras, P. iii. sec. 5.

(21) Fer-

- A**FTER this unfortunate battle, some of the most prudent captains in the army of the *Visigoths* retired into *Spain* with *Amalaric*, the only son of their deceased monarch, by his queen *Theudicota*; but the rest of the troops, judging a prince of five years old very unfit to restore the disturbed state of their affairs, readily consented that *Gesalaic*, who was the natural son of *Alaric* by a mistress of his, should assume the royal dignity^a. His first action was against the *Burgundians*, who, under the command of *Gondebaud*, marched to besiege *Narbonne*, which *Gesalaic* could have hindered; but, being defeated in a general action, he fled into *Spain*, where he raised new disturbances^b. In the mean time *Theodoric* sent *Ibbas*, one of his generals, with a great body of troops to the assistance of the *Visigoths*, who, having in some measure recovered their spirits, behaved with so much courage and resolution, as obliged both the *Franks* and *Burgundians* to abandon the best part of their conquests, for which they stood at least as much indebted to the disaffection of the clergy as to the success of their army^c. After this, *Ibbas* marched against *Gesalaic*, who had taken possession of *Barcelona*, recovered that city, and forced the usurper to transport himself and his few adherents into *Africa*, where they were received by *Thrasamond*, king of the *Vandals*, tho' he was brother-in-law to king *Theodoric*^d; who, in consideration of the trouble and expence he had been at, kept the country of *Provence* for himself, and administered the affairs of the rest of *Alaric's* dominions, as regent for *Amalaric*; appointing *Theudis*, an *Ostrogoth* by birth, but a person of great prudence and merit, to have the chief direction in the councils of the young prince^e. A. D. 507.
- WITH the help of those pecuniary supplies which he received from the king of the *Vandals*, *Gesalaic* returned into *Gaul*; and, having raised a considerable body of forces, he passed the mountains, directing his march towards *Barcelona*, within four leagues of which city he was encountered by a part of *Theodoric's* army, and, being entirely defeated, was forced to fly back into *Gaul*; but being overtaken, before he could reach any place of safety, by a party of the *Ostrogoths*, they put an end to his troubles and his life: by this incident, and the death of *Clovis*, king of the *Franks*, the *Visigoths* were equally freed from the miseries of an intestine war, and the apprehensions of a foreign invasion^f. *Theudis* governed *Spain* with great ability, and yet not without giving some kind of umbrage to *Theodoric*; for though, pursuant to his orders, he sent him the revenues of that kingdom, yet he could not be prevailed upon to return into *Italy*, to render an account of his administration. He married also a Spanish lady of distinguished family, and who brought him immense riches; so that when he surmised either his life or liberty to be in danger from the suspicions of *Theodoric*, he was in a condition to raise and maintain a body of two thousand men, in the nature of guards^g. The king of *Italy*, therefore, having no other method to recover that power which he had put into the hands of *Theudis*, declared his grandson *Amalaric* of full age, and ordered him to be put into possession of his father's dominions, which was accordingly done^h (H). A. D. 509. 510. A. D. 513.

ON

^a MARIANA, *Historia de Hispania*, lib. v. c. 7. MAYERNE TURQUET, l. v. FERRERAS, *Histoire generale d'Espagne*, P. iii. sect. 6. ^b PROCOPIUS, ISIDORUS. ^c CASSIODORUS. JORN. ISIDORUS. ^d CASSIODORUS. ^e ISIDORUS. ^f PROCOPIUS. ^g ISIDORUS. ^h CONCIL.

almost every circumstance relating to this event, as well as the year in which it happened. The former represents *Alaric* as intirely in the wrong, as having given protection to the enemies of *Clovis*, held secret correspondencies in his kingdom, and had even formed a design to murder or assassinate him at their late interview (22). The latter, on the contrary, assures us, that these ought to be regarded rather as calumnies than as facts, since they are not mentioned by the most considerable writer of that age (23), but have been taken upon the credit of later and less credible authors (24). He therefore ascribes the war to the ecclesiastics about *Clovis*, who pressed him to undertake it, and to the intrigues of the catholic prelates in *Alaric's* dominions, who invited the *Franks* (25). They are wide of each other also as to the place where this decisive battle was fought; *Mariana* says, that it was *en Campos Vogladenses*; which his French translator, father *Charonton*, interprets the plains of *Vavillé*, and places them at the distance of thirteen leagues from *Poitiers* (26); whereas *Ferreras*

assures us, that *Alaric* encamped within three leagues of *Poitiers*, in sight of a town which he calls *Voclad* (27), and which is believed to be that now called *Vougle* (28), where his people forced him to give the *Franks* battle. *Mariana* is very express as to the year; he not only says that it was 506, but adds, that he had published his body of laws mentioned in the former note in the month of *February* preceding (29). His French translator acknowledges this to be an error (30), and it is not the affair of a stranger to decide this difference; but *Ferreras*, who places it a year later, agrees better with the French and other foreign historians (31). (H) We are told by *Mariana*, that *Amalaric* did not assume the government of his dominions till after the demise of his grandfather (32); whereas *Ferreras* asserts the contrary, which makes the difference of above three years. The former has the honour of being followed by *Petaveus*, a very learned chronologer, though he produces no authority to support that fact, which cannot be said of *Ferreras* (33); though it is agreed by

(22) *Hist. de Espana*, lib. v. c. 6. (23) *Gregor. Turonens. Hist. Francor.* lib. ii. cap. 35. (24) *Hincmar in vit. S. Rem. Aimon*, lib. i. c. 20. (25) *Hist. de Espana*, P. iii. sec. 6. (26) *Histoire d'Espagne*, vol. ii. p. 498. (27) *Hist. de Espana*, P. iii. sect. 6. (28) *La Martiniere, Diction. Greg. au mot Vouglé.* (29) *Hist. de Espana*, lib. v. c. 6. (30) *Histoire d'Espagne*, vol. ii. p. 500. (31) *Mexeray Abrégé chronol. de l'Histoire de France*, tom. i. p. 34. (32) *P. Daniel, Hist. de France*, tom. i. p. 61. M. le President Henault, *nouvel Abrégé de l'Histoire de France*, p. 3. (33) *Hist. de Espana*, lib. v. c. 7.

He marries
the princess
Clotilda,
daughter to
Clovis, king
of France.

A. D. 528.

Her brother,
provoked by
her ill usage,
invades the do-
minions of
Amalaric,
who is slain
in this quarrel.

ON the death of *Theodoric*, he was succeeded in his dominions by his grandson, *Athalaric*,^a the son of his daughter *Amalasuntha*, by *Eutharic*, a *Goth*, born in *Spain*, who deceased before his father-in-law^z. The new monarch of *Italy* was very young; and, to prevent any dispute with the king of the *Visigoths*, it was agreed, that the river *Rhose* should be the common boundary of their territories; that no part of the revenue of *Spain* should be any longer remitted to *Italy*; and that the treasures which *Theodoric* had removed should be restored^a. (1). His affairs thus settled, *Amalaric* found himself inclined to marry; and the princess upon whom he cast his eyes, was *Clotilda*, the daughter of *Clovis*, and the sister of those princes amongst whom the kingdom of the *Franks* was divided^b. They listened very readily to this proposition; and the marriage being concluded, *Clotilda* was received with all possible demonstrations of joy by her subjects, and the wedding celebrated with the utmost solemnity.^b

At this time, in the opinion of all parties, there could not have been a more judicious alliance, or one that afforded a fairer prospect, either in respect to public peace, or to private happiness^c; yet it was not long before those uneasinesses commenced, which, in their issue, proved so fatal both to the king and kingdom of the *Visigoths*^d.

AMALARIC was either desirous himself, or was influenced by his priests, to bring over his queen to the *Arian* heresy; and, as she was a zealous catholic, this was the source of those differences that broke out early, and continually increased between them, till at length the poor queen was so ill treated, that she wrote a long letter of complaint to her bretheren, in which she gave a large account of her sufferings, and the daily insults she received, not only from that monarch, but from his subjects; and, with it, sent a handkerchief stained with her blood, occasioned by the blows she had received^e. Upon this, *Childebert*, king of *France*, marched with a numerous army into the territories of *Amalaric*, who, collecting as great a force as he was able, took the field against the invader; but had the misfortune to be defeated, and was forced to take refuge on board his fleet^f. But, recollecting that his treasures were left in the city of *Narbonne*, he went on shore again, in hopes of recovering them; and had scarce entered

^z CASSIODOR. JORNAND.
Tur. l. iii. c. 10.

^a PROCOP.
^d PROCOP. de bel. Goth. l. i.

^b GREG. TUR. PROCOP. AIMON.
^e GREG. TURON.

^c GREG.
^f PROCOP. JORN.

both, that the years of the reign of *Amalaric* were not reckoned from the time of his accession, but from the time that he assumed the government. It is from a date of this kind that *Ferreras* proves his computation, since an author of indisputable credit tells us, that *Montanus*, metropolitan of *Toledo*, who died in the year five hundred thirty one, sat in that see nine years during the reign of *Amalaric*, which, according to *Mariana's* account, would be impossible, since he allowed him to reign but five (34). What some writers say of the marriage of *Theodoric* in *Spain* (35), is plainly a mistake for that of *Theudis*, who actually married a *Spanish* lady; which was one circumstance that made him so formidable to his own master *Theodoric*, as to determine him to send his grandson, then about the age of twenty one, to take upon him the administration of his own affairs. This is at once so natural and so consistent an account of this transaction, that it is not easy to find any reason to question it; but then it must be allowed, that this is a fact established from consequences, and which it was very easy even for so great a man as *Mariana* really was, to overlook. We see clearly from the whole current of this history, that it was the power of *Theodoric* which protected the whole monarchy of the *Visigoths* from crumbling to pieces (36). He is however said to have taken a considerable part of their dominions in *Gaul*, by way of indemnification for the expences he was at: however, as this would certainly have fallen into the hands of the *Franks*, if he had not taken it, and as it enabled him to keep a body of troops there sufficient to restrain the attempts of that ambitious and warlike nation, we cannot tax him with any great injustice (37).

(1) We have the particulars of this agreement set down by *Ferreras*, and that upon very good authority;

but he does not tell us when these treasures were carried away from *Carcaffone* (38). On the other hand, *Mariana* tells us, that immediately after the defeat and death of *Alaric*, the *Franks*, under the command of *Clovis*, made themselves masters not only of his riches, but of all the treasures collected by his predecessors, and, amongst the rest, the holy vessels which belonged to the temple of *Jerusalem*, which *Alaric*, the first king of the *Goths*, brought away from *Rome*, after he had sacked that famous city, and left as perpetual monuments of his victories to his successors. Some of this wealth, it is said, fell into the hands of the *Franks*, when they plundered the camp of the *Goths*, and made themselves masters of *Thoulouse* (39). It is however acknowledged, that, according to some authors, the treasures of the crown were lodged at *Carcaffone*, and that it was the desire of having them in their power which brought the *Franks* and *Burgundians* before that place; from whence, however, they were obliged to retire, by *Theodoric's* sending a numerous army to his relief; and upon this occasion, in all probability, it was, that this monarch thought fit to remove those riches, that the *Franks* might not have so strong a temptation to continue their invasions: it is not very strange that *Theodoric* should not be in any haste to restore these valuable effects to his grandson; and, on the other side, it is far from being difficult to account for the restoring of them at this juncture (40). The dominions of the *Ostrogoths* in *Italy* were then governed by a princess who was a widow, as regent for her son, who was a child; and therefore we need not wonder that, for the sake of preserving the friendship of a powerful young monarch, she should readily comply with his demands, more especially as those demands were founded in justice (41).

(34) *Idifons, de vir. illustrib.*
Ferreras.

(37) *Isidor. Hist. Goth. Gregor. Turonens. Hist. Franc. lib. ii.*
Historia de Espana, lib. v. c. 6.

Ferreras, Mayerne, Turquet.

(35) *Procop. de bello Goth. lib. i.*

(40) *Greg. Turon. Hist. Franc. lib. ii. c. 37. lib. iii. c. i.*

(41) *Jornand. Isid. Greg. Turon.*

(36) *Mariana, Turquet.*

Procop. de bello Goth. Jorn. c. 47.

(39) *Mariana.*

Mariana.

a the city, before it was surprised by the enemy; on which, retiring for safety into a church belonging to the catholics, a common soldier run him through with his spear^g. Others say that he retired to *Barcelona*, and was assassinated there by his own subjects (K). It is more credible that he was killed in the month of *December*, in the year of our Lord five hundred thirty-one^h. The victorious *Childebert* carried all his treasures and queen *Clotilda* back into his own dominions; and that princess dying on the road, her body was interred with that of her father, in the monastery of *St. Genevieve*, which, at that time, was consecrated to the apostles *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*: amongst those treasures were sixty chalices, fifteen patins, and many other vessels, all of solid gold, which the victor distributed amongst the churches in his own kingdomⁱ.

b THE royal family of the *Goths* being intirely extinct, their monarchy, which seems hitherto to have been in some measure hereditary, became afterwards strictly elective. The first who mounted the throne, by the choice of the nobility, was *Theudis*, who had governed *Spain* with so much reputation during the minority of the deceased prince. He was scarce seated on the throne, before he saw the neighbouring kingdoms of the *Vandals* in *Africa* subverted by the armies of the emperor *Justinian*, under the command of the famous *Belisarius*, and this before he could determine with himself whether it would be consistent with his interest to interpose in the quarrel^k. It appears, however, that he did not neglect any opportunity of recovering the places that had been conquered by the *Franks*, and that he met with considerable success in these endeavours. But the princes of that nation, having at length put an end to the kingdom of *Burgundy*,

c resolved to employ all their forces in driving the *Visigoths* intirely out of *Gaul*; which however they were not able to effect^l. Some years after they revived the same project. *Childebert*, king of the isle of *France*, and *Clotaire*, whose residence was at *Souffons*, passed the mountains with a very numerous army, and having reduced every thing in their passage, advanced with great rapidity to *Saragossa*. *Theudis*, who found it impossible to raise an army capable of withstanding them, very judiciously determined to make his utmost efforts against them upon their retreat, and gave his orders accordingly to *Theodisele*, whom he appointed his general^m. *Childebert* and *Clotaire*, after having made a composition with the inhabitants of *Saragossa*, returned with the spoils they had collected in the course of this expedition; but when they came to repass the *Pyrenees*, the general of the *Goths* harrassed them continually, and would probably have destroyed their whole army, if *Childebert* had not engaged him, by a present of a great sum of money, to leave the passage free for twenty-four hours, which gave him and *Clotaire* an opportunity of saving themselves and the best part of their armyⁿ. The *French* historians are very silent on this head; but the facts, however, seem both probable and certain.

THIS war thus ended, the king of the *Visigoths* was alarmed by the prospect of new dangers; for the imperial forces, not content with overturning the kingdom of the *Vandals* in *Africa*, turned their victorious arms against the city of *Ceuta*, which, though we have no account how it came into their hands, was at this time in the possession of the *Goths*, and reduced it before *Theudis* was in a condition to afford the garrison any relief^o. He had however assembled an army for this purpose; and, becoming better apprised of the importance of this place, from its loss, he caused his troops to be embarked as soon as possible, in hopes of recovering it before the *Romans* had time to repair and provide for its defence. But, though an *Arian*, it seems he was so strict in his observation of *Sunday*, as a day of rest and devotion, that the enemy, taking advantage of his piety, made a general sally with such success, that he was obliged to raise the siege, and return with his fleet and army into *Spain*^p (L). He did not long survive this disgrace;

^g GREG. Turon. l. i. c. 10.

^h ILDEFONS.

ⁱ GREG. Turon. JORN. ISID.

^k JORN.

ISID. PROCOPI.

^l GREG. Turon.

^m ISID. GREG. Turon.

ⁿ Vit. T. Avit.

^o ISID.

Hist. Goth. GREG. Turon.

^p ISID. ubi supra.

(K) We have the former of those two accounts mentioned in the text from *St. Gregory of Tours*, who lived in those times (42), and therefore it seems to deserve better credit than the latter, which however is reported by *Isidore of Seville*.

(L) All the modern *Spanish* historians concur in relating this expedition of king *Theudis* into *Africa* as we have represented it in the text; and all cite, in support of what they say, the authority of *St. Isidore of Seville*, which would admit of no dispute, if we were sure that he said what they make him say (43). But, notwithstanding the unanimity of the *Spanish* writers, a modern *French* historian is fully persuaded, that the *Septa Oppidum*, in *Isidore*, does not refer to *Ceuta* in *Africa*,

but to the little town of *Sette* in *Languedoc*, which the *Franks* having taken from the *Goths*, king *Theudis* thought it a point of such importance, as to sail with a body of troops, embarked on board a fleet collected in haste, in order to recover it; and that, in this expedition, his forces received that signal blow which obliged him to return into *Spain* with much disgrace (44). The same author likewise adds, that the medals still preserved, having on one side the face of *Clotbarius*, and on the reverse a cross, with these words inscribed round it, *Victoria Gothica*, alludes to this action. In order to remove the great difficulty, which is, that *Septa Oppidum* should signify *Sette* in *Languedoc*, as well as *Ceuta* in *Africa*, he assures us, that, in some *Spanish*

(42) Hist. Franc. lib. iii. cap. 10. tom. ii. p. 148.

(43) Hist. Goth.

(44) P. Daniel, Histoire de France,

disgrace; for a person, who either was, or pretended to be mad, having formed a design ^a against his person, without any provocation that history mentions, found means to enter into, and stab him in, his palace⁹. He died a few days after of this wound, with all the testimonies of pious resignation, and, by a very extraordinary strain of clemency, forbade the putting the assassin to death^r. This fatal accident happened in the year of our Lord five hundred forty-eight^s.

Theodisele succeeds him, and proves a very wicked prince.

THE throne of the *Visigoths* being vacant, the nobility elected, in the room of their deceased prince, *Theodisele*, who is also called by some historians *Theudisele*, *Theodigele*, and *Theodiges*, who then commanded the troops. In all human probability, his true character was not then known, or so much as suspected; but, after his elevation, it was quickly discovered: for, being extremely given to women, he set no bounds to his lust, or, where it was necessary to the gratification of it, to his cruelty^t. This in a short time made him universally odious: as he had already taken off several persons of distinction, some of those who were nearest his person began to be jealous of their own safety, and therefore resolved to provide for it at the expence of a tyrant, who, by violating all laws, had forfeited, at least in their opinion, all title to fidelity, and even to compassion. They waited therefore only a favourable opportunity to remove him; and it was not long before they met with one, which, in effect, was of his own procuring^u. He invited them to a splendid entertainment, which was one of his principal delights; and, when the evening was far advanced, and most of the company warm with wine, those who were in the secret suddenly put out the lights, and, before he could recover himself from his surprize, buried a dagger in the bosom of *Theodisele*^w. This dismal tragedy was acted in the year of our Lord five hundred forty-nine, so that he enjoyed, or rather abused, the regal dignity about a year and five months (O).

On his assassination, Agila is advanced to the regal dignity.

It was natural enough for those who had thus removed one king, to think they had a right, under the same plea of necessity, to make choice of another; and therefore, without waiting for the usual forms, they placed *Agila* on the throne. This disgusted many of the nobility, who had no share in the election; and his irregular conduct soon increased the number of his enemies^y. The city of *Cordova* was the first that refused to acknowledge him for their sovereign; which provoked him to such a degree, that he marched thither with a numerous army, fully resolved to chastise the inhabitants in such a manner, as might deter others from following their example^z. The people of *Cordova*, issuing out of the city, attacked him in the field, defeated his forces, killed one of his sons, and obliged him to retire with great precipitation. This success of theirs excited revolts in several places; which *Athbanagilde*, a noble, but a very ambitious *Goth*, managed with such dexterity, that those who were in arms, and without a chief, invited him to put himself at their head, and proclaimed him king^a. He might very probably have attained his views without foreign assistance, but he was in haste to be a king; and,

⁹ GREG. TURON. ISID. ^r ID. HIST. GOTH. ^s APPENDIX AD CHRONIC. ^t ISID. JORN. GREG. TURON. MARIANA, HISTORIA DE HISPANA, l. v. c. 8. FERRERAS, HISTOIRA DE HISPANA, P. iii. sec. 6. MAYERNE TURQUET, l. v. ^u ISID. JULIAN. ^w GREG. TURON. ISID. ^y MARIANA, HISTORIA DE HISPANA, l. v. c. 9. FERRERAS, HISTORIA DE HISPANA, P. iii. sec. 6. MAYERNE TURQUET, l. v. ^z ISIDOR. HIST. GOTH. ^a JORNAND. ISIDOR. GREG. TUR.

maps, he has found *Cap de Sette* called *Monte Septa*; and he farther asserts, that *Bernard Guido*, bishop of *Lodova*, who flourished more than four hundred years ago, affirmed, that the country was called *Septimania* from the name of the promontory; which conjecture, though he does not approve, yet he thinks that it is a strong argument of its being antiently called *Septa*. However, notwithstanding all he says, it will be difficult to find any author in which this cape is called in Latin by any other name than *Settium Promontorium*. We do not pretend to decide upon this head, because much may be said on both sides.

(O) We are assured by *Mariana*, that this monarch was the son of the sister of *Totila*, king of the *Ostrogoths*, which might in all probability be one motive for raising him to the throne, an honour he so little deserved. We are assured by a very grave historian (45), that this king of the *Visigoths*, suspecting a miracle which the catholics gave out to be wrought annually on the eve of *Whitsunday*, in the cathedral church of *Offet*, where, though wiped ever so dry, the fonts were continually filled with water, he came two years together, and examined it with all the care imaginable;

and, though he was not able to detect any appearance of forgery, he came thither again the third year, when he not only caused the doors of the church to be shut and sealed as he had done before, but previously directed a deep trench to be thrown up round the church, to prevent water from coming by any adjacent springs; all which, however, was without effect, to the king's great surprize. *Mariana* says, that he was employed in surveying this trench at the very time that he was stabbed (46); which would do no great honour to the miracle, if we could suppose it to be true. But *Ferreras* allows there are great objections to it (47): in the first place, there is no such city as *Offen*, *Offen*, or *Offet*, in *Lusitania*; in the next, *Theodisele*, as a multitude of Spanish writers agree, did not reign above a year and a half (48), which makes it impossible that he could examine this miracle three years together; but, besides all this, *St. Isidore of Seville*, who mentions a miracle of this kind, and who would have been the best authority that could have been cited in favour of this, places it in *Sicily* (49), which plainly proves, that what was said to have happened in *Spain*, had never come to his knowledge.

(45) Greg. Turon. Hist. Franc. lib. ii. Espana, P. iii. sec. 6. Goth.

(46) Histor. de Espana, lib. v. c. 8. (48) Jornandes, Chron. de reg. Visigoth. Chron. Abbad.

(47) Histor. de (49) Chron.

a that he might be so the sooner, demanded assistance from the emperor *Justinian*, to whom this application was very welcome, more especially as he proposed at the same time to give a certain district on the coast of *Spain*, in return for these auxiliaries^b. The emperor, therefore, sent over a body of troops from *Africa*, under the command of *Liberius*, who was immediately put into possession of the maritime country, from the fortress of *Gibraltar* to the confines of the kingdom of *Valencia*^c (P).

THE *Spanish* inhabitants were very well pleased with this change of masters; for they had always a strong propensity to submit to the imperial authority, on the score of their religion; so that *Liberius* found it not at all necessary to weaken the body of troops he commanded, by separating them into garrisons^d. He made haste, therefore, to join *Athanasilde*; and they were about taking the field, when they were informed that *Agila* was marching directly towards them, with an intent to give them battle, or to besiege the city of *Seville*^e. They began, upon this, immediately to move towards him; and it was not long before a decisive engagement ensued, in which, after an obstinate resistance, the army of *Agila* was defeated, and himself, with its broken remains, compelled to retire to *Merida*^f. He did all in his power to revive the spirits of his party, and to recruit his troops; but the nobility who were about him, considering the many miseries brought upon their country by this civil war, the danger they were in by admitting a foreign force, and disgusted with the insolent behaviour of one who had so indifferent a title, and who, notwithstanding, was continually threatening the utter extirpation of those in rebellion, resolved at last to take that step which appeared to them most for their interest; and, having secretly concerted their measures, removed him much in the same way that those who proclaimed him king had removed his predecessor^g. This happened in the year of our Lord five hundred fifty-four; and at the same time that his death was made known to the army, *Athanasilde* was proclaimed king with universal acclamations^h. He was no sooner informed of this unexpected and surprising resolution, than he sent to give the army assurance of his kind acceptance of their good wishes, and soon after came and joined them with his own. From this time he was, without any farther dispute, acknowledged the legal sovereign of the *Goths*, whose affairs were now in such a situation, that, if this civil war had not been thus determined, they might very probably have been reduced again under the power of the emperor, who, having recovered *Africa* and *Italy*, was very ambitious of retrieving *Spain*ⁱ.

d ATHANAGILDE, according to some historians, established the residence of the *Gothic* monarchs at *Toledo*, as being a city most happily situated for that purpose, being almost in the centre of their dominions; yet, being strictly examined, this will be found perhaps no more than conjecture^k. He was without doubt a prince of a very gracious disposition, and one who chose to establish his authority rather on the affection, than, as his predecessor had done, on the fears, of his subjects, which however made him generally and cheerfully obeyed. The *Romans*, or, as they are called by some modern writers, and not improperly, imperialists, either believing they could never be paid for the service which they had rendered this king at the beginning of his reign, or prompted by the native *Spaniards*, who, on account of the difference of their religion, hated the yoke of the *Goths*, began to extend their power, and added several important places to those which had been yielded to them, whether by consent or force does not appear. This, however, provoked the *Goths*, who represented their fears in such strong terms to *Athanasilde*, that, finding nothing was to be done by persuasion, he had recourse at length to force, and quickly took from the imperialists all their new conquests. It is possible that some events of importance happened in this war, and that there might be other causes than those we have mentioned; but the silence of the historians of those times has concealed them from our notice^l. It appears, however, that, from his conduct in this and other respects, *Athanasilde* rendered himself universally beloved by his subjects, and generally respected by his neighbours^m.

He is also destroyed by a conspiracy, and is succeeded by Athanasilde.

Athanasilde makes war on the imperialists, and takes from them several places.

^b ISID. GREG. TURON.

^c ISID. HIST. GOTH.

^d MARIANA.

^e ISID. HIST. GOTH.

^f JORNAND. ISID.

^g GREG. TURON.

^h JORN. ISID. GREG. TURON.

ⁱ ISID. HIST.

GOTH.^k MARIANA, Historia de Hispana. FERRERAS, Historia de Hispana. MAYERNE TURQUET.

^l GREG. TURON.

^m ISID. HIST. GOTH.

(P) We have observed in the text, that the *Spanish* historians call the foreigners, that were now invited over, by different names. As, for instance, they very frequently stile them *Romans*, because these people themselves affected that title, as subjects of the *Roman* empire; and for another reason which deserves notice, which is this; that the *Goths*, who were *Arians*, unwilling to call the *Spaniards* catholics, stiled them *Romans*, as living in communion with the bishop of *Rome*, and might possibly apply the same title to these strangers in

the very same sense. They called them likewise *Greeks*, the modern historians more especially, because they were the subjects of the *Greek* emperor. But the title of imperialists is clearer than either of these, as it conveys an idea at once of people subject to an emperor, and governed by his lieutenant who, in those days, was stiled the patrician; an office of very high rank at court, and with which it seems such of the nobility were honoured as the emperor of *Constantinople* thought fit to trust with his province in *Spain* (50).

His family, the marriages of his daughters, and the death of that monarch.

THIS monarch of the *Visigoths*, by his queen *Goswintha*, had two daughters of admirable beauty, the fame of which reached to *France*, now governed by four young princes. Of these, *Sigebert*, king of *Austrasia*, youngest but one, seeing with regret how much his brethren had dishonoured themselves by unequal marriages and their dissolute lives, resolved to demand in marriage *Brunichilde*, or *Brunebaud*, the youngest of *Athanagilde's* daughters; and accordingly sent *Gogon*, who was his prime minister, at the head of a splendid embassy, for that purpose^a. To him that princess was delivered, with a large sum of money, and conducted into *France*, where she quickly became a catholic; and, though some *French* historians represent her as a very bad woman, yet others, as well as *Mariana*, of the *Spanish* writers, give her a very high character^o (Q). This marriage was so much applauded in *France*, that, the year following, *Chilperic*, king of *Soissons*, the youngest of the four brethren, resolved to request of *Athanagilde* his other daughter *Galsuintha*, though he had already two wives, *Andoverc*, and the infamous *Tredegonde*^p. It was with great reluctance the king of the *Goths* yielded to his desire, and not till the kings his brethren guaranteed his promises, which however were very ill kept, since, at the instigation of *Tredegonde*, he caused the queen to be strangled; upon which his brethren invaded his dominions, and he was at length obliged to yield to *Brunebaud* those places which had been given by way of dowry to her sister^q. *Athanagilde*, having reigned in peace, and with great reputation, thirteen years, deceased in the year of our Lord five hundred sixty-seven, and before his death, as some writers say, was reconciled to the church^r.

An inter-regnum of 5 months after his decease, which occasions many inconveniences.

AFTER the death of this wise and great prince, there followed an interregnum of five months; a certain historian says, of five years^s. The nobility pretended, that they were not able to fix upon a person who had the virtues requisite to support so high a dignity; but, as *Mariana* well observes, it is much more probable that they had their private views and particular interests at heart, since ambition and jealousy have usually a much larger share than the love of peace, or regard to the public interest, in all disputes of this kind^t. But, from whatever cause these divisions might arise, they had a dismal effect on the affairs of the nation; for the imperialists, taking advantage of this untoward situation of things, extended their conquests^u daily, at the same time that several great men began to oppress their vassals; so that, for want of a king, there started up many tyrants^w. This however produced one good effect; the people in general, and more especially the inhabitants of great cities, began to express their distaste in very loud terms; so that the nobility found, that the best way to provide for their own safety, was to proceed, without farther delay, to the choice of a prince^x (R).

Liuva is at length elected king of the Visigoths, and dies after a short reign.

UNDER these circumstances, the majority of the nobles at last cast their eyes upon *Liuva* (so his name appears upon his coins), or, as historians commonly call him, *Liuba*, who was at that time governor of the *Gothic* provinces in *Gaul*, whom they elevated to the throne^y, though not with the universal consent of the nation, which perhaps is the reason that the historian before-mentioned includes the years of what others stile his reign, in that interregnum which followed on the death of his predecessor. It is indeed agreed, that no prince ever deserved a crown better; for he was not only pious, prudent, and brave, but of so public a spirit, and preferred the welfare of his subjects so much to his private advantage, that, perceiving affairs

^a FREDEG. in chron. GREG. TURON.
^o GREG. TURON.
^p GREG. TURON.
^q GEST. REG. FRANC. c. 31. GREG. TURON.
^r MARIANA, Historia de Hispania, lib. v. cap. 9.
^s LUC. TUDEN.
^t Historia de Hispania, cap. xi.
^u J. BICLAR.
^w MARIANA, FERRERAS.
^x J. BICLAR.
^y MARIANA, Historia de Hispania, l. v. c. 11. MAYERNE TURQUET, l. v. FERRERAS, Historia de Hispania, l. iii. sect. 6.

(Q) The apology written by *Mariana*, in favour of this princess, is far from being the least shining part of his history (51), as it must be allowed, that he has offered many probable arguments against receiving in the gross all the imputations that have been thrown upon her. In doing this, he has followed the steps of *Boccace* and *Paulus Emilius*, both of them elegant and judicious writers, who saw the ill usage this unhappy queen received in the same light that he did. The strict examination of this matter belongs to another part of our history; and the main intention of this note is, to direct the reader's regard to the consequences that followed with respect to the *Goths*, from this marriage; which, with a little attention, he will perceive to be the source of the principal events of the two succeeding reigns, in which the greatest changes were brought about, in respect both to church and state, that happened during the continuance of the *Gothic* kingdom (52).

(R) There is great discordance in the accounts given us by historians who lived in and near these times of this interregnum, at the same time that what they say is so very concise, that it is not easy to comprehend with any certainty their true meaning (53). It is not however altogether improbable, that *Liuva* was governor of the territories which the *Goths* possessed in *Gaul* during the reign of *Athanagilde*; and that his administration was so wise and just, that the people remained firm in their obedience, while the inhabitants of *Spain* were in a state of confusion for want of a prince; and that it was the observation of their different circumstances that induced the latter to insist upon an election, and perhaps determined them likewise to desire that the crown might be placed upon the head of that worthy person, who, while their domestic dissensions exposed them to their foreign enemies, covered *Spain* on that side, which must otherwise have been the weakest (54).

(51) *Histor. de Espana*, lib. v. cap. 10. *Cordemoy*, *Hist. Francor.* tom. ii.
 (52) *Ferreras*, P. iii. sec. 6.
 (53) *Isidor. Chron. Gothor. Chron. J. Biclár.*
 (54) *Mariana*, *Histor. de Espana*, lib. v.

- a would suffer if he removed out of *Gaul*, and that the *Visigoths* were in great danger of being driven out of *Spain* if they had not a chief of distinguished abilities at their head, he proposed to the nobility associating his brother in the regal dignity, as a measure which this conjuncture required, and which led him to propose it^a. The then state of things, the nature of the expedient, and the disposition of the people, who loudly applauded the king's generous disposition, obliged the nobility to yield to this motion. *Liuba*, therefore, having made this provision for the security of that part of his dominions, continued to reside in *Gaul*, where he kept his subjects in the full possession of peace and prosperity to the time of his decease, which happened in the year of our Lord five hundred seventy-two^a. We have chosen to represent the few events in this short reign all together, that they might appear with greater perspicuity to the reader, than they would have done if intermixed with that of his brother, who became the sole monarch of the *Goths* at his decease, and one of the most distinguished princes of that nation who had hitherto reigned in *Spain*^b.

- LEOVIGILDE, whom his brother had associated in the government^c, was a person of great power and distinction. Before that event happened, he had espoused *Theodosta*, the daughter of *Severian*, duke or governor of the province of *Cartagena*, whom the *Spanish* historians conceive to have been the son of *Theudis*, once king of the *Visigoths*. By this lady, who was dead before his elevation to the throne, he had two sons, *Hermenigilde* and *Reccared*, and, in virtue of this alliance, had a great interest among the native *Spaniards*, as well as the *Goths*^d. In order to extend this still farther, and to put an intire end to those disputes that still subsisted, he thought proper to espouse *Goswintha*, the widow of the late king, which contributed not a little to augment his authority^e. He then proceeded to assemble an army, with which he attacked the imperialists, and laid siege to *Medina Sidonia*, which made an obstinate resistance. At length he found means to enter into intelligence with one of the inhabitants, by whose assistance his soldiers entered into the place, and put all that were in it to the sword, that it might strike a terror into those who had revolted during the time of the late troubles^f. The city of *Cordova* felt next the weight of his arms: which he was the more desirous of reducing, as it was a place of great strength, and very important by its situation, but more especially as its inhabitants had shewn a very great zeal for their new masters. They made therefore, as might well be expected, a very vigorous and even obstinate defence, till the king found a weak place. This he prudently battered with that artillery of the first invention and greatest force, a large sum of ready gold, by which he gained admittance; and, being once master of *Cordova*, reduced many other cities and fortresses, rather by the terror than the application of his arms^g. Thus while the prudence of *Liuba* kept all things quiet in the *Gothic* province in *Gaul*, the valour and vigilance of *Leovigilde* restored the reputation of the *Goths* in *Spain*.

- WHEN he became sole monarch of the *Goths*, and saw, that partly through hope, partly from fear, the nobility testified in general a very great affection for his person, and profound obedience to his commands, he resolved not to lose so favourable an opportunity, but, under various plausible and popular pretences, intimated the expediency of associating his two sons, as heirs expectant of the kingdom, and possessors likewise of such a share of authority as he thought proper to intrust them with; which being received with applause by many, and opposed by none, *Hermenigilde* and *Reccared* were publicly proclaimed princes of the *Goths*^h. Thus the reader sees what an influence the personal virtues of a king will always have, even on an elective constitution. This great affair finished, the king turned his arms against the inhabitants of *Cantabria*, then a very large province, comprehending not only what is now called *Biscay*, but all the neighbouring mountainous countries. Notwithstanding the hardness of the people, and the natural strength of the places which they inhabited, *Leovigilde* reduced them by degrees, chastised them severely for their revolt, and obliged them, though not without great difficulty, to submit to that form of government which he judged convenient to impose; which conquest added not a little to the reputation of his arms, and the security of his governmentⁱ.

IN the course of these wars, *Mir*, king of the *Suevi*, had afforded some assistance to his neighbours, who were in arms against the king of the *Goths*, which was sufficient to provoke a prince of *Leovigilde's* disposition, and who was on the point of turning the whole force of his dominions against the *Suevi*, when their king made such submissions by his ambassadors, as diverted the storm for that season^k. *Leovigilde* invaded next the inhabitants of the mountains of *Orospede*, which are thought to comprehend the *Sierras* of *Cayo*, of *Molina*, and *Cuenca*, to the frontiers of the kingdom of *Murcia*, lying in the very heart of his dominions, and which, notwithstanding, depending on their wild inhospitable country, thought to preserve their savage freedom from suffering any controul through him, as they had done

^a J. BICLAR.^a ISID. Hist. Goth. J. FICL.^b GREG. TUR. J. BICL.^c ADONIS Chronic.^d ISID. J. FICL.^e ISID. Hist. Goth. GREG. TURON.^f J. BICLAR.^g Ibidem ibid.^h ISID. J. BICL.ⁱ Vit. S. Millan.^k J. BICLAR.

against his predecessors. But the king, who understood perfectly the art of war, and his troops that were continually used to conquer, soon taught them a new lesson, obliged them to submit to his mercy, and, upon a second revolt, punished them, as his manner was, with extraordinary rigour¹. The peace of his dominions being thus settled, he, by the advice of his queen, resolved to demand the princess *Ingonde*, her grand-daughter by *Brunehaud*, for his son *Hermenigilde*; and this marriage being quickly concluded, to the satisfaction of both parties, he put the young prince and his consort into possession of part of his dominions, and sent them to keep their court at *Seville*^m. The joy occasioned by this match did not last long; for *Hermenigilde*, by the persuasion of his wife, became a catholic, upon which a civil war ensued between him and his father, in which the young prince expected assistance from the imperialists; but the old king prevented that by bribing their generalⁿ; and in a short time reduced his son to such distress, that, at the persuasion of his brother *Reccared*, he submitted, and, being despoiled of all ensigns of royalty, was sent prisoner to *Toledo*; notwithstanding which he remained firm in his religion^o (T).

Troubles in
different parts
of Spain, and
the retreat of
the Vascons.

THE dispute between the father and the son had, as might be well expected, the most dismal effects upon the catholics; all of whom were considered by *Leovigilde* as rebels from principle; and therefore he treated many of the catholic bishops and clergy with that rigor which was natural to him, and which, by degrees, increased into a general persecution; the rather, because of their intrigues with the *Suevi*, and with the kings of the *Franks*, from whom, as they were of the same religion, it was natural for the catholics in *Spain* to expect assistance and encouragement^p. Queen *Brunehaud* interposed her good offices in favour of the prince, and of her daughter, but to no purpose; for her mother *Goswintha*, who was a bigotted *Arian*, prevented any good effects that might otherwise have attended her solicitation^q. These religious debates, amongst other mischievous consequences, are supposed to have been the principal cause of the general revolt of the *Vascons*, who inhabited the countries of *Guipuscoa*, *Navarre*, and *Jacca*; whom, notwithstanding, king *Leovigilde* quickly reduced by force of arms; and, as well to preserve the memory of his success, as to provide the more effectually against any future revolts, he built, in the district of *Alava*, a new city and fortress, to which he gave the name of *Victoriac*^r. But so short-sighted are the views of all human politics, that this had an effect of which the king never entertained the least suspicion; for though it preserved the country, it lost him the people^s. The *Vascons* saw that it was impossible for them to resist the monarch of the *Goths*, whose forces, by a continual course of action, were become invincible; and therefore, quitting their native seats, they passed the mountains in great multitudes, and, in spite of all the resist-

¹ J. BICLAR.
Script.

^m GREG. TUR.
^q GREG. TURON.

ⁿ J. BICLAR.
^r J. BICLAR.

^o GREG. TUR.
^p ISIDOR. de
^s FERRERAS Hist de Hispana. p. iii. sec. vi.

(T) There seems to be some confusion in the account which *Mariana* gives us of the disputes between the king and his son *Hermenigilde*, which may be easily excused; for, amongst many of the antient historians who have undertaken to record these events, there are hardly two that agree about a fact, much less in reference to its circumstances. If we may depend on some, *Goswintha*, the grandmother and mother-in-law of the princess *Ingonde*, was very deformed in her person, had lost an eye, and was not only very hasty and passionate, but obstinate also and implacable (97). She pressed the princess, who was but sixteen when she was married, to quit the catholic religion, and to be rebaptized, as the practice was amongst the *Arians* at that time; and, upon her refusal, had recourse not only to menaces but blows, threw her on the ground, stamped upon her with her feet, and pulled her on the floor by the hair of her head (98). All this happened in the first year after their marriage, which induced the king to send the prince and his consort from court; one author says to *Merida* (99), and another to *Seville* (1); but as the latter was upon the spot, and bore a share in this persecution, it is more probable that he is in the right. St. *Leander*, who was then metropolitan of that city, confirmed the favourable inclinations *Hermenigilde* had to the catholic faith, and admitted him into its communion (2). An antient historian asserts,

that, upon this occasion, he took the name of *John* (3); which *Mariana* thinks improbable, because that name does not appear on the gold medals which he caused to be struck soon after his conversion, and distributed amongst his friends (4). Before the end of the year the rupture happened, and prince *Hermenigilde*, thro' the perfidy of the imperialists, found himself under a necessity of taking sanctuary, out of which he was drawn by the intercession of his brother, to whom the king had promised that he would use him tenderly; notwithstanding which, he reproached him bitterly, when he came into his presence, and ordered him to be confined (5). The true reason that the king's resentment ran so high, was from an apprehension that *Hermenigilde's* conduct would produce an irreparable breach between the Catholics and *Arians*, which would exceedingly weaken his power. In order to prevent this, he caused an assembly of the clergy to meet the next year, who were directed to try to frame such forms of public prayer as might be used by both parties; in the management of which scheme the king succeeded tolerably well in this assembly; but when it came to be put in execution, this project proved abortive (6); and as the king attributed this to the hopes the catholics had of *Hermenigilde's* accession, it incensed him the more against that unfortunate prince (7).

(97) Hist. de Espana, l. v. c. 12.

Franc. lib. v.

Tur. Hist. Franc. l. v.

c. 12. Chron. Joan. Biclár.

(1) Chron. Joan. Biclár.

(4) Hist. de Espana, l. v. c. 12.

(6) Isidor. de Scriptor.

(98) Ferreras, P. iii. sect. 6.

(2) Mariana, Turquet, Ferreras.

(5) Gregor. Turonens. Hist. Fran. lib. v.

(7) Ferreras, p. iii. sec. vi.

(99) Greg. Turon. Hist.

(3) Greg.

a ance that could be made, possessed themselves of a part of *Aquitaine*, which from them received the name of *Vasconia*, or, according to the *French* pronunciation, *Gascony* ¹.

WHILE the king was thus occupied in the northern part of his dominions, his son *Hermenigilde*, having made his escape from the place of his exile or imprisonment, began to take the best measures he could for his own security ². But it was not long before *Leovigilde* marched against him with a numerous army, took *Merida* in his passage, and advanced directly towards *Seville*. As in the former war he was deceived in his expectation of assistance from the imperialists, so in this he was undone by his dependence upon the *Suevi*, tho' with this difference indeed, that *Mir*, king of that nation, raised all the forces that he was able to assemble, and marched with them to join prince *Hermenigilde*; but the old king, having exact intelligence of all his motions, brought him into such distress, that he endeavoured to pass out of *Lusitania*, by intercepting his communication with his own country, at the same time that the bulk of the *Gothic* army lay between him and prince *Hermenigilde*, who was at a great distance; so that at length he was constrained to abandon his alliance, and, as some *Spanish* historians say, obliged to send a part of his troops, which served as auxiliaries at the siege of *Seville* ³. That inflexible temper, for which the king was so remarkable, displayed itself to an extraordinary degree in the course of this siege; for a number of persons being turned out of the place, to prevent a famine, he caused them to be put to death without mercy ⁴. In a short time the city was in all respects so distressed, that prince *Hermenigilde* was, with great difficulty, able to make his escape to *Cordova*; soon after which the place surrendered, and the king marched to besiege his son in *Cordova*. This he quickly reduced; and *Hermenigilde*, being made prisoner, was sent loaded with chains to *Seville*, and not long after removed from thence privately to *Tarragona*; but that prince having sent an ambassador to *Constantinople*, to solicit the assistance of the *Greek* emperor; and orders being sent from thence to the general of the imperialists in *Spain* to attack the *Goths*; and that general marching directly towards the place of the prince's confinement, his father caused him to be removed again privately to *Seville*, and shut up in a tower ⁵. He had not continued long there, before an *Arian* bishop was sent to persuade him to change his religion; which he absolutely refused to do, or to communicate with that prelate at the feast of *Easter*; and of this as soon as the king was informed, he caused him secretly to be put to death, in the night of the thirteenth of *April*, in the year of our Lord 584 ⁶; which day, therefore, is dedicated to his memory, as a saint and martyr, by the church of *Rome* ⁷. As for the princess *Ingonde*, he had by her only one son, named after her grandfather *Athanagilde*, who was sent to *Constantinople* after his father's death ⁸ (V).

AFTER the death of his son, *Leovigilde* prosecuted the war against the imperialists but faintly; yet guarded his own frontiers so well, that they were able to make no impression. In the mean time, however, he augmented his forces, and filled his magazines; from whence it was evident that he had some military expedition in view; and the imperialists, sensible of their inferiority, apprehending his intention was to drive them intirely out of *Spain*, sued to him for peace; which was readily granted ⁹. He then turned his arms against the *Suevi*, who were at that time under the power of an usurper, named *Andaca*, who having deposed *Eboric*, the son of *Mir*, their lawful sovereign, had obliged him to shave his head, in order to keep it upon his shoulders; that is, to render himself incapable of the regal dignity, by becoming a priest ¹⁰; which had created such jealousies and animosities in the minds of the people, that *Leovigilde* met with but a very feeble resistance in his passage to *Brague*, where the usurper kept his court;

A war breaks out with the Suevi, which proved the ruin of their kingdom.

¹ J. BICLAR. ² GREG. TURON. ³ ISIDOR. Hist. SUEVOR. J. BICLAR. GREG. TURON.
⁴ J. BICLAR. ⁵ ISIDOR. de Script. & Hist. Goth. S. GREGOR. J. BICLAR. ⁶ S. GREG.
Dialog. lib. iii. J. BICLAR. GREG. TURON. ⁷ MORALES. ⁸ GREG. TURON. ⁹ ISIDOR.
J. BICLAR. ¹⁰ Idem.

(V) We find in *Mariana* no mention at all made of the first submission and imprisonment of *Hermenigilde*; but the whole of the story is prosecuted in a continued narrative, in which, however, are inserted the king's letters to his son, exhorting him to alter his sentiments and his religion, and the prince's answer; whereas *Ferreras*, by a comparison of the several facts and dates that occur in antient authors, makes it highly probable, that the second war between the king and his son took its rise from *Leovigilde*'s violent persecution of the catholics, who thereupon revolted in many places; which, with the hopes of being assisted by the *Suevi*, induced *Hermenigilde* to make his escape, and put himself again in arms. We find also great differences, and even contradictions, in the relations given by antient writers of the events of this war; and the only point of consequence in which they seem to be agreed is, that the city of *Seville* suffered extremely, and was at last reduced by a long siege.

Some writers say, that *Hermenigilde* retired first to the imperialists, and finding himself but coldly received, withdrew from thence, and shut himself up in *Offet*, with no more than 300 men; that though the place was very strong, yet being suddenly invested by the king, and being attacked before the garrison recovered their surprise, it was carried by assault. Others affirm, that the people of *Cordova*, to whom *Hermenigilde* fled for refuge, fearing the king's resentment, endeavoured to make their peace by delivering him up. Here it is that *Mariana* introduces *Hermenigilde*'s taking sanctuary in a church, where his brother had a conference with him, by his father's permission; and that historian also gives us *Reccared*'s speech. The princess *Ingonde*, who was then in the hands of the imperialists, endeavouring to retire privately with her son to her mother, they seized her, and sent her over into *Africa*, where she died.

which city being invested, was quickly surrendered; *Andaca* falling into his hands alive, whom a he banished to *Badajoz*, where, as he had served his master, he was, by the command of *Leovigilde*, shaved a priest^c. Thus the dominions of the *Suevi* were added to those of the *Goths*, and the two nations had thenceforward the same sovereign. The *Franks*, who had afforded *Hermenigilde* little or no succours while he was living, invaded his father's dominions in *Gaul*, under pretence of revenging his death; upon which, *Leovigilde*, who was grown old and infirm, sent his son *Reccared* to repel this irruption; believing his own presence necessary to prevent any stir in *Spain*, where, by persecuting the catholics, he had excited a spirit of disaffection among his subjects^f. The young prince discharged his office so well, that the *Franks* were every-where repulsed; but his marriage with *Rigorite*, the daughter of king *Chilperic*, upon which his father depended chiefly for restoring peace before he died, proved abortive, b occasioned by the death of her father^g. *Gontrand*, king of *Orleans* and *Burgundy*, continued to arm against the *Goths*, notwithstanding the little success he met with in his former expedition; and *Reccared* was again sent by his father into *Gaul*, to resist these invaders; where having defeated their forces, and settled the peace of the province, he returned into *Spain*, and married, by the advice of the old king, *Bada*, the daughter of a rich and powerful *Goth*, which was universally acceptable to the nation^h. A little after this, and towards the close of the year, *Leovigilde*, worn out with age and infirmities, breathed his last at *Toledo*, and, as some historians say, quitted his errors a little before his end, and was reconciled to the catholic faith by St. *Leander*, metropolitan of *Seville*, who had been highly instrumental in the conversion of his son *Hermenigilde*: yet this is doubtful, as is also the exact time of his death; but the best historians place it in the year of our Lord 585, when he had reigned eighteen yearsⁱ (X). c

A succinct
view of his
conduct, and
its consequences.

THE great actions performed by this monarch, and the consequences of them, in respect to this nation, are of so extraordinary a nature, as oblige us to enter more particularly into his character. *Leovigilde*, like most other heroes, was equally distinguished by good and bad qualities; if he was ambitious in a high degree, if he was avaricious in a greater, if he was severe and inflexible beyond measure, he was at the same time extremely brave in his person, a great oeconomist, a lover of justice, and one who was desirous that all, who kept within the measure of their obedience, should enjoy his protection in its full extent^k. He is not much obliged to the historians who lived in or near his time, and yet they furnish us d with facts that sufficiently prove all we have advanced. He found the government in great confusion; he reduced it into perfect order. The laws, which, from the time of *Alaric*, had been very much neglected, he revised, repealed such as were useless, and added others agreeable to the circumstances of the times. He settled a royal treasury, which had been wanting to his predecessors, and brought the finances under some regulation^l. He was the first of the *Gothic* kings that distinguished himself by robes, and other regalia; and it is observed, that he behaved himself on all occasions with such firmness, prudence, and

* ADONIS CHR. ISIDOR. J. BICLAR. vol. i. p. 283, 284, 285.

^h J. BICLAR.

^h ISIDOR. Hist. Goth.

^f GREG. Turon.

^g P. DANIEL Histoire de France,

ⁱ S. GREG. Dialog. lib. iii. J. BICLAR. GREG.

^l FERRERAS Hist. de Hispana, p. iii. scilicet. vi.

(X) There are two questions that arise upon the death of *Leovigilde*, which are not easily settled; the first is, as to the time, which *Mariana* fixes to the year 586; though he cites one *Maximus*, who pretends to have been present at his death, and who, not content with marking the year, tells us likewise the day of the month, and of the week, which, according to him, was *Wednesday, April the 12th, 587*; but the work attributed to this historian has been long ago detected by the ablest *Spanish* critics to be a gross forgery. The abbot of *Biclar* fixes it to the latter end of the year 585, and is followed therein by *Moraks*, *Baronius*, *Paddilla*, *Ferreras*, and other judicious writers; and with very good reason. It appears from the acts of the 3d council of *Toledo*, that the 8th of *May* 589, was in the 4th year of king *Reccared*, which shews that his accession must have been before that day, in the year 586; and we shall see that he did not assume the regal dignity without the form of an election. *Isidore* of *Seville*, and the best of the old historians, agree, that *Leovigilde* reigned 18 years, or rather, that he died in the 18th year of his reign, which, as it began in 568, must therefore have ended in 585. *Isidore* of *Seville* fixes the accession of *Reccared* to the year of the *Spanish* era 624; from which if we take, according to *Ferreras*, 38 years, it leaves 586 for the year of our Lord; in the beginning of which he succeeded, according to our computation. But if, according to the sentiments of

the best *Spanish* critics, we find the year of our Lord by subtracting 39 years, his accession will be placed in the year 585, which agrees exactly with what the abbot of *Biclar* says, and with the records of the council of *Toledo*; and is at the same time a direct proof, that the account of the pretended *Maximus* before-mentioned is mere fable. The other question relates to his conversion; as to which St. *Gregory* of *Tours* says, it was reported in *Spain*, that he abjured his heresy, did penance, and was reconciled to the catholic faith, before he died. Pope *Gregory* the Great assures us, that he died an *Arian*; and both these authors must speak from hearsay; and therefore their authority seems to destroy each other. It is pretty clear that he recalled *Leander*, metropolitan of *Seville*, a little before his death; and it is said, that he assisted him in his last moments; from whence *Ferreras* thinks it probable that he might die a catholic, and recommend the establishing this religion to his son. *Mariana* is so sure of it, that he gives us the speech which he made, or might have made, upon this occasion. But *Ferreras* thinks the whole was transacted with great secrecy, from an apprehension that the nobility among the *Goths*, who were almost all *Arians*, might be prejudiced against prince *Reccared*, if the king's conversion had been publicly known. The judicious reader will form upon this subject what judgment he pleases.

a majesty, that he was much more respected, and, out of comparison, better obeyed, than any of the princes he succeeded; and this by all ranks and degrees of people, in some measure through fear, but chiefly from a conviction of the great advantages that arose from his wise and uniform administration, which, while it kept the nobility in awe, secured the commons from oppression^m.

But the principal point in his, and indeed in almost every great prince's character, is this, *His peculiar advantages in the administration of government.* that he was endowed with talents exactly suited to the conjuncture in which he lived; so that his virtues, and even his vices, concurred to the establishment of his government. He comprehended clearly the defects in the *Gothic* policy; he applied the proper remedies, and he applied them in due order. He began with restoring military discipline; and, when he had restored it, he kept his troops always in action. His predecessors, either thro' want of inclination or leisure, had suffered the inhabitants of *Cantabria*, and other mountainous countries, to live after their own manner, and without paying the same respect to the laws and regal authority with the rest of their subjects; which he corrected, and took away numberless evils that flow'd from it. He took care to make all places accessible, and to exact obedience alike from all his peopleⁿ. He knew how to cajole, to corrupt, and to divide his enemies, and by these arts, he gradually prepared them for conquest. He attacked them always separately; and whilst his preparations were supposed to be intended against one party, he suddenly made peace with them, and turned his arms against another^o. He acted on the defensive against the *Franks*, because he knew that conquest on that side would be very difficult to make, and more difficult to keep.

c He laid hold of proper occasions; so that his designs were never rendered abortive by his impatience. He made the imperialists feel the weight of his arms, that they might be afraid of offending him; and, as soon as an opportunity offered, he reduced the countries inhabited by the *Suevi*, while the power of their neighbours was but low, and their own affairs in great confusion^p.

^m MARIANA Hist. de Hispana, l. v. c. xiii.

ⁿ ISID. Hist. Goth. J. BICLAR. GREG. Turon.

^o MARIANA, TURQ. FERRERAS.

^p ISID. J. BICLAR.

S E C T. II.

The history of the Suevi, Sueves, or Suevians, settled in Spain, from the restitution of their government under Remismond, to the total destruction of their kingdom by the Visigoths.

d **T**H E manner in which the *Suevi*, with other barbarous nations, entered into *Spain*, in the beginning of the fifth century, as also how the *Visigoths* came to engage in a war with this nation, at the request, or at least with the consent, of the *Roman* emperor, many years after, have been clearly and copiously explained in their proper places^a. We are in this section, to take up the thread of the history there, and to shew how, after the defeat and death of that obstinate prince, who had involved this nation in an unjust, and, at the same time, an unnecessary war, by which they were undone, they came to retrieve their affairs, so far as to think of reviving their government, and of demanding leave from *Theodoric* king of the *Goths*, without whose permission they durst not do it, to proceed to the election of a new prince; in consequence of which they began once more to make a figure, tho' by no means such an one as they had made, or at least were capable of making, before the subversion of their former monarchy^b. It is true they were still, in point of numbers, very considerable; but, as they were less brave, they were still more barbarous in their manners than the *Goths*, and were at the same time so pent up in that small district, which they still retained, and which comprehended part of *Lusitania*, and part of *Galicia*, that they scarce knew how to act, or on which side to turn^c. For the *Romans* were still in possession of the opposite coasts of *Spain*, and of the best part of *Lusitania* and the *Goths* enjoyed all the interior part of the country^d; at the same time that the people of *Galicia*, though they might have been absolutely free, yet chose to stile themselves subjects of the empire, and, in that quality, acted against the *Suevi* with all the force they were able to raise, and yet with no great effect^e (A).

THE

^a Antient Hist. vol. vii. p. 540.
Suev. FERRERAS, l. iii. sect. v.

^b IDATII Episcopi Chronicon, p. 34.

^c IDAT.

^d ISIDOR. Chron. & Hist. Suev.

^e IDAT. p. 35.

(A) The monarch of the *Suevi*, at the time this great revolution happened, was *Recharius*, a prince who had been extremely fortunate in several military expedi-

tions, and who, seeing the distress of the *Roman* provinces, had flattered himself with the hopes of making an intire conquest of *Spain*; in which it is highly probable

Maldras,
Frontan,
Remismond,
Frumarius,
bear the title
of kings.
458.

460.

THE proposition made on behalf of this nation to *Theodoric*, as it was a mark of their submission, met with a favourable reception; and they might have brought their affairs into some tolerable order, if they could have been unanimous in an election: but, instead of this, they split into parties, and set up two kings; *Maldras*, who had been at the head of such as endeavoured to preserve their independency, and *Frontan*, who was in the greatest credit with the opposite faction^f. The former of these princes fell with his adherents into *Lusitania*, where he committed great cruelties upon the *Romans*, and treacherously surprised the city of *Lisbon*, while the latter, and those who stuck to him, remained in *Galicia*, where they made peace with the natives^g. *Frontan* did not long survive this; and upon his demise, *Remismond* was chosen king by his adherents. In a short time after, *Maldras* made another irruption into *Lusitania*, where he committed great cruelties; and *Remismond*, on the other hand, forgetting the treaty that was so lately concluded, renewed his incursions into *Galicia*; but the inhabitants defended themselves so well, that the *Suevi* were able to make no great impression^h. The subjects of *Maldras* being offended with his barbarous temper, which had prompted him to the murder of his brother, killed him in a tumult, and set up *Frumarius* for his successorⁱ. *Remismond*, taking advantage of the *Easter* holidays, which in those days were observed with great devotion, surprised the city of *Lugo*, put the governor and most of the inhabitants to death; after which the place was pillaged. But *Neposianus*, at the head of the *Roman* troops, and *Sueneric*, who commanded the forces of the *Goths*, advancing to the relief of the *Galicians*, killed great numbers of these invaders, and forced them to abandon their new conquests^k. Some false reports having engaged these generals to retire, the *Suevi* renewed their incursions, and did as much mischief as ever; till *Remismond* had intelligence that *Frumarius* was advancing towards him with a numerous army; upon which he disposed every thing to meet him, in order to decide their pretensions by a battle^l (B).

THIS

^f IDAT. p. 35. JORNAND.
^k ISIDOR. Chron.

^g IDAT. p. 37.
^l IDAT. p. 39.

^h SIDON. Panag.

ⁱ IDAT. p. 39.

bable that he would have succeeded, if he had struggled only with the *Roman* power (1). But *Mariana* observes, and, as far as we can collect from the meagre chronicles of those times, not without probability, that *Theodoric*, king of the *Goths*, had framed to himself a project of making himself master of *Spain*, but in a better manner, and with a fairer colour, than that of attacking his neighbours in the time of their distress. It was for this reason that he set up *Avitus* for emperor, from whom he obtained a permission to conquer all that he could from the barbarians, that is, from the enemies of the *Romans* in *Spain* (2). *Rechiarus*, intent upon executing his own project, invaded what the *Romans* called the *Carthaginian* province, without the least apprehension, that, in doing this, he was really taking the first step towards facilitating *Theodoric's* design, whose sister he had married. The king of the *Visigoths* immediately sent an embassy to his brother-in-law, to expostulate on the matter, and to engage him to desist from making war on the subjects of the empire; though he had good reason to believe this could not produce any great effect. *Rechiarus* did not so much as give his ambassadors a civil answer; but having shewn, in coarse terms, how little he was pleased with their presence, he dismissed them, and made a new irruption into the territories of the empire. *Theodoric* sent his deputies again to complain of this proceeding, and to intimate the necessity he should be under of giving assistance to his allies (3). *Rechiarus* fiercely answered, that he would speedily come, and give an account of his conduct at *Thoulouse*. *Theodoric*, who expected such an answer, immediately passed the mountains with a numerous army; and *Rechiarus*, being informed of his approach, marched with the whole force of his kingdom to oppose him. A decisive action ensued in the month of *October*, *Anno Domini* 456, near the city of *Urbico*, on the frontiers of *Galicia*; in which, after an obstinate dispute, the *Suevi* were totally routed,

and *Theodoric* pursued his victory with great clemency towards such as submitted, and with unrelenting severity towards those who resisted. *Rechiarus* fled to *Porto*, with an intention of making his escape from thence to *Africa*; but the vessel being forced back by contrary winds, he was quickly seized, and sent prisoner to the conqueror, who, in the month of *December* following, put him to death (4). Some say, that the emperor *Avitus* being deposed the next year, *Theodoric*, who had made these conquests as his ally, and who refused to acknowledge the new emperor *Majorian*, thought he had a good title to keep them for himself (5).

(B) The Chronicle of *Idacio*, as he is called by the *Spaniards*, or, as his name is written in *Latin*, *Idatius*, and other antient histories, are writ in a manner so concise, that it is extremely difficult to frame any thing like a narrative out of them. *Mariana* has certainly succeeded as well in general as any other writer; for, with much quickness and penetration, and with an admirable vein of eloquence, he had a sound judgment, and spoke his thoughts with great freedom, yet, in this part of his history, he was not a little embarrassed (6). He makes *Frontan* or *Frantan*, as he calls him, to be chosen at the same time, or rather before *Maldras*, whom he calls *Masdras*; whereas *Idacio* clearly acknowledges that *Maldras* was king of the *Suevi* before the election of *Frantan* (7); and whereas *Mariana* makes *Remismond* the son of *Maldras* (8), it is evident from the same old author, that they were kings at the same time, and headed the contrary factions; and that when *Maldras* was killed by his own faction in a tumult, they elected for his successor *Frumarius* (9), whom *Mariana* will have to be the successor of *Frontan* (10), and whom some writers, without any foundation, will have to be the brother of *Remismond*, and the son of *Maldras* also (11), which occasions strange confusion in the history, and renders it at once improbable and

(1) Jornand. Isidor. hist. Suev.
(4) Isidor. Chron. & Hist. Suev. Idat. p. 33.
de Espana, lib. v. c. 4.
p. 37.

(2) Hist. de Espana, lib. v.

(5) Mariana, Mayerne Turquette, Ferreras.

(8) Hist. de Espana, lib. v. c. 4.

(11) Antient History, vol. vii.

(3) Idat.

n. 32, 33.

(6) Hist.

(9) Chron.

^a THIS gave some relief to the long-harrassed natives of *Galicia*; and their quiet lasted longer than it otherwise would have done, from the event of this action, which, though fought with great resolution on both sides, and extremely bloody, yet proved only a drawn battle, by which both parties were so weakened, that it was agreed to send embassadors to king *Theodoric*^m, and desire his interposition; yet as soon as they had breathed a little, and notwithstanding this reference, *Remismond* renewed his incursions into *Galicia*; of which the natives complaining to the king of the *Visigoths*, he sent *Cyrilla* to the city of *Lugo*, where he had a conference with the chief men amongst the *Galicians*, and afterwards made a temporary pacification with the king of the *Suevi*, which was of no long continuanceⁿ. In the midst of these transactions *Frumarius* died, and those who had remained subject to him, considering the mischiefs their whole nation had suffered by setting up two kings, while their territory was scarce big enough to require one, and reflecting on the slaughter they had made of each other in the last battle, very prudently dispatched deputies to acquaint *Remismond* with what had happened, and to offer him their obedience, which he very willingly accepted^o. At this time, therefore, the restitution of their monarchy may be properly placed, and the former looked upon as times of confusion.

An obstinate and bloody battle between the last.
460.

THE first step taken by *Remismond*, after he became the sole monarch of this nation, was to send embassadors to *Theodoric*, to acquaint him with this event, and to desire that he would bestow upon the king of the *Suevi* one of his daughters in marriage; which proposition was very kindly received, and the princess, with a large sum of money for her dower, committed to the care of the embassadors, and sent with a numerous escorte of troops from *Thoulouse*^p, where *Theodoric* kept his court, to the frontiers of *Galicia*, where *Remismond* received her, and the marriage was solemnized with great pomp and splendor. About two years after, *Remismond*, taking advantage of the confused state of affairs in *Spain*, surprised the city of *Coimbra*, and, after having pillaged it, abandoned his conquest^q. About the same time, this monarch, in compliance with his queen, embraced the *Arian* heresy, and sent embassadors to his brother-in-law the king of the *Visigoths*, to desire that he would send certain prelates to instruct his subjects in that belief; and accordingly one *Ajax*, who was by birth a *Gaul*^r, repaired to the court of *Remismond*; and thus the *Suevi*, who, it seems, were ready to embrace their monarch's religion, received the first tincture of *Arianism*. This alliance with the *Visigoths* did not hinder the king of the *Suevi* from making fresh irruptions into *Galicia*, where he pillaged the town of *Aunona*, or *Abona*, between the rivers of *Douro* and *Minho*, notwithstanding that they were under protection of *Theodoric*, and treated the inhabitants with great cruelty; upon which they sent deputies to *Thoulouse*, to complain of this treatment to *Theodoric*^s, who thereupon sent embassadors to expostulate upon the matter with his son-in-law, but without effect; which might possibly have raised some disputes between them, if the monarch of the *Goths* had not been killed by his brother *Euric* about this time, as has been already mentioned^t.

Remismond, sole monarch of the Suevi, marries the daughter of Theodoric.
463.

THIS circumstance seems to have been favourable to the views of *Remismond*, who gave a kind reception to the embassadors of *Euric*, renewed his alliance with the *Goths*, and soon after plundered all the adjacent country^u. The year following, in consequence of intelligence he had with *Lusidius*, he entered and made himself master of *Lisbon*; upon which the *Goths*, who were in *Spain*, and saw his soldiers enriched by these predatory expeditions, followed their example, and plundered without the least distinction the territories of the *Suevi*, and of the *Romans* likewise^w. All this time *Remismond* had embassadors at *Thoulouse* and at *Rome*, who, it is probable, acted the part of spies also, and gave him intelligence of the situation things were in, and the understanding that there was between the *Romans* and the *Goths*, that he might take his measures accordingly, and extend his territories on both sides, while it was not in the power of either of those princes to send a number of forces into *Spain*, sufficient to curb these insolent and perfidious breaches of peace^x. It is highly probable, that, in the course of his reign, he made very considerable acquisitions, and reduced his subjects into better order than that in which he found them^y. But what were the consequences of this, how long he reigned, whether he established the royal seat at *Braga*, when or where he died, or was buried, is out of our power to relate, since there is an absolute chasm in the history of this nation for upwards of fourscore years; so that we know not so much as the names of those kings who

A chasm of upwards of fourscore years in this history.
467.

^m ISIDOR. Chron. IDAT. p. 45. ⁿ IDAT. p. 39. ^o Ibid. p. 42. ^p ISID. Chron. IDAT. p. 39. ^q ISID. IDAT. ^r ISID. Chron. IDAT. p. 43. ^s IDAT. p. 44. ^t JORNAND. ISID. ^u IDAT. p. 46. ^w ISID. Chron. IDAT. p. 47. ^x JORN. ISID. IDAT. ^y ISID. Hist. Suev.

unintelligible. In respect to this period, therefore, of *Suevis* history, *Ferreras* has been our principal guide (12), as well on account of the pains he has taken to range facts in their proper order, as because he agrees precisely with the old authors; whereas *Mariana* very rarely quotes his authority, and sometimes perhaps trusted his memory a little too much.

reigned during that space, at least with any tolerable degree of the certainty ^a. We must therefore rely upon the indulgence of the reader for this involuntary omission, and proceed to the next prince, of whom we find any account, either in the antient chronicles or *Spanish* historians ^a of later date, who have been very industrious in their researches (C).

Carriaric king
of the Suevi,
converted to
the catholic
faith.

550.

CARRIARIC, or *Theudemir*, was king of the *Suevi* in the middle of the sixth century, and cotemporary with *Agila* king of the *Visigoths*. He appears to have been a prince of a mild and pacific disposition, and under whom the *Suevi* were in a very flourishing condition, since it is manifest that his dominions comprehended the kingdoms of *Portugal* and *Galicia*, and the best part, if not all, of the principality of *Asturias* ^b. This monarch had an only son, who fell into a wasting dangerous disease, which baffled the skill of the physicians of those times, and inclined his father, abandoning all other helps, to address himself wholly to devotion ^c. He had heard of miracles wrought by the intercession of St. *Martin* bishop of *Tours*, and therefore he made a vow, that if, thro' the interposition of this saint, his son recovered, he would embrace the faith of this holy bishop; that is, he would become a catholic. Having taking this resolution, he sent deputies to visit the tomb of St. *Martin* on his behalf, who carried presents to the saint in gold and silver, equal in weight to his son ^d. At their return, they made a large relation of wonders they had heard and seen; but, in the mean time, the young prince was not at all better. *Carriaric* attributed this to his remaining still an *Arian*; upon which he thought fit to embrace the catholic religion without delay, caused the plan of a fine church, which he intended to dedicate to St. *Martin*, to be drawn, and laid the foundation; immediately after which he dispatched deputies a second time with richer presents than before, and orders to obtain some of the relicks of that saint for his new church ^e. They succeeded in all their requests, and the prince perfectly recovered; upon which he embraced the catholic religion as well as his father, and, at his confirmation, took the name of *Theodimir* ^f. We know nothing farther of this monarch; and we should have known nothing of him at all, if this transaction had not been related at large by *Gregory* of *Tours*. This king died in the year 559, and was buried in the new church he had built to the honour of St. *Martin*, which is believed to be the cathedral of *Orense*, a province of *Valencia* ^g (D).

^a FERRERAS, p. iii. sect. v.

TURQUET.

Martini Turon. c. 2.

de Hispana, p. iii. sect. vi.

^b FERRERAS, Hist. de Hispan. p. iii. sect. vi.

^c FERRERAS, ubi sup.

^d ISID. de Script.

^a MAR. Hist. de Espana. lib. v. FERRERAS, p. iii. sect. v. MAYERNE

^c GREG. Turon. de Mirac. S.

^e GREG. Turon. de Mirac.

^f FER. Hist.

^g FER. ubi supra.

(C) Upon the irruption of *Euric* into *Spain* with a great army of *Visigoths*, and extending his conquests on every side, *Remismund*, without doubt, took his advantage, and made himself master of the remaining part of *Galicia*; for he durst not now stir round the side of *Lusitania*, part of which *Euric* himself subdued; and, as we have shewn in the foregoing section, secured to his successors the greatest part of *Spain*. In the confusion that happened afterwards in the kingdom of the *Visigoths*, upon the death of *Alaric*, and again upon that of *Amaleric*, we have little reason to doubt that the *Suevi* might enlarge their territories a little, because, as we shall see hereafter, their kingdom became much more considerable than it seems to have been in the days of *Idacio* bishop of *Lamego*, whose chronicle ending here leaves us entirely in the dark as to this nation (13). He was a catholic bishop, and zealous for his religion, which made him less favourable to that nation, by whom he had been very ill-treated, even before they had become *Arians*, and, through the suspicions of *Frumarius*, had suffered a long imprisonment, without any just reason (14); *Ferreras* complains loudly, and not without cause, that none of the bishops of *Spain* continued his chronicle. It is indeed true, that, in some manuscript histories of the churches of *Oviedo* and *Toledo*, there is mention made of two kings of the *Suevi* between *Remismund* and *Theudemir*, viz. *Rechila* and *Theudemund*; but as it is evident that those named are interpolated, *Ferreras* thinks they deserve no credit; and therefore has not so much as admitted them into his catalogue of the kings of this nation (15).

(D) We have assigned in the text the reasons which induced, and indeed obliged, us to mention these

miracles, which we have done as concisely as possible. *Mariana* and *Ferreras* expatiate largely on this head in their respective histories; but with this difference, that *Mariana* calls the king of the *Suevi*, whose son was miraculously cured, *Theodimir*, without mentioning *Carriaric* at all, and places this event at least ten years later than it ought to be. *Ferreras* has rectified both these mistakes, and has also shewn us whence they arose. It seems, in some late editions of the works of St. *Gregory* of *Tours*, the name of *Theodimir* is inserted; and as this agrees with what another antient author has written, *Mariana*, without scruple, took *Theodimir* for the king whose son was so strangely cured; and this drew him into the other mistake. We are assured, however, by *Ferreras*, that all the manuscripts have *Carriaric* (16), and particularly one of 800 years old, which was in his own possession (17). As to the date, it is agreed on all hands, that *Martin* bishop of *Dumio*, who went into *Galicia* from *Tours* with the relicks of St. *Martin*, was the great conductor of this important affair; and St. *Gregory* relates, that this prelate died A. D. 580, when he had been thirty years a bishop (18). On his authority, therefore, the fact is stated in the text; and as it renders the thread of the history perfectly smooth and consistent, and is also confirmed from the records of the first council held at *Braga*, at which this bishop assisted, there seems to be not the least colour of doubt that this transaction is rightly placed, notwithstanding that the celebrated *Petavius*, and other writers of great credit, have followed the chronology of *Mariana* (19), without taking pains to examine the original authors (20), who have mentioned this event.

(13) Obras chronologicas del Marques de Mondijar, p. 262, 263.

(15) Historia de Espana, P. iii. sect. 3.

(17) Hist. de Hisp. p. iii. sect. vi.

Hispana, lib. v. c. 9.

(16) Greg. Turon. de virtut. & mirac. S. Martini, l. i. c. 2.

(18) Greg. Turon. Hist. Franc. lib. v. c. 17.

(20) Isidor. de Script. Ecclesiast.

(19) Hist. de

^a THEODOMIR, who succeeded his father, held, in the 3d year of his reign, a council at *Braga*, which was his capital, where he made a solemn abjuration of the *Arian* heresy; in which, it seems, he was followed by most of the prelates and clergy in his dominions, to the general satisfaction of his subjects, many of whom were catholics before ^h. About six years after he held another council in the city of *Lugo*, in which it was resolved to render that see metropolitan; which circumstance we mention, because it affords us the fairest opportunity of coming at a distinct knowledge of the provinces which made up this monarchy ⁱ. To the old metropolitan of *Braga* the following bishops were to remain suffragans, viz. *Porto*, *Lamego*, *Coimbra*, *Viseo*, *Idogna*, and *Dume*; whereas the new metropolitan of *Lugo* had for his suffragans the bishops of *Iria*, *Orense*, *Tuy*, *Britonia*, now called *Mondognedo*, and *Astorga*; so that, in the dominions of *Theodomir*, there were twelve dioceses ^k. This prince died in the latter end of the year 569 (E).

MIR, or, as *Mariana* calls him, *Miro*, succeeded his father *Theodomir*, and was also a prince of great piety. He seems, however, to have found himself under a necessity of acting under the influence of *Leovigilde*, king of the *Visigoths*, in conjunction with whom he attacked the territories which the imperialists possessed in *Spain*, and forced the *Rucones* to acknowledge him for their sovereign ^l (F). It has been matter of doubt who these people were, or where their country was situated; but there seems to be no room to question, that till this time they had been subject to the *Roman* governors, and that the *Suevi* made war upon them as the allies of the *Visigoths* ^m.

Theodomir
succeeds his
father in that
monarchy.
563.

Mir, or Myro,
becomes king of
the Suevi, and
an ally of the
Visigoths.
A. D. 572.

^h Conc. tom. v. p. 836. Card. d'AGUIR. Conc. Hisp. tom. ii. p. 292.

ⁱ FERRERAS, Hist. Hispana,

p. iii. sect. vi. Conc. tom. v. p. 874. Card. d'AGUIR. tom. ii. p. 299.

^k Conc. tom. v. p. 874.

^l J. BICLAR, MARIANA, Historia de Hispana, l. v. FERRERAS, Historia Hispana. P. iii. sect. 6. ^m J. BICLAR.

(E) We have by no means the least intention to stray beyond our proper bounds, and to invade the province of ecclesiastical historians, by mentioning the time when councils were held; but the councils held in *Spain*, during this period, were in some measure parliaments also, or assemblies of the states; for the great men sat in them, as well as bishops; and as they were called by the authority of the king, so the canons made in them were very often approved and confirmed by him also (1). It is this that makes the assembling of councils, where any records of them remain, that renders them of so great use in illustrating the civil history of this country. In respect to this first council of *Braga*, it is agreed, that it was held A. D. 563, and in the third year of *Theodomir*; and this it was that induced *Mariana* (2) to place the conversion of the *Suevi* so much lower than he ought to have done, as may be proved from the proceedings in that council; for the acts are signed by *Lucretius*, metropolitan of *Braga*, *Andrew*, bishop of *Iria*, *Flavia*, and, in the third place, by *Martin*, bishop and abbot of *Dumio*, after whom subscribed five other prelates (3). Now as it was the custom of those times to subscribe according to the seniority of their consecrations; it is evident that *Martin* bishop of *Dumio*, must have been some years a bishop, since there were five prelates in this assembly younger than he. This agrees exactly with what was said in the former note, on the authority of *Gregory of Tours* (4), who places the date of *Martin's* becoming bishop of *Dumio* in the year 550 or 551, which, as the reader sees, is very consistent with the records of this council, in which, as *Mariana* himself observes, there is mention made of king *Ariamer* (5), which he supposes to be a mistake for *Theodomir*; but it is more probable that it should have been *Carriaric*. To put this matter out of all doubt, and to convince the reader that *Theodomir* was not the king, but the son of that king, who sent deputies to the tomb of St. *Martin*, let it be considered, that this council was held in the third year of *Theodomir's* reign, and that *Martin*, who came a private man to *Braga* with those deputies at their return, had been twelve years a bishop when this council assembled (6).

(F) The abbot of *Biclar* (7) calls these people, who

were at this time attacked by the *Suevi*, *Arragones*, which is very probably supposed to be an error in the print or in the manuscript (8). *Isidore*, metropolitan of *Seville*, files them *Rucones*, or *Rocones*, but where to find them is the difficulty (9). Some authors, and, amongst these, *Mariana*, conceive them to have been the inhabitants of the little province of *Rioja*, which indeed lay very conveniently on the confines of this monarch's dominions, and, though it be but small, is nevertheless celebrated for having as pure air, as rich a soil, and as great plenty of corn and fruits, as any part of *Spain* (10). If this be the true account of the matter, then these people must have been deprived of their liberty, or subdued after some revolt, since they lay at a distance from, and quite out of the way of, the imperialists. But others again suggest, that this might have been the country of *Alpujarros*, the inhabitants of which, from their living amongst rocks, had the name of *Rocons*, or *Rucons*, who it is thought might depend upon the imperialists; yet this notion is not a little embarrassed; for, in the first place, this small country, which, in spite of all the negligence of nature, is, if not one of the most fruitful, yet one of the best cultivated districts in *Spain*, owes all this to the industry of its present inhabitants, descendants from the *Moors*, formerly masters of the kingdom of *Granada*, within the bounds of which this little country lies (11). We have therefore no reason to suppose, that, in former times, it wore the same aspect that it does at present; or, if we should grant this, it will do us but little service, since, however probable it may be, that at this time the inhabitants were subject to the *Greek* emperor, yet how the *Suevi* could have any quarrel with them, or why the king of the *Visigoths* should suffer king *Mir* to march with an army through his territories, to conquer these people, is not easily understood (12). The former, therefore, seems to be the more probable opinion; and, it may be, where-ever the *Spanish* inhabitants could preserve or recover their liberty, they thought it an honour to file themselves *Romans*, though they had little or no correspondence with the countries that were still governed by a patriarch sent from *Constantinople* (13).

(1) Geddes's *Traëts*, vol. ii. p. 21, 22.

(2) Hist. de Espana, lib. v. c. 9.

(3) Concil. tom. v.

p. 836. Card. d'Aguirre, Conc. Hisp. tom. ii. p. 292.

(4) Greg. Turon. de virtut. & mirac. S. Martini,

lib. i. c. 11. (5) Hist. de Espana, lib. v. c. 9.

(6) Card. d'Aguirre, Concil. Hisp. tom. ii. p. 292.

Greg. Tur. Hist. Franc. lib. v. c. 37.

(7) In Chron.

(9) Isidor. Hispal. Hist. Suevor.

(11) Ferreras, Historia de Espana, P. iii. sec. 6.

de las obras chronologicas del Marques de Mondejar.

(12) Mariana, Turquet, Ferreras.

(13) Prefacion

It was not long after this that the king assembled the second council of *Braga*, at which both the metropolitans, and most of their suffragans, assisted^a. He called, in the following year, an assembly of the states of his kingdom, at *Lugo*, where various regulations, chiefly respecting the church, were made^o. In the disputes that happened between the king of the *Visigoths* and his son, *Mir*, out of his zeal for religion, was inclined to favour *Hermenigilde*, or at least to support the catholics; but not having a strength sufficient to do this by force of arms, he sent ambassadors to *Gontran*, one of the monarchs of the *Franks*, to engage his assistance^p in the same cause; but his ambassadors unluckily passing through the territories of *Chilperic*, king of *Soissons*, that prince caused them to be seized, and kept in prison, till, by another embassy to him, king *Mir* procured their release^q. We have shewn, in the foregoing section, what share this monarch took when things came to extremities between king *Leovigilde* and his son *Hermenigilde*, and how, after raising an army in favour of the latter, he was constrained to employ it, or at least to suffer it to be employed, against that unfortunate prince, in whose defence it was raised^r. Whether this misfortune had any effect upon his spirits, or whether the fatigues of the expedition, joined to bad air and unwholesome waters, proved injurious to his health, so it was, that, upon his return to *Braga*, he was seized with a violent distemper, of which he speedily died, in the year of our Lord five hundred eighty two^s.

Euric or Eboric succeeds, and is deposed by Andaca.

A. D. 583.

HE was succeeded by his son *Eboric*, *Evoric*, or *Euric*, who was very young, and who, before he had wore the crown a year, was dispossessed of it by an ambitious nobleman, whose name was *Andaca*, contracted to his sister, but who, to fortify his usurpation, espoused *Segonce*, the widow of king *Mir*, and the mother-in-law of *Eboric*, whom he thrust into a monastery, and obliged to enter into holy orders, that he might be incapable of resuming the crown^t.

The Visigoths defeat the usurper, and reduce the whole kingdom.

A. D. 584.

ANDACA did not long enjoy the fruits of his disloyalty, or the title of king which he had usurped; for, as soon as *Leovigilde* had reduced the imperialists to sue for peace, he suddenly turned his arms against the *Suevi*, wasting all the country with fire and sword, till he entered *Braga*, which was the capital, where he deposed *Andaca*, obliged him to enter into holy orders, and then banished him to *Badajoz*^u. Thus an end was put to the kingdom of the *Suevi*; for the country was reduced to the condition of a province, notwithstanding the efforts made by one *Amalaric*, who assumed the title of king, but was quickly defeated by the generals of *Leovigilde*, who sent him prisoner to their master: the subversion of this kingdom happened in the year of our Lord five hundred eighty-four^v.

As we have no mention made at all of the affairs of the *Suevi*, in any other than church chronicles, and the writings of other ecclesiastics, as in truth the learning of those times was wholly among the clergy; so we cannot reasonably expect, that, from their short memorials, we should be able to collect much, either as to the manners or the circumstances of this nation; yet, notwithstanding their silence, there are several good reasons why we may conclude, that the *Suevi*, at the time of their being subdued by the *Goths*, were at least as opulent, if not more so, than the rest of the inhabitants of *Spain*^x; for all the antient writers agree, that the countries occupied by them were very fertile in corn, abounding in rich fruits, and exceedingly rich in metals; so that, if it was well peopled, and those people industrious, they must have been rich. Secondly, they had enjoyed a profound peace for near a century; for, if they had but engaged in any wars either against the *Visigoths* or *Romans*, there could not have been such a gap in their history; and, lastly, having so long a tract of coast, it is not possible that they should have been without commerce. It is true, that these are conjectures only; but it is also true, that they may be supported from facts, since what is reported of king *Carriaric*, the presents sent by him to the tomb of St. *Martin* at *Tours*, the building and endowment of churches and monasteries in his reign, shew him to have been rich, at least for those times^y. The number of bishops sees in his dominions, which, though in extent not a third part of *Spain*, were at least half the number of dioceses in that country, is an additional proof; and the seizing some ships belonging to the *Franks*, on the apprehension of a rupture, demonstrates, that the ascribing some degree of commerce to these people is far from being a groundless supposition^z.

^a Conc. tom. v. p. 894. Card. d'AGUIRRE, Conc. Hisp. tom. i. p. 316.

Conc. tom. v. p. 902.

fec. vi.

J. BICLAR.

J. BICLAR.

Suevor.

^p J. BICLAR.

^q ADONIS, Chron. p. 188.

^r ISID. Hist. Suevor. GREG. Tur.

^s MARIANA, FERRERAS.

^t GREG. Tur. l. v. cap. 42.

^u GREG. Tur. l. vi. cap. 43.

^v ISID. Hist. Suev. J. BICLAR.

^w ISID. Hist. Suev.

^x ADONIS, Chron. GREG. Tur. ISID. Hist.

^o Morales, lib. ii. cap. 26.

^p FERRERAS, Historia Hispana, P. iii.

^q ISID. Hist. Suevor. GREG. Tur.

^r ISID. Hist. Suev.

^s ADONIS, Chron. GREG. Tur. ISID. Hist.

S E C T. III.

The history of the Visigoths, from the reign of Reccared the First, the Catholic, to the intire subversion of their monarchy by the Moors.

THE principal nobility of the *Goths* readily concurred in raising to the throne *Reccared*, the only surviving son of their deceased monarch, who had deserved so well of the whole nation in his campaigns against the *Franks*^a. His first care, as soon as he was seated on the throne, was to pursue the negotiations his father had begun, in order to establish peace with that potent nation. It was with this view that he sent ambassadors to *Gontran*, king of *Orleans* and of *Burgundy*, who, notwithstanding his late defeats, absolutely refused to hear of any accommodation; but at the court of *Childebert*, king of *Austrasia*, these ministers were better received, and on the assurances they gave, that *Reccared* was so far from having any share in the death of his brother that he beheld it with the utmost detestation, a treaty of peace was speedily concluded^b. In the mean time *Sisbert*, by whose hands *Hermenigilde* was said to be put to death, and who had been captain of the guard to the late king, engaged in some dangerous designs against the new monarch, which brought upon him the punishment he deserved^c. This summer the forces of *Gontran* made an irruption, under the command of *Didier* and *Austrovalde*, into the provinces which the *Goths* still held in *Gaul*, and, being very numerous, carried all before them^d. At length the army of *Reccared* endeavoured to stop their progress, and were quickly routed; but *Didier*, with that impetuosity natural to his nation, pushing the victory too far, and appearing with a small body of forces before *Carcassone*, where the *Goths* had taken shelter, they suddenly marched out, and, having surrounded, cut him and his people to pieces: which so elevated their spirits, that they proceeded directly to the attack of the rest of the army under *Austrovalde*, whom they also defeated with a vast slaughter^e. The news of this victory were extremely welcome at the court of *Toledo*, and might perhaps contribute not a little to facilitate the great work the king had then upon the carpet (A).

THE conversion of the king had been early brought about by *Leander*, metropolitan of *Seville*; but the declaring himself publicly a catholic was still considered as a very delicate point^f. At length, after the great victory obtained over the *Franks*, it was resolved, that the king should propose to the grandees and prelates about his person introducing the catholic religion throughout his dominions; which he accordingly did, in the month of *October*; and the motion was received, as those things generally are, with all the exterior marks of approbation and applause^g (B).

IN

^a MARIANA, *Historia de Hispania*, l. v. c. 14. MAYERNE TURQUET, *Histoire generale d'Espagne* l. v. c. 15. FERRERAS, *Hist. general de Espana*, P. iii. sec. 6. ^b GREG. TURON. *Hist. Franc.* l. ix. c. 1. ^c JOAN. BICLAR. in Chron. ^d GREG. TURON. lib. viii. c. 45. ^e JOAN. BICLAR. in Chron. ^f GREG. TURON. lib. ix. c. 15. ^g J. BICLAR. in Chron.

(A) According to the *French* historians, the true cause of that extraordinary and obstinate aversion, shewn by king *Gontran* towards the monarch of the *Visigoths*, was openly imputed to the intrigues of *Leovigilde* with that restless princess *Fredegonde*, which were alleged to have been carried on in the darkest manner, and for the worst purposes (1). At the bottom, however, it is owned, that the real source of this implacable hatred was an ambitious desire of driving this nation intirely out of *Gaul*, which produced a resolution of continuing the war, notwithstanding any propositions for putting an end to it, so long as their domestic troubles continued in *Spain* (2). Upon these principles it was that the king of *Burgundy* would not suffer *Reccared's* ministers to come into his presence, but ordered them to retire to *Macon*, from whence they were directed to send him an account of their commission; upon receiving which, he declared he would have nothing farther to do with them, and prohibited all correspondence between his subjects and the *Visigoths* (3). Soon after this (as the *Spanish* authors

affirm) the *Franks* invaded *Reccared's* territories, beat the army that was assembled to oppose them, and advanced toward *Carcassone*, where *Didier*, by an imprudent contempt of an enemy once beaten, was cut off with a small body of horse; and this unexpected blow intimidated the *Franks* so much, that they made a hasty retreat, which put an end to the campaign (4). On the whole, it is evident enough, that as the historians of one country are disposed to exaggerate, so those of the other are inclined to extenuate, this business; and it is also worth observing, that *Gregory of Tours* places this event in the life-time of *Leovigilde* (5).

(B) On his first accession to the throne, we are assured, that *Reccared* manifested the most upright intentions. His behaviour towards *Goswintha*, whom he treated as if she had been his own mother, was not only admired by his own subjects, but celebrated by foreigners; and it was by her advice, and with her assistance, he reconciled himself to the court of *Austrasia* (6). She seems to have gained his confidence by pretending to become

(1) Greg. Tur. lib. viii. c. 38.

Tur. lib. ix. c. 1.

c. 45.

(2) P. Daniel, *Hist. de France*, tom. i. p. 312.

(4) Id. lib. viii. c. 45.

(5) Joan. Bicl. in Chron.

(6) J. Bicl. in Chron. Greg. Tur. lib. ix. c. 15.

(3) Greg. Tur. lib. viii.

Several conspiracies formed by the Arians against the king's person and government.

A. D. 587.

IN the very beginning of the next year, *Autalacus*, an *Arian* bishop, and zealous for his opinion, caballed with two counts, *Granist* and *Vildegern*, who were likewise dissatisfied with the king's measures, to raise a general insurrection^a. In this they succeeded so far, that, at their instance, a considerable body of people took up arms, and falling suddenly upon the catholics, killed many of them, and, amongst them, several ecclesiasticsⁱ; but the principal officers of the king's troops, being firmly attached to their duty, quickly assembled an army, and put the rebels to flight, the two counts being killed upon the spot, which put an end to this affair, and to the life of the *Arian* bishop, who is said to have died of discontent^k. This did not hinder the forming a new and more dangerous conspiracy; of which *Sunna*, an *Arian* prelate, who had been metropolitan of *Merida*, and in high favour with the late king, was the author^l. He drew to his party two counts, *Witeric* and *Siggon*; and, after mature deliberation, doubting of their interest in the city of *Toledo*, they resolved to open their enterprize at *Merida* with the murder of *Mausona*, the metropolitan, who, after being exiled to make way for *Sunna*, was now recalled, and *Claudius*, who had the chief command of the forces, and was governor of the city^m (C). The scheme laid for bringing their design about was this: *Sunna* proposed a conference with *Mausona* under the pretence of abjuring his heresy; this conference was to be held in the portico of the cathedral church, and in the presence of *Claudius*. *Witeric*, who was that nobleman's great favourite, undertook to dispatch him and the metropolitan as he stood behind their backs; and count *Siggon* was to assemble a number of *Arians* to support this action when it was done, and to seize the cityⁿ. All things went to their wish; *Witeric* took his post, at the interview, behind the duke and the prelate; while *Sunna* made a long speech, to give him an opportunity of performing what he promised; but *Witeric's* dagger stuck so fast in the scabbard, that he was not able to draw it^o (D). Another plan was then laid, which was to have taken place at a public procession; but in the mean time *Witeric*, from motives either of piety or ambition, disclosed the whole matter to *Claudius*, who caused the principal conspirators to be apprehended, gave the king a distinct account of all that had happened, by whose orders they were severely punished^p (E).

THESE

^a MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS. & al.
ⁱ J. BICLAR, in Chron. cap. 17, 18.
ⁿ J. BICLAR in Chron. RIANA, & al.

^l GREG. Tur. lib. ix. c. 15.

^m PAUL DIACON. Emeritenf. de vitis Patrum Emeritensium,
^o PAUL DIACON, Emeritenf. ubi supra.

^k MARIANA, & al.
^p MA-

a catholic; in which artifice, no doubt, she was imitated by many of the courtiers, who, to carry on their intrigues the better, appeared very probably the most zealous converts. This might induce the king to believe the conversion of his subjects to the catholic faith a work of greater facility than in truth it was, and in this opinion he might be confirmed by arguments drawn from political motives.

(C) These honours, which in *Latin* are *dux* and *comes*, in *Spanish*, *duc* or *duque*, and *conde*, were unknown to the ancient *Romans*, and first introduced under the *Greek* emperors. When, therefore, the kings of the *Visigoths* became so potent, as that they apprehended very little difference between them and the emperors of *Constantinople*, they judged it a manifestation of their own greatness to introduce the same titles; the rather, because the inhabitants of their dominions, having been subjects of the empire, were accustomed to those titles, and to give such as were clothed with them all the reverence they could expect (7). The duke was in those days a military honour, and the person who bore it was commander in chief of the forces within a certain province, whence in process of time he was distinguished by the name of that province (8), came gradually to have a near relation to it, and to exercise, in the name of the sovereign, a civil jurisdiction also; which in *Spain*, if we may credit *Mariana*, advanced pretty early to the prerogative of directing the mint, whence that species of money called ducats (9) received its name. Count, again, was not originally a local honour, but a title of office (1); some were governors of towns; others officers in the army, and denominated from the nature of the corps they commanded, so that there were counts of the archers,

counts of pioneers, &c. Others were officers in the king's household, and they were distinguished in the like manner; so that there were counts of the butlers, counts of the stable, whence the title of constable is derived; and others were counts by their names, which was a mere honorary title (2). It is requisite farther to observe, that the same person was often both duke and count, and that these honours were in this age, and long after, personal only, and not hereditary.

(D) This *Witericus* was a young nobleman, who attended on the person of the king, and was in great credit with him, which in all probability recommended him to the favour of *Claudius*, duke of *Lusitania*, who appears to have been the ablest man in the service of this monarch, and the person upon whose military skill his master chiefly depended (3). It is suggested, that he entered into this base design, through the persuasions of an *Arian* bishop, and out of his zeal for that sect (4); but though religion is the common pretence for most conspiracies, they are rarely entered into by men of any religion, more especially if they have any parts, as *Witeric* certainly had.

(E) The detection of this plot gave the king, and his minister duke *Claudius*, an opportunity, which they did not let slip, of crushing the heretics effectually, by seizing on the persons of the principal leaders, disarming the common people, and taking proper measures to put resistance out of their power. As to the chief conspirator *Sunna*, so much regard was shewn to his episcopal character, that it was offered to his choice, whether he would abjure his heresy, or quit the kingdom. He chose the latter; and was sent to *Africa*, where he died (5). Count *Vacrilas*, who was very deep in this detest-

(7) Salazar de Mendoza, Orig. de las Dignidades, lib. i. c. 7. lib. xv.

(9) Histor. de España, lib. vi. c. 1.

p. 459. Alonzo Lopez de Haro, Nobil. gen. lib. iv.

Mariana, Ferreras.

Biclar in Chron.

(3) Paul. Diacon. Emeritenf. de vitis Patrum Emeritensium, cap. 17. 18.

(5) Paul. Diacon. ubi supra.

(8) Garibay, Compend. Histor. Hisp.

(1) Garcias de Loyasa, in Conc. Toletan. tom. viii.

(2) Garcias de Loyasa, in Concil. Tolet. tom. viii. p. 459.

(4) J.

a THESE proceedings taught the *Arians* to act with a greater caution, as they still persisted in their design of retrieving their lost power. With this view *Goswintha*, the dowager of *Athanasigilde*, and *Leovigilde*, who had embraced the catholic religion in appearance, took her measures privately with *Ubila*, an *Arian* bishop, to remove the king, whom they considered as the great obstacle to their designs; but, the plot being discovered, *Ubila*, out of respect to his character, was banished only; and, while it was under deliberation what should be done with *Goswintha*, that miserable princess died, either through remorse or despair^a. The king, to give a check to this spirit of heresy, so dangerous to himself and to the public, ordered all the writings in favour of *Arianism* to be brought in and burnt^r. He next renewed, or rather attempted to renew, his negotiation with *Guntran*, king of *Orleans* and *Burgundy*, who remained as inflexible as ever; and sent a fresh army of sixty thousand men, under the command of *Boson*, to support *Austrovalde*, who, having recruited his army, had taken *Carcaffone*^s. The king of the *Visigoths* sent *Claudius*, who was governor of *Lusitania*, to command in *Gaul*, where he had the good fortune to gain a surprising victory, which would have done more honour to the *Spanish* arms with posterity, if their authors had not related it with such circumstances as render it altogether incredible^t (F).

KING *Reccared*, being very desirous to settle the affairs of the church on so firm a basis that it should never be shaken, summoned for that purpose a council at *Toledo*, where five metropolitans and sixty-two bishops assembled, and made several canons, which were signed by the king, the metropolitans, and the prelates; and thus the conversion of the *Goths* to the catholic faith became a national act^u. But, notwithstanding the seeming unanimity with which this great affair was transacted, *Argimund*, a nobleman in great credit with the king, governor of one of the principal provinces in his dominions, and who had free access to his person, framed a treacherous design against his life, in which he found means to embark a great many persons of different ranks, which very probably made way for the discovery and punishment of himself and other offenders^w. The *Jews* petitioned the king to abrogate one of the canons of the late council, by which they were rendered incapable of public offices, of keeping Christian slaves or concubines; and, that they might induce him the more readily to exert his

The catholic religion established in the first council of Toledo.
589.

^a J. BICLAR in Chron. tom. i. p. 320.

^r FREDEG. in Chron.

^s GREG. TUR. l. ix. c. 15.

^t P. DANIEL,

^u Concil. tom. v. p. 997. Concil. Hisp. tom. ii. p. 338.

^w J BICLAR in Chron.

able design, fled to the church of St. *Eulalia*, and obstinately refused to submit himself to justice. Upon this, judgment was given against him, that he should remain the servant or slave of that church for life, and be employed in such kind of work as the clergy should think proper (6) Count *Paul Siggon* had both his hands cut off, and was banished into *Galicia* (7). Those of the better sort, who had been engaged with them, lost their offices and estates, and the meanest of the conspirators were sent into exile. In all those proceedings it is evident, that the king shewed his prudence rather than his resentment, and made the necessity of being secure the only argument for his severity (8).

(F) The *French* general *Austrovalde* entered the territories of the *Visigoths* first with a numerous body of troops, and, meeting with little resistance, advanced to *Carcaffone*, of which he took possession. Soon after this event arrived *Boson* with a more considerable army, and vested with the chief command. He was displeased with the conduct of *Austrovalde*, and the disputes between these commanders had a very bad effect on their inferior officers and their troops, which, joined to the want of any apparent strength to oppose them, occasioned such a contempt of discipline, and such general licentiousness, as must have rendered them an easy conquest to the *Visigoths*, if they had had any army in the field (9); but, it seems, the forces in the *Spanish* province were so much inferior, that they retired to the very mountains, and satisfied themselves with taking possession of the passes, where they waited the arrival of duke *Claudius* with the troops under his command. After their junction, *Claudius* found his army much inferior to the enemy, but withal found that they wanted discipline, and were without intelligence (1). He caused therefore, his army to advance towards them with as much secrecy as it was possible, and, having brought them as near to the

camp as was practicable without a discovery, and made such a disposition as he judged most expedient, he then put himself at the head of a small body of his best men, and boldly attacked their camp, where, finding them feasting, and in confusion, he made a prodigious slaughter before they were in any condition to make a proper defence. At length *Boson*, having put part of the army into tolerable order, attacked the *Visigoths* in his turn; upon which duke *Claudius* made at first a slow, and in a little time a precipitate retreat. The *French* general pushed him vigorously, the whole army joining in the pursuit, till they found themselves on a sudden attacked by the *Visigoths* on both their flanks, while duke *Claudius*, with that handful of brave men, under his immediate command, made a noble stand; so that in a little space the rout became general; and the *French*, abandoning the field of battle, placed all hopes of safety in speedy flight (2). This, as far as we are able to collect from a comparison of different accounts, is an impartial representation of this signal victory. A contemporary *Spanish* writer asserts, that it was gained by duke *Claudius* with three hundred of his guards (3), which some treat as an improbability, and others as a miracle. The truth seems to be, that he ascribed the victory to those who made the first attack. A *French* historian, who also lived in those times, acquaints us, that there were five thousand killed, and three thousand taken prisoners, (4); but the *Spanish* historians unanimously affirm, that this was the most decisive victory gained in that age, and so it appears to have been from its consequences; for the *French*, who were before altogether intractable, began to be well inclined to peace; and *Reccared*, who was a prince remarkable for his moderation, made a right use of his victory, by concluding an advantageous treaty, without trusting to the uncertain hopes of future victories.

(6) Mariana, *Mayerne Turquet*, Ferreras. *Espana*, lib. v. c. 14.

(7) J. Bicular in Chron.

(8) Mariana, *Hist. de*

(2) Greg. Turon. ubi supra.

(9) Greg. Turon. *Hist. Franc.* lib. ix. c. 31.

(1) Ibid. *Hispal.* in Chron.

(3) J Bicular in Chron,

(4) Greg. Turon. *Hist. Franc.* lib. ix. cap. 31.

authority, they offered him a very large sum of money, which *Reccared*, with a magnanimity ^a worthy of so great a prince, rejected with disdain ². Upon the death of his queen *Bada*, *Reccared* demanded in marriage *Clodofinde*, the daughter of *Brunebaud*, and the sister of *Ingonde*, whom he obtained, notwithstanding she had been promised in marriage to the king of the *Lombards*, who was an *Arian*; but it is thought that he in some measure purchased this marriage by the cession of the two fortresses of *Jubiniac* and *Corneillan*, part of his dominions in *Gaul*, to queen *Brunebaud*, who entered immediately into possession of them ³; and it is believed that *Clodofinde* was sent into *Spain*, notwithstanding we have no distinct account of the celebration of this marriage by any of the ancient historians ⁴. *Reccared* also sent ambassadors to compliment pope *Gregory the Great*, and to carry him presents of a considerable value, to facilitate a request he made him to procure an extract of the treaties between his predecessor *Athanasilde* and the emperor *Justinian*, that he might be precisely acquainted upon what terms the imperialists held the territories which they still possessed in *Spain* ⁵ (G).

Reccared's
excellent go-
vernment.

593. The patrician, who at this time governed those countries on behalf of the *Greek* emperor, had suffered his people to make some excursions into the dominions of king *Reccared*, who resolved to take this occasion of reducing these people within bounds, which, by various successful expeditions, he performed; for, it seems, he was a prince of so great justice, that, notwithstanding the provocation he had received, and the superiority of his forces, he would not attempt an absolute conquest, but granted them a peace upon equitable terms ^b. This war was hardly finished, before he found himself embarked in another against the *Gascons*, who had retired into *Gaul* in the reign of his father, and, elevated by their success there, made an irruption into the country which they had formerly possessed in *Spain*; however, the forces which *Reccared* sent against them quickly recovered the places they had taken, and compelled them to repass the *Pyrenees* ^c. These military exploits interrupted, in some measure, the king's endeavours to regulate the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of his monarchy, upon such a foot as might equally contribute to the glory of his successors, and to the welfare of his subjects; but, as soon as peace was restored, he resumed those salutary projects: he took care to revise the laws of the *Goths*, and to make such alterations as the change of customs and manners had rendered necessary ^d. He was employed in this and other acts of a like nature, when he was seized with that illness which deprived *Spain* of so great and good a prince ^e, in the month of *February*, in the year of our Lord six hundred and one.

Liuva II. suc-
ceeds his fa-
ther, is quickly
deposed, and
soon after mur-
dered.

598. He left behind him three sons, *Liuva*, *Suintila*, and *Geila*; but who were the mothers of these princes, is by no means clear ^f. The eldest is supposed to have been a natural child, begotten on some woman of mean condition, five years before his accession to the crown; and it is very likely the other two were the sons of *Bada*, since there is no author that mentions having issue by queen *Clodofinde* ^g. The respect of the nobility, and the affection of the people towards his memory, was so strong, that, notwithstanding the blemish in his birth, and his being but twenty years of age, *Liuva* was elected and proclaimed king without opposition ^h. The dawn and the close of his reign, however, followed close upon each other; for, notwithstanding he was a young prince of great hopes, and did nothing that ought to have deprived him of the affections of his people, yet he was quickly despoiled of his crown, his liberty, and his life ⁱ. The instrument of all this mischief was *Witeric*, whose life his father had spared. We have but a very dark account how it was brought about, and shall therefore follow the sentiments of an eminent historian, who suggests, that this cunning traitor first inveigled the young prince to signalize his very accession to the throne by the expulsion of the imperialists; which having represented to him as a very easy thing, and being intrusted

^a S. GREG. Epist. lib. vii. ep. 228.

² P. DANIEL, tom. i. p. 328, 329.

Chron.

³ ISID. de Script. cap. 32.

lib. vi. c. i.

⁴ ISID. Hist. Goth.

⁵ VASÆI Chron.

⁶ GREG. Tur. lib. xix. c. 16. 25. MORAL. lib. x. c. i.

⁷ S. GREG. epist. lib. vii.

⁸ ISID. Hist. Goth.

⁹ VASÆI

¹⁰ MARIANA, Historia de Hispana,

¹¹ p. iii. lect. 7.

¹² MARIANA.

(G) This count *Argimond*, the principle conspirator, was chamberlain to the king, and might therefore have executed his detestable design with very little difficulty, if the death of his master had been all he sought; but he had his own advancement likewise in view, and proposed, when the throne was vacant, to fill it with his own person, which obliged him to seek assistance among the nobility, and this made way for the detection of his designs (5). The king, who saw how much his clemency had been abused, dealt with this nobleman and his associates much more severely than had been prac-

tised in regard to the former conspirators; for, in the first place, the count's head was shaved, which, as *Mariana* remarks, degraded and rendered him infamous, then he was whipped, and his right hand cut off; after this, being mounted on a mule, he was led through the streets of the capital, and exposed to the derision of the people; and lastly was beheaded; all his accomplices were likewise punished with death, which put an end to those conspiracies that had been hitherto so frequent (6).

(5) J. Biclár in Chron.

(6) Mariana, Mayerne Turquet, Ferreras.

a with the army that was to perform this great action, he corrupted the principal officers, and, with their assistance, not only deposed the king, but cut off his right hand, thrust him into a prison, and not long after put him to death ^k (H). A. D. 603.

WITERIC was immediately declared king by those who had assisted him in the perpetration of these cruelties; and, as if he intended to have shewn that he was not altogether unworthy of that dignity to which he was raised in so unwarrantable a manner, he prosecuted the war against the imperialists with vigour, and, in a general action in the neighbourhood of *Sigüenza*, gained a complete victory, and brought their affairs into the utmost distress ¹. This gained him some reputation, for the populace are always on the side of success. Soon after *Theodoric*, king of *Burgundy*, demanded in marriage the princess *Hermembergue* his daughter, testifying, at the same time, a desire that the feuds which had so long subsisted between the *Franks* and the *Visigoths* might, in consequence of this marriage, be buried in perpetual oblivion ^m. This flattered the vanity *Witeric* extremely; he was doubtful how the neighbouring princes would relish the method by which he rose to sovereignty, and was charmed with this mark of deference and esteem which he could so little expect. He treated the ambassadors with all imaginable kindness, yielded very graciously to their request, and sent the princess *Hermembergue* back with them into *France*, with a numerous and magnificent equipage. This scene of triumph was, however, quickly interrupted; *Theodoric* took some distaste to *Hermembergue*, and sent her back again to her father ⁿ. Some say, and it is not at all improbable, that *Brunebaut* effected this by her intrigues; but, however it was brought about, this so exceedingly offended *Witeric*, that he endeavoured to form a confederacy with the monarchs of the *Franks* and *Lombards* against the king of *Burgundy*, in order to strip him totally of his dominions, in revenge of the affront offered to his daughter (I). 604.

THIS negotiation, which he pursued with indefatigable zeal, and at a vast expence succeeded to his wish; *Clotaire*, king of *Soissons*, *Theodobert*, king of *Austrasia*, together with *Agilulph* king of the *Lombards*, entered into the alliance; and the division of *Theodoric's* dominions was already settled, when, by promising *Theodobert* better conditions than were allowed him by this treaty, *Theodoric* drew him to his side, and the rest of the princes growing diffident of each other, the league was dissolved ^o. This rendered *Witeric* despised at home, ^p A conspiracy formed against him, which brings him to a dreadful end. 603.

^k FERRERAS, *Historia Hispana*, p. iii. sect. 7.

ⁿ P. DANIEL, *Histoire de France*, tom. i. p. 372.

¹ ISID. Hist. Goth.

^o FREDEG. in Chron.

^m FREDEG. in Chron.

(H) The deficiency of antient and contemporary historians renders this part of our history somewhat obscure. The chronicle of *San Juan de Valclara*, as the *Spaniards* stile him, or, as he is generally called, the abbot of *Biclar*, notwithstanding that he was bishop of *Girona*, ends under the former reign (7); so that all the light we have now left is the history of St. *Isidore* of *Seville*, an author very succinct, more especially in such passages as do no honour to his country. There is indeed a certain writer who pretends to fix the very day on which *Liuvva* was murdered, which, he says, was the fourteenth of *April* six hundred and four; and that he was buried in the church of St. *Mary* at *Toledo*, with great lamentation; but as his authority is of no credit, we cannot rely upon his information (8). *Mariana* assures us, that this young monarch rendered himself respected and beloved by his sweet and majestic air, his beneficence, and other royal virtues, which he inherited from his father, so that his loss was bitterly bewailed by the whole *Spanish* nation. He farther remarks, that some pieces of gold coin, bearing the impression of this prince, are still extant, having on the reverse *Hispali Pius*, to shew that they were coined at *Seville* (9). He farther observes, that we may be certain these pieces ought to be attributed to *Liuvva* the Second, and not to his uncle, *Liuvva* the First, because the prince they represent has a crown upon his head, which regal ornament was not in use before the reign of *Leovigilde*, of whom, and of *Reccared*, there are several pieces of gold coin extant in the *French* king's cabinet.

(1) The history of this lady's marriage, which was very near being fatal to two of the greatest nations in *Europe*, has in it something so strange, that the principal circumstances deserve our notice (1). This *Theodoric*,

king of *Burgundy*, was so well disposed to an alliance with the king of the *Visigoths*, that he sent *Aridius*, bishop of *Lions* his high constable *Eborim*, and count *Rogon*, a nobleman of high rank at his court, as his ambassadors to *Witeric* at *Toledo*. The monarch of the *Visigoths* objected the bad behaviour of some of the *French* kings to their wives, and particularly the dissolute behaviour of their master, who had several mistresses, and children by them; so that he was unwilling to proceed in the negotiation, unless these ministers would bind themselves by an oath, that the princess should be always treated in a manner suitable to her quality, and that the king should never remove her from the throne, which security they accordingly gave. When they brought the princess into *France*, the king came to meet her at *Chalons* on the *Saone*, where he seemed to be extremely well pleased with her, and behaved with all the respect and tenderness imaginable (2). While this marriage was treating, *Brunebaut* had represented to the king's sister *Theudelane*, that, without doubt, her influence would be intirely lost from the moment the queen was espoused. This put her upon practising every art of which she was mistress, to delay the solemnity; and, having carried this point, she insinuated, that the princess had some personal defects, by which the king was gradually disgusted. After having kept her about a year, he resolved, against all the rules of honour and decency, to send her home again; and, having broke through these, he made the less scruple of being dishonest likewise, and detained a large sum of money which she brought with her out of *Spain*. In one respect he seems to have acted right; he cast no aspersions whatever upon the lady, but suffered the blame of this action to lie wholly where it ought to lie, upon himself (3).

(7) Don G. Mayans in *Prefacion de las obras chronologicas del M. de Mondejar*, p. 15. 16. (8) D. N. Antonio *Censura de Historias fabulosas*, p. 439.

(9) *Histor. de Espana*, vi. c. 2.

(1) *Fredegar Chron.*

(3) *Ferreras, Histor. de Espana*, pi. iii.

home, where the ill usage the daughter had received was ascribed to the wickedness of the father; and a rumour being spread at the same time, that he was privately an *Arian*, and meant to restore that heresy, such a general defection ensued, as prompted some, whom he had disobliged, to fall upon him as he sat at dinner, without the least suspicion of what happened, and, having stabbed him, they threw the body out to the people, who, after dragging it through the streets, and offering a thousand insults, they at last buried it amongst malefactors executed for their crimes, in the year of our Lord six hundred and ten ^p.

Gundemar's
election, and
short reign
over the Visi-
goths.

610.

AMONGST those who directed the resentment of the populace against the miserable *Witeric*, there was one *Gundemar*, a man of great quality, and adorned with many virtues. He had previously formed schemes for placing himself upon the throne, and they were attended with success; for, very soon after the death of *Witeric*, he was elected and declared king. He studied to maintain a constant correspondence with the *Franks*, which for many ages was looked upon as a mark of prudence and good policy; but, from some papers which have been seen by *Mariana* ^a, and other *Spanish* historians, it appears, that he bought their friendship by an annual pension, which did him no honour in the sentiments of the *Visigoths*, accustomed to receive rather than pay such kinds of tribute (K). Yet in his person he was brave; and had no sooner information that the *Gascous* had renewed their incursions, than he marched against them with an army, entered their country, which he laid waste with fire and sword, obliging them to take shelter in their mountains ^r. After his return to his capital, he directed a council to be held at *Carthagera*, in which several canons were made by the prelates who assisted therein, which he afterwards signed and confirmed; a plain proof that the king's supremacy remained as yet unimpeached in *Spain* ^s. While he was thus employed, the imperialists committed hostilities against his subjects, which constrained him to turn his arms against them; and they, finding their forces far inferior to the *Goths*, retired to a strong camp, where they fortified themselves in the best manner they were able. *Gundemar*, however, attacked and carried their intrenchments, gaining a signal and a bloody victory, which terribly distressed their affairs, and extinguished all desires of revenge for the present ^t. He then returned into his own dominions, and held another assembly of the clergy; soon after which he fell sick, and died in the beginning of the year six hundred and twelve, when he had governed but a short time, and had rather raised than satisfied the expectations of his subjects, who, notwithstanding, expressed great concern for his death, on account of the unquestionable proofs he had given of his piety, courage, and zeal for the public welfare ^u.

611.

Sisebut ad-
vanced to the
throne, who
resolves on ex-
pelling the
Greeks.

SISEBUT was elected upon the demise of *Gundemar*, with the universal approbation of the nobility and clergy, on account of his many excellent qualities, amongst which his learning was not the least conspicuous ^w. He was scarce seated on the throne, before the public tranquillity was disturbed by two insurrections, one of the *Asturians*, and the other of the *Rucons*: against the former the king sent a body of troops commanded by *Rechila*, and another against the *Rucons*, at the head of which was prince *Suintila*, in the sentiments of many the son of *Reccared*; and both these officers met with all the success that could be expected, obliging the people to return to their duty, after they had chastised them for departing from it ^x. This

^p ISID. Hist. Goth. Hispana, p. iii. sec. 7. ^q Historia Hispana, l. vi. c. 2. ^r ISID. Hist. Goth. ^s Concil. tom. v. p. 620. ^t ISID. Hist. Goth. ^u VASÆI Chron. ^w MARIANA, Historia Espana, l. vi. c. 3. ^x ISID. Hist. Goth. Luc. Tudens.

(K) The substance of this note will shew the reader with what discretion public histories are to be read; for none of those that have been hitherto published of the kingdom of the *Goths* in *Spain*, written either by contemporary writers, or by those who lived near these times, say the least word of that connection, which, it seems, subsisted between king *Gundemar*, *Theodoric*, king of *Burgundy*, *Theodebert*, king of *Austrasia*, and *Clotaire*, king of *Soissons*; which last, in the reign of *Gundemar*, became the sole king of the *Franks* (4). Yet, in the opinion of the best modern historians, it incontestably appears from the letters of count *Bulgerano*, at that time governor of the territories possessed by the *Visigoths* in *Spain*, which papers are still preserved in the archives of the university of *Alcala*, and in the library belonging to the church of *Oviedo*, that *Gundemar* paid these princes an annual tribute, amounting to a considerable sum for those days; and, as is very natural in such cases, was had in great contempt by those to whom he paid this pecuniary acknowledgement (5). It seems that, to cultivate a friendship

with that nation, he sent an embassy into *France*, composed of persons of distinction, who were very ill treated; which he was so far from resenting, that he sent other ambassadors, who were still worse used, and sent back again without being admitted to an audience. Count *Bulgerano*, who it is probable was not let into the secret of his master's extraordinary complaisance, was so provoked at this, that he refused to suffer the *French* ambassadors sent to *Gundemar* to pass through the province; and even went so far as to declare war in his master's name, in order to obtain satisfaction for the indignity that had been offered to the crown, and recovered the two fortresses which *Reccared* had yielded to *Brunelaud*, that princess being dead, and none of her descendants remaining (6). The boldness of this proceeding had a good effect; and, as the count stopped there, the *French* did not think fit to make any attempts on that side; so that in this posture things remained till the death of *Gundemar*, and a better understanding between the two crowns was restored under the reign of his successor.

(4) P. Daniel, Histoire de France, tom. i. p. 377.
(6) Ferreras, Hist. de Espana, p. iii. sec. 6.

(5) Mariana, Hist. de Espana, lib. vi. c. 2.

a gave the king great satisfaction, as it did credit to his arms at the beginning of his reign, and afforded him rational hopes of success in the design he had formed of completing, what several of his predecessors had made some trials to effect, the entire reduction of what the imperialists possessed in *Spain*, where at this time they were masters of the whole coast, from the straits of *Gibraltar* to the frontiers of *Valentia*, and had also the little country of *Algarve*, with a line of numerous little fortresses along their frontiers. As he knew that this would be very acceptable to his subjects, and would deliver his successors from many inconveniences, he made the necessary preparations for assembling a potent army, and for providing all things necessary for their keeping the field longer than was usual in those days; which could not be done without affording the enemy an opportunity of guessing at least at his design, and consequently of providing for their own defence; though it does not appear, from their method of managing the war, that they fully penetrated the scheme of king *Sisebut*, or believed there was any danger of his executing it if they did; since, if they had, they would certainly have acted only on the defensive, and availed themselves of the strong places they had fortified with so much care.

A. D. 613.

614.

THE patrician *Cesarius* had at this time the direction of the affairs of the imperialists in *Spain*; and, as soon as he was informed that *Sisebut* was at the head of his army, he marched with his forces to give him battle, in which he was totally defeated with great loss^b. *Sisebut* prosecuted his victory like a great captain, and one who did not fight for the honour of victory, but for the consequences of it, and actually reduced several great towns on the frontiers, which none of his predecessors had ventured to attack. *Cesarius*, believing that the only method left to deliver his country from so formidable an enemy was to bring on another engagement, in which he might have better fortune, took all imaginable pains to recruit his army, attributing the success of their *Goths* in the last action to their superiority in number. Experience convinced him of that error; he fought again, and was again defeated, with much greater loss than before; for, exclusive of those who were killed on the field of battle, many thousands of his soldiers were taken prisoners^c. *Sisebut* availed himself fully of this victory like an able general, and a good prince; for he gave directions that the utmost care should be taken of the wounded, paid the ransom of all the prisoners to his own soldiers, and then released and sent them home^d (L). This behaviour put it out of the power of *Cesarius* to raise another army, and most of the fortresses surrendered as soon as he appeared before them. The patrician knew not what to do with a prince whose clemency was more fatal to him than his courage; and, perceiving that he had conquest in view, he very prudently determined to make the best terms he could^e. He sent, for this purpose, an ambassador to king *Sisebut*, under colour of doing honour to *Cecilius*, a bishop among the *Visigoths*, who, desirous of leading a quiet and retired life, had quitted his see, and taken shelter in a monastery among the imperialists, from whom *Sisebut* had demanded him at the beginning of the war^f. By this ambassador *Cesarius* sent a letter to the king, desiring to know what terms the imperialists might expect, in case, for avoiding the effusion of Christian blood, they should be disposed to submission. The king received the minister kindly, answered the letter graciously, acquainting *Cesarius* with his terms; who consented to them, provided he might have leave to send them to his master the emperor *Heraclius*, for his approbation^g.

Reduces them to desire a peace on any terms he would prescribe.

615.

WE are assured by *Mariana*, that king *Sisebut*, having made choice of *Theodoric*, a nobleman much in his confidence, to repair with *Ansemund*, whom *Cesarius* had appointed to carry the treaty to *Constantinople*^h, the emperor readily accepted it, adding only this condition, that the king of the *Visigoths* would rid his dominions of the *Jews*; for *Heraclius*, who was much given to judicial astrology, and other superstitions, was exceedingly troubled about a prophecy, that the empire should be speedily subverted by a wandering and circumcised nation, enemies to the Christian faith, which he applied to the *Jews*; and not contented with persecuting them in his territories, pursued them into *France*, *Spain*, and other countries, with impla-

Heraclius, the Greek emperor, ratifies the treaty, tho' very disadvantageous.

^b ISID. Hist. Goth. LUC. Tudenf.

^c ISID. Hist. Goth. VASÆI Chron.

^d ISID. Hist. Goth.

^e Epist. Patric. CÆSAR. ad regem Sisebutum, in biblioth. sanct. eccles. Tolet.

^f FERRERAS, Historia

Hispana, p. iii. sect. 7.

^g VASÆI Chron.

^h Historia Hispana, l. vi. c. 3.

(L) The very high character this monarch had obtained, both as a statesman and as a general, might well induce us to believe, that in this there was at least as much of policy, as of generosity and tenderness of heart. An antient writer, however, assures us of the contrary; and "that king *Sisebut*, when he saw the great slaughter his troops made of the enemy, cried out in a transport of passion, *Unhappy man that I am, to see so much blood spilt through my means!* whereupon, at the hazzard not only of the victory, but of his person, he pre-

vented any farther carnage, and rescued with his own hand many who were on the point of being killed" (7). He might, without doubt, have had the honour of driving the imperialists out of *Spain*; but, whether from a motive of justice or policy is uncertain, he chose to leave them still a small district, which they held rather by his courtesy than by their own power, or that of the emperor, whose affairs at that time were in a very low condition, and likely to fall still lower (8).

cable resentment¹. However this matter may be, there are two things equally certain; the first, that *Sisebut* did actually persecute the *Jews*, compelling numbers to be baptised, and obliging the rest to leave his territories² (M); the other, that the emperor *Heraclius* ratified this treaty, and gave up all the country he possessed in *Spain*, along the coast of the *Mediterranean*, reserving only *Algarve*, as it is now called. Upon the execution of this treaty, it is believed, that king *Sisebut* caused the city of *Evora* to be fortified, and several towers to be erected on his frontiers, for the protection of his subjects, in case the imperialists should ever grow sick of being confined within such narrow bounds³. Such was the issue of this war, which did honour to the courage, the clemency, and the capacity, of this victorious monarch, who in so short a time achieved a conquest so important.

That part of
Mauritania
called Tingi-
tana conquer-
ed by the
Goths.

His accomplishing one great design was, with this wise and able prince, only the first step to another; for the inhabitants of the opposite coast of *Africa* committing frequent piracies upon those who were now become his subjects, he brought the whole naval force of his kingdom round to that side; and, as the most effectual method of putting an end to these disorders, he embarked the best part of his army that had subdued the imperialists, and, making a descent in *Mauritania*, reduced *Tangier*, *Ceuta*, and all the adjacent district, into which he put strong garrisons, and so freed his people at once and for ever from the dangers they were exposed to on that side⁴. This was the last great action of his life, except that which some would persuade us brought upon him the judgment of a sudden death⁵, the reader will judge with what probability. The bishop of *Barcelona* permitted a play to be acted in his church, in which were introduced certain superstitious ceremonies of the pagan religion. *Eusebius*, metropolitan of *Tarragona*, to whom that bishop was a suffragan, gave an account of this proceeding to the king, who immediately wrote him a letter, which is still preserved, directing him to depose that prelate, and to consecrate another in his stead, which was accordingly done⁶. In this it is pretended that the king exceeded the bounds of his authority; but those who say so plainly beg the question, since the metropolitan's application to that monarch is such a proof of the supremacy of the kings of *Spain* in those times, as will never be overthrown by the surmise of the king's days being cut short on that account; which is so much the more impertinent, as the bishop was deposed before *Easter* one year, and the king did not die till the spring of the next, which was the year of our Lord six hundred twenty-one⁷.

Reccared II.
succeeds, and
enjoys the regal
dignity a few
months.

THE nobility among the *Goths*, believing it incumbent upon them to shew how true a sense they had of the merit of their late sovereign, set his son, though a minor, upon the throne; and he was accordingly declared king, by the name of *Reccared* the Second⁸. He was endowed with many good qualities; and resembled his father so much in the whole turn of his disposition, that the nation unanimously approved the setting the crown upon his head, and promised themselves the greatest felicity under his reign; but the rejoicings for his accession were hardly over, before a general sense of sorrow was awakened by his loss, which happened when he had held the sceptre some say three, and some say four, months⁹. We are not told where, or of what distemper, he died; but, it seems, he was no sooner dead, than the eyes of the *Visigoths* were turned upon prince *Suintila*; which is not at all wonderful, if he really was, what *Mariana* and other historians affirm him to be, the son of *Reccared* the catholic, by his queen *Bada*¹⁰; which, however, *Ferreras* very much doubts¹¹, because the antient historians, who could not be ignorant of the fact if it was so, are nevertheless silent upon this subject¹². However that matter might be, *Suintila* had personal merit enough to engage the attention of his countrymen, whose forces he had commanded in several expeditions, and had thereby established a reputation both of being an able and a successful general.

¹ PAUL ÆMIL. de Gest. Franc. in Dagob. i. p. 21.

CÆSAR, &c. RESEND. Antiquit. Lusitanicæ.

RODER. SANTII Epist. Palent.

² FERRERAS, Hist. Hispana, p. iii. sect. 7.

SANTII Episc. Palent.

p. iii. sect. 7.

³ ALFONS a Carthag. Reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis.

⁴ ISID. Pacens.

⁵ ISID. Hist. Goth.

⁶ ALFONS. a Carthag. reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis.

⁷ MARIANA, Historia Hispana, l. vi. c. 3.

⁸ ISID. Hist. Goth. RODERIC

⁹ Historia Hispana,

(M) We have stated this matter in the text as it is related by *Mariana* (9), always a most elegant, and, generally speaking, a careful and impartial historian; yet here he seems to be mistaken, and to have been governed by those probabilities which we have represented in their utmost strength in the upper part of the page. But a most judicious, learned, and noble *Spanish* critic, has very clearly and candidly shewn, that the imputa-

tion upon the emperor *Heraclius* is no better than a popular story, very ill founded: that king *Sisebut* was so far from being influenced either by the persuasion or the conduct of that emperor, as *Mariana* and other historians upon his credit have supposed, that in reality he published these edicts against the *Jews* very early in his reign, and before he had any correspondence with the court of *Constantinople* (1).

(9) *Historia Hispana*, lib. vi. c. 3.

(1) *Mondejar Era Espanola*, Disc. ii. Par. xv.

^a SUINTILA began his reign by taking certain measures which were universally acceptable to his own subjects; for he directed that the laws should be strictly put in execution, without respect of persons, and that proper care should be taken for the relief of the poor: that, on the one hand, such as were guilty of bad actions, from the malignancy of their hearts, might not escape with impunity; and that none might be tempted by necessity to trespass on the laws, on the other. By a steady attention to these points, the domestic tranquility of his people was secured, which however was quickly troubled from abroad by a formidable irruption of the *Gascons*, who spread terror and devastation where-ever they came ^w. The king had no sooner intelligence of this, than he dispatched orders to the governors of the adjacent provinces to assemble what forces they could, and to secure the passages behind these barbarous invaders, who, finding themselves for some time unopposed, continued to advance, and to live every where at discretion ^x. But it was not long before king *Suintila* appeared in person at the head of a numerous and well-disciplined army; upon which the *Gascons* began a precipitate retreat; but finding it impossible to repass the mountains, and perceiving themselves environed on all hands, they sent deputies to the royal camp, to implore the king's compassion, on any terms that he should be pleased to prescribe ^y. *Suintila* gave these deputies a favourable reception; and having obliged the *Gascons* to restore all they had taken, and to build a strong fortrefs to prevent their future incursions, he suffered them to return home safely, with a gratuity for their labour. The name of this place was *Oligito*, but modern writers are by no means agreed by what name it is distinguished at present ^z. Some think that it is the city of *Olite* ^a, once the capital of the kingdom of *Navarre*; others imagine it to be *Fontarabia* ^b, on the frontiers of *France* and *Spain*; and others will have it the city of *Valladolid* ^c. We mention their several opinions, because where the natives of a country, in cases of this nature, disagree, it would by no means become us to decide. Where-ever it was, the king's clemency and prudence sufficiently appeared, in making so just a use of his superiority to convert a present calamity into a means of preventing any thing of the like nature from falling out in times to come ^d. This expedition over, he returned to *Toledo* in triumph, his subjects being alike rejoiced at the signal advantages his courage and conduct had gained, and the just and moderate use he made of them.

Suintila is seated on the throne with universal applause.

A. D. 621.

622.

^d SUINTILA, desirous of atchieving all that was still necessary to make his sovereignty independent and illustrious, conceived a design of driving the imperialists out of that little corner which they still possessed about cape *St. Vincent* ^e. His army was more than sufficient for that purpose, and therefore he made but little doubt of carrying this country in one or two campaigns. If it be true, which *Mariana* suggests, that the emperor *Heraclius* was so imprudent as to divide the government of this little territory, and to appoint two patricians, contrary to the custom of his predecessors, which gave the king of the *Visigoths* an opportunity of raising jealousies between them, it is no wonder that he thought the conquest easy ^f; but it seems more probable that there was but one patrician who ventured to give the king battle when he entered this country, and had the misfortune to fall in the engagement; upon which another assumed the title and administration, till such time as the court of *Constantinople* thought proper to send a new governor, together with the necessary supplies ^g. But the affairs of *Heraclius* were at this time in such confusion, and he found himself so hard pressed at home, that he was content to name a governor, and leave him at liberty to act according to the situation of things at his arrival. *Suintila* pushed his conquest with such vivacity, that the new patrician saw little or no hopes of preserving that country to his master: he collected, however, what forces were still left, and, with a courage inspired by despair, disposed all things for an obstinate resistance ^h. The king, unwilling to expose an army, that had already done him so much service, to the loss that must have ensued from vanquishing men who had scarce any thing to lose but their lives, and who would therefore be sure to sell them dear, insinuated to the patrician, that tho' he looked upon his conquest as secure, yet he was unwilling to destroy so many brave men, who might be useful to their country, and to themselves elsewhere; and that therefore, if they would transport themselves out of *Spain*, he would gratify himself, his officers, and even his soldiers, in such a manner, that they should have no reason to complain ⁱ. This proposition, being known, discouraged the troops of the enemy to such a degree, that the patrician found his closing with the king's offers was not only the wisest, but the single measure which was left for him to take; so that the evacuation of the country was settled by a kind of convention, and *Suintila*, as he had promised, made the patrician and all his dependents an ample compensation for what they left behind, esteeming it a cheap purchase, since, upon their departure, he became sole monarch of all *Spain*, an honour which none of the kings of the *Visigoths* had hitherto reached ^k.

The Greeks or imperialists entirely driven out of Spain.

623.

624.

^w LUC. TUDENS. ^x ISID. HIST. GOTH. ^y LUC. TUDENS. ^z FERRERAS, HIST. HISPANA, P. iii. ^a LUC. TUDENS. ^b MARIANA. ^c MAYERNE TURQUET. ^d FERRERAS, HIST. HISPANA, P. iii. sec. 6. ^e ISID. HIST. GOTH. ^f FREDEG. IN CHRON. AIMON. ^g HISTORIA DE HISPANA, l. vi. c. 4. ^h ISID. HIST. GOTH. ⁱ FREDEG. IN CHRON. AIMON. ^j ISID. HIST. GOTH. ^k FREDEG. IN CHRON. AIMON.

Having procured the consent of the nobles to associate his son, Suintila becomes a tyrant.

A. D. 626.

THE reputation acquired by this conquest facilitated the only great point *Suintila* had now a in view, which was, procuring the consent of the nobility for associating his son *Ricimer* in the government, which included a tacit election upon his father's demise¹; a thing, however difficult in its nature, that he obtained with so much ease, as proved the means of rendering it altogether ineffectual (N); for such is the unhappy disposition of some minds, that, though equal unto every difficulty and danger, they are easily seduced by prosperity. As soon as this was done, as if, the reward of his virtues being attained, they were of no farther use, *Suintila* almost at once threw off the character of a gracious prince, to put on that of an oppressive tyrant^m. Seduced by the evil counsels of his queen, and his brother *Gelian*, he grew haughty, voluptuous, and avaricious, treated the nobility with contempt, exercised the most unjustifiable acts of cruelty on all who testified their dislike of his proceedings; and levied such prodigious taxes, as diffused universal poverty and discontent through all the provinces under his dominion. This in a short time disposed every thing for that revolution which afterwards happened; for a prince, who has once lost the hearts of his subjects, is in the power of every accident, and the murmurs of the commons naturally inspire the grandes with thoughts of turning them to their own advantage, more especially in elective monarchies, where the voice of the people conveys or confirms a titleⁿ.

An insurrection against him, in consequence of which he is deposed.

631.

THE provinces belonging to the *Visigoths* in *Gaul* were then governed by *Sisenand*, a person of great distinction, and one who, with considerable talents, had an ambition that surpassed all bounds. He was quickly informed of that amazing change which had happened in the behaviour and temper of the king his master, which put him upon forming intrigues that might conduct him safely to the throne^o. He had various correspondences in *Spain*; but the knowledge his friends had of the martial disposition and great military talents of *Suintila*, made them unwilling to hazard a revolt unless they could be secure of some support. In order to procure this, *Sisenand* applied himself to *Dagobert*, king of *France*, a prince who, amongst other foibles, was strangely delighted with a glaring and preposterous magnificence, to whom he promised a fountain of solid gold, and exquisitely wrought, of the weight of fifty pounds, which *Actius* the Roman general had presented to *Torismond*, king of the *Visigoths*, as a monument of gratitude for that service which he had rendered the Roman empire^p (O). *Dagobert* listened to his request; and, having ordered the troops he had in *Burgundy*, under the command of *Abondantius*, to join those that were already about *Thoulouse*, under *Venerand*, he directed them to assist *Sisenand* in his irruption into *Spain*^q. *Suintila* had early intelligence of this revolt; and, having put himself at the head of his army, he arrived within a few days march of *Saragossa*, about the time that *Sisenand* took possession of the place. The next morning when he was about to make the necessary dispositions for a general engagement, he was surprised to hear *Sisenand* proclaimed king of the *Visigoths* in his own camp, with the unanimous acclamations of his soldiers, and that nobody was more active therein than his brother *Geilan*^r. He was convinced that resistance was vain; and therefore, giving his crown for lost, he withdrew as privately as possible, in order to save his life. *Sisenand* arrived in a few hours in the camp, where he was joyfully received; and, having regaled *Abondantius* and *Venerand* with splendid and costly presents, they repassed the *Pyrenees* with their forces, at the same time that he prosecuted his march to *Toledo*, where he made his entry in a kind of triumph, and was publicly proclaimed king, to the general satisfaction of the whole nation^s.

Sisenand raised to the throne by the

SISENAND was scarce seated on the throne, before *Dagobert* sent *Amalgarus* and *Venerand*, as his ambassadors, to compliment him upon his accession, and to put him in mind of the gold

¹ ISIDOR. Hist. Goth. ISID. Pacens.

^m MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS. ^o FREDEG. in Chron.

RERAS, Historia de Hispana, P. iii. sec. 7.

^p AIMON.

^q FREDEG. in Chron. AIMON.

ⁿ PAULUS ÆMILIUS.

^r FREDEG. in Chron.

^s FER.

(N) With this great event, the learned and pious *Isidore*, metropolitan of *Seville*, concludes his history of the *Goths*, though he did not intirely finish and digest it in writing till the year after (2). It is very apparent, that he had a tender regard, as well as a profound respect, for king *Suintilla* and his family, to whom some think that he was nearly related: whether that be so or not, we have good reason to conclude, that it proceeded from this disposition in their favour, he declined recording what passed from the time of this event, since he not only survived more than ten years, but presided also in the fourth council of *Toledo*, and was obliged to take a share in many other public affairs during that space (3).

(O) This fountain, or bason of gold, for it is not very clear which it was, was the present of that celebrated Roman general *Actius*, to *Torismond*, king of the *Visigoths*, upon the signal and decisive victory gained by their assistance, and with the loss of that monarch's father, over the famous *Attila* and his *Huns*, in the neighbourhood of *Metz*, *Anno Domini* 451 (4); so that it had been above a hundred and seventy years preserved among the treasures of the *Goths*, and, exclusive of its intrinsic value, was looked upon as a master-piece in point of workmanship.

(2) Obras chronologicas de Marques de Mondejar, p. 176.
(4) Prosper. Idet. Jornandes.

(3) Cav. Hist. liter. tom. i. p. 547.

a fountain¹. The king received them with all possible marks of honour, and gave orders that the fountain should be delivered to them agreeable to his promise; but the *Goths*, who saw this with inexpressible regret, surprised them in their passage home, and recovered this monument of the courage and generosity of their ancestors². *Dagobert* was not slow in complaining and demanding satisfaction from *Sisenand*, who told them, it was not in his power to deliver them the fountain a second time: but if king *Dagobert* would be content with the value of it in money, he would discharge the obligation he was under with the greatest punctuality; and, this offer being accepted, the money was paid³. While this affair was upon the carpet, it created some murmuring, as is natural, amongst a free people, when they conceive the public welfare sacrificed to the particular interests of the prince; and this afforded *Geilan* a fresh opportunity of discovering the baseness of his disposition, by endeavouring to raise an insurrection against the prince whom he had helped to set upon the throne; but he was generally known, and as generally condemned, so that his insinuations only produced his own ruin; for, being stripped of all his employments, and his estates confiscated, he passed the remainder of his life in as low a condition as his infamous behaviour deserved, equally unassisted and unpitied⁴.

assistance of the Franks. A. D. 632.

In the third year of his reign, *Sisenand* summoned the fourth council of *Toledo*⁵, in which *Isidore*, the metropolitan of *Seville*, presided, and in which sixty-nine prelates were present, either by themselves or by their vicars. In this great assembly there were seventy-five canons made, the last of which was very remarkable, for by it the people were enjoined to keep the faith they had sworn to their monarch, and to defend his authority and person to the utmost, under pain of excommunication. It was also enacted, that, upon the demise of the king, the bishops and great men should be called together, in order to proceed to a new election. The bishops also gave the king a great deal of good advice, and more especially desired that his majesty would be pleased to revise all criminal sentences himself, and not put the parties to death till their offences were thoroughly proved, and the nature of them closely examined. In reference to *Suintila* and his children, they were declared incapable of any public office, and all their goods and estates confiscated, except what the king should, in his private capacity, be pleased to bestow upon them for their subsistence; and the traitor *Geilan* was put under the like incapacities; so that, notwithstanding the silence of ancient historians, the deposing this monarch appears to be fully proved from public records. Perhaps the writers of those times were unwilling to convey the history of their troubles, and the failings of one who had been formerly so good a prince, to posterity; neither is it at all impossible that personal gratitude for favours received might in some measure impose this silence, which however cannot furnish any argument against what is preserved in the registers of the council, where it is very likely some concurred in doing what they had no inclinations succeeding times should learn in any other manner than as it is expressed in the canon⁶ (P).

A council summoned at Toledo to confirm the deposition of Suintila. 633.

We may easily conceive, tho' nothing of that kind can appear in their proceedings, that there must have been some discordance in the sentiments of so numerous an assembly, considering more especially what important and tender affairs fell under their deliberations. But we should not have troubled the reader with any conjecture on this head, if it was not necessary to give

Other remarkable transactions in this reign.

¹ P. DANIEL, Histoire de France, tom. i. p. 490.

² FERRERAS.

IV. Canon. ult.

³ FREDEG. in Chronic.

⁴ Conc. tom. v. p. 1700. Card. D'AGUIRRE, tom. ii. p. 477.

⁵ P. DANIEL.

⁶ Concil. Tolet.

(P) In this fourth council of *Toledo*, there were several canons made in relation to the *Jews*, by which, on the one hand, it was provided, that they should not be compelled to embrace the Christian religion; and on the other, such as had embraced Christianity were not permitted to quit their religion, though they had embraced it by force (5). No person whatever was to give protection to the *Jews* in any thing, contrary to the interests of the Christian religion, on pain of excommunication. Such *Jews* as, after receiving baptism, apostatized, and circumcised others, were to be punished by the bishops; and those they circumcised, if they were children, to be taken from them; and to be set free, if they were slaves. All the children of *Jews*, boys or girls, were to be placed in monasteries, or under the care of pious persons, in order to their being brought up in the faith, and instructed in sound morals. The Christian children of apostate *Jews* were not to suffer by the confiscation of their parents effects, but to receive out of them such a share, as by the

laws, they would have had. Converted *Jews*, having intercourse or communication with those of their old religion, were to suffer death. *Jews* married to Christian women were to be exhorted to embrace Christianity, and, if not, they were to be separated from their wives; and, in like manner, *Jewish* women from their husbands; the children already born of such marriages, to be brought up Christians. A *Jew* that apostatized was incapable of giving evidence in any court. All *Jews* were rendered incapable of holding any office or post of any kind. Whoever permitted or assisted them to obtain either, was to be excommunicated; and the *Jew*, who found any means of eluding or breaking through this canon, was to be punished with death. There were seventy-five canons made in all, and it was by the last that *Suintila* and his children were excommunicated, and rendered incapable of any preferment, on account, as it is expressly said, of the tyrannies exercised by him during his reign (6).

(5) Concil. iv. Toletan. can. lvii.—lxvi.

MOD. HIST. VOL. VII.

(6) Concil. tom. v. p. 1700. Concil. Hispan. tom. ii. p. 477.

some rational account of two strange facts that are said to have happened under this short reign ^a. It is reported, that one *Gerontius*, a priest, presuming on the favour in which he stood with this king, behaved towards *Justus*, metropolitan of *Toledo*, with indecency, and even with insolence, which the good prelate bore for a long time with patience, till on a sudden the priest lost his senses, and continued in a state of idiocy till his death, which in those days was regarded as a judgment ^b. The other event, still more tragical, regards the same metropolitan of *Toledo*, who, if *Mariana* was rightly informed, for he has not acquainted us with his authority, was an austere morose man, and so generally disagreeable to his clergy, that they made bold to strangle him in his bed. Such transactions must be referred to the factious disturbances of the times, and the story of the first dispute ought to be regarded as a key to the second ^c. King *Sisenand* did not long survive, and, for aught that appears, died a natural death, in the month of *March*, and in the year of our Lord six hundred thirty-six, when he had reigned somewhat more than five years ^d.

Chintila becomes monarch of all Spain, and calls a council at Toledo. 636.

UPON his demise, there happened some disputes which retarded the election of his successor; however, in the ensuing months, *Chintila* was raised to the throne, who began his reign by calling a council at *Toledo*, for regulating affairs in church and state. He was present himself at the opening of this assembly, and recommended to them the taking proper measures for quieting the minds of the people, desiring also that set times of fasting and humiliation should be appointed, in order to obtain the blessing of God on his person and government ^e. This council did not sit long, and made but eight canons, all of which, except the first, respected the civil government. They declared, that whoever was wanting in loyalty and duty to the king, should be excommunicated: that whoever, without requisite talents for government, or being descended of the illustrious blood of the *Goths*, should aspire to the crown, should incur the same penalty: that all such persons as, during the life of the king, should inquire after the time of his decease, or should pray for it, in hopes of succeeding him, should be likewise excommunicated: that those should incur the same penalty who cursed the king, or practised witchcraft against him: that those on whom the king bestowed recompences of any kind, for their good and faithful services, should enjoy them peaceably, as an encouragement to others to behave in the like manner: that, in all ensuing councils, the canons made in the preceding council of *Toledo*, for supporting the respect due to the royal authority, should be read, that none might pretend ignorance of them; and lastly, that the king might mitigate or remit whatever sentences were passed upon criminals, if he thought proper. These laws will serve to give us a just idea of the government of the *Visigoths*, which was far from being arbitrary. On the first of *July*, in the first year of his reign, the king published an edict, directing the public days of humiliation to be strictly observed, and for enforcing the other decrees made by the council ^f.

The whole nation of the Jews expelled his dominions by an edict.

THE most remarkable transaction in this prince's reign was the expulsion of the *Jews* out of his dominions, in virtue of an edict, by which he declared, that his subjects and soldiers should be all of them Christians; but whether the *Jews* gave any particular cause for this severity, or whether it arose only from the general odium they lay under, and the desire the king had to render himself popular by treating them in this manner, is uncertain ^g. In the sixth council of *Toledo*, which met not long after they were driven out ^h, he received the complaints of that assembly upon this subject, and laws were made to support what he had done. In this, as in the former council, many points, relating purely to civil government, were settled in such a manner, that there remains no doubt of great animosities and heart-burnings that still subsisted amongst the people, and which induced an apprehension that every future vacancy of the throne would be considered as a kind of dissolution of the government, against which they provided all the remedies that human prudence could dictate (Q). At the close of the assembly, they returned

^a MARIANA, Historia de Hispana. lib. v. c. 5. MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS, Historia de Hispana, P. iii. sect. 7. ^b ILDEFONS de Scrip. in Præfat. ^c Historia Hispana, l. vi. cap. 5. VASÆI Chron. ^d ISID. Pacens. JULIAN. Chron. ^e Conc. tom. v. p. 1735. Conc. Hisp. tom. ii. p. 507. ^f VASÆI Chron. ^g P. MABILLON Analect. ^h Conc. tom. v. p. 1740. Conc. Hisp. tom. ii. p. 512.

(Q) By the third canon of this sixth council of *Toledo*, the prelates and other members of that venerable assembly, not only approved, and rendered thanks to the king for what he had done against the *Jews*, but likewise enacted with his consent, and that of the nobles (a clear proof that these assemblies were really parliaments), that no monarch thereafter elected should enter upon the functions of the regal office, before he promised, under pain of excommunication, to adhere in-

violably to the laws made against that nation (7). They provided, in this assembly, that persons accused of capital crimes should not be condemned till they were heard face to face with their accusers; and, for want of legal evidence, the party accused to be acquitted, except the matter charged upon him touched the king's life. Such as deserted to the enemies of the kingdom, and endeavoured to stir up war against their country, were to be excommunicated. Such as broke

(7) Conc. tom. v. p. 1740. Conc. Hisp. tom. ii. p. 512.

a turned the king thanks for his mild and just administration, recommended him to the divine protection, and made vows for his long life and prosperity¹. He continued to govern with the same spirit of moderation and equity during the short remainder of his life, and deceased in the beginning of the year six hundred and forty, universally regretted by his subjects, who enjoyed uninterrupted peace at home and abroad during the time that he sat upon the throne^k.

THE great reverence that was borne to the memory of the deceased king, engaged the nobility, in compliance with the unanimous voice of the people, to raise his son *Tulga* to the throne. Though he was very young, he inherited from his father his piety and his charity, with many other virtues^l; but the tenderness of his age, and want of experience, enervated his authority, inasmuch that many, despising his youth, or presuming too much upon his indulgence and good-nature, took such liberties as were inconsistent with the respect due to government; and as bad examples are naturally contagious, so in a little time the whole kingdom was full of disorders, notwithstanding the young monarch was remarkably free from vices, and had no other failing than that want of firmness and steadiness which was incident to a good-natured youth^m. The principal nobility, considering this, and being persuaded that these dangerous mischiefs would continue to increase while *Tulga* remained upon the throne, and might prove the ruin of the nation before he acquired the talents necessary to correct them, concluded, that, for the preservation of the state, he ought to be deposed. Having digested this scheme in their minds, they cast their eyes upon *Chindasuinto*, a person of great quality, much advanced in years, but who possessed, as they conceived, in a very high degree, the virtues requisite to form a great prince, as well as to put an end to those disorders that otherwise threatened an extinction of their monarchyⁿ. These are the specious reasons assigned by some historians in support of a proceeding that otherwise is far from having a fair aspect, and upon their credit they must rest. *Chindasuinto*, old as he was, made no difficulty of accepting the proposal; and, with the assistance of his party, executed it with very little trouble, causing the young king to be conducted to a monastery, and to have his head shaved, which, as the reader has seen by their laws, prevented its being ever covered again with a crown^o.

CHINDASUINTO was declared king in the month of May six hundred forty-two^p; but *Chindasuinto* was very far from enjoying peaceably that dignity which he had rather seized by force than attained in a legal manner. A civil war ensued, and revolts happened in almost all parts of the kingdom^q. But *Chindasuinto* fully justified the sentiments of those who placed him on the throne; he very quickly raised an army, and pursued those who disputed his authority with such vigour, that, before the government was tolerably settled, 200 persons of quality, and 500 of meaner rank, lost their lives; at length, however, he carried his point, and obliged all the inhabitants of Spain to own and respect him as their sovereign^r. About this time there ar-

645.

¹ Concil. Tolet. vi. Can. iii.^k ISID. Pacens.^l MARIANA, Historia Hispana, l. v. cap. 8.

MAYERNE TURQUET. FERRERAS Historia de Hispana, P. iii. sec. 7.

^m FREDEG. in Chron.ⁿ LUC.Tudens. ^o FREDEG. in Chron.^p JULIAN. Chron.^q MARIANA, Historia Hispana,

lib. vi. cap. 8. MAYERNE TURQUET. FERRERAS, Historia de Hispana, P. iii. sect. 7.

^r FREDEG.

their allegiance, and afterwards fell into the king's power, were to be shut up in a monastery for life, if they made it their choice, in some measure equivalent to their claiming the benefit of the clergy with us. The highest respect and veneration was to be paid to the nobility having places at court, and about the king's person, so long as they behaved with justice, moderation, and beneficence, to their inferiors. Whatever rewards in lands, or otherwise, the king should bestow on his faithful subjects, they were to enjoy; and such as entered into conspiracies were to forfeit all they had, even though their treasons should not be discovered till after the death of their king. In consideration of the benefits conferred by king *Chintila* upon his subjects, the greatest respect should be preserved towards his children, and care taken to defend them in their persons and in their properties, there being nothing, says this canon, more equitable, than that the same regard should be shewn by the nation to the posterity of kings, that those kings, while upon the throne, manifested for the nation. If any, possessed either of an ecclesiastical or secular dignity, should enter into any intrigues during the life-time of the king, in order to secure the election of some other person upon his demise, he was excommunicated. When the throne was vacant, none should

tyrannically usurp it, but wait the decision of a free election; and none should be capable of being elected who had taken a religious habit, and suffered his head to be shaved, or who had been shaved by force, or who should descend from slaves or strangers; but the person so elected should be one descended from the illustrious blood of the *Goths*, and endowed with prudence, and the necessary talents of government. Whoever should infringe this decree, incurred thereby the penalty of excommunication. All that was therefore done for the security of the life and august person of the kings of the *Visigoths*, was hereby confirmed; and the censure of excommunication pronounced, in the presence of God, his angels and saints, of the church, and of all the faithful, against all who should attempt the king's life, endeavour to dethrone, or assemble troops to make war against him. If any prince be slain, his successor should avenge his death, as he would do that of his father, in which he should have the assistance of all the nobility, and of persons of every rank, who would not be held and reputed infamous by the whole nation. These canons fixed the constitutions, and were regarded as the magna charta of the *Visigoths* in Spain, so long as their monarchy in that country subsisted (8).

(8) *Isidor. Pacens. Fredeg. in Chron. Luc. Tudens. Roderic Tolet. Vasæi Chron.*

rived in *Spain* a young adventurer from the east, whose name was *Ardabasta*, who was graciously received, and kindly entertained, by the king of the *Visigoths*, rising at length so high in his favour, that he gave him in marriage his cousin german ^a. We are not told by the old historians, who mention this circumstance, who this young gentleman was, whose posterity afterwards ascended the throne; but some of the ablest judges of the *Spanish* history have rendered it highly probable, that he was the son of *Alhangilde*, the grandson of *Hermenigilde*, and the great grandson of *Leovigilde* ^c. Whoever he was, he became equally the favourite of the king and of the people, and contributed not a little to dispose the public to a more favourable construction of *Chindasuintbo*'s conduct, who, setting aside the manner in which he acquired the diadem, was very little inferior in virtue or in abilities to any who had worn it before him ^a.

A council at Toledo which settles the constitution in church and state.

In the sixth year of his reign he held a council at *Toledo* ^w, in which several canons were made, the first of which was in support of the king's authority, and for punishing, by excommunication for life, and forfeiture of goods, such as should procure arms or assistance from abroad, in support of their rebellion; and, if they were priests, they were to be degraded. The king's administration from this time was very peaceable, and no less honourable; for, after the severities to which he was obliged by the civil war, he did not discover any thing harsh in his disposition, but, on the contrary, shewed as much mildness as it was possible for him to do without relaxing too much; so that by degrees he became respected and beloved by all ranks of people: as a proof of which, in the seventh year of his reign, the nobility unanimously consented that his son *Recesuintbo* should share with him, in order to lessen the weight of the regal authority ^x. This expedient had not hitherto been very fortunate to the monarchs who had brought it to bear; but the old king, considering that his son was of a fit age to ascend the throne, and that it would be difficult for him to be safe as a private man, upon mature deliberation, demanded and obtained this act of complaisance from the nobles; in consequence of which *Recesuintbo* was placed with his father on the throne ^y, *January* the 22d, 649; and from that time took upon him, in a great measure, the administration of the government ^z.

The king, with their consent, associates his son in the administration.

THE old king, worn out with age and infirmities, was desirous of passing his last days in peace, and with a reasonable degree of leisure. He was a great statesman, understood the constitution of the *Visigoths* perfectly, and took pains to restore and preserve its vigour ^a. He was, the times in which he lived considered, a man of letters, and so great a lover of learning and learned men, that he sent one *Tajus*, or *Tajon*, bishop of *Saragossa*, to *Rome*, on purpose to bring from thence certain works of pope *Gregory* the great, which as yet had not been sent into *Spain* ^b. He was no less remarkable for his piety, according to the notion of those times; and is reported to have built the magnificent monastery of *St. Romanus*, now called the monastery of *Ornisga*, between *Toro* and *Tordeillas*, not far from the river *Duero*, where he desired that his own and his queen's corpse might be laid, as it is believed they were ^c. He died with great marks of sincere repentance, and after having caused very large sums to be distributed to the poor ^d, *October* the first, in the year of our Lord 652, when he was upwards of 90 years of age, and in the 11th year of his reign (R).

645.

Recesuintbo finds a spirit of discontent at his very accession.

WE have thrown together all that regarded *Chindasuintbo*, that we might not perplex the relation of what was atchieved by *Recesuintbo*, as well in the life-time of his father as afterwards. It is believed, upon good foundation, that, a little before his association in the throne, he married his consort *Ricibergue* (S), and was much assisted in compassing that point, by her

^a ALFONS. in Chron. p. 1836. Card. D'AGUIRRE, Conc. Hisp. tom. vi. p. 622. p. iii. scct. vii. ubi sup.

^c PELLICER, SALAS.

^u VASÆI Chron.

^w Conc. tom. v.

^x ISID. Pacenf.

^y FERR. Hist Hispan.

^z ISID. Pacenf.

^a ROD. Toletan. lib. ii.

^b ISID. Pacenf.

^c FER.

^d JUL. Tolet. FREDEG. in Chron.

(R) Among all the monarchs of the *Visigoths*, *Chindasuintbo* appeared to be most thoroughly versed in the science of government, and to have governed by true maxims of policy, instead of following the dictates of his passions. He gave a strong instance of this in the case of *Theodiseles*, who had been advanced to the metropolitan see of *Seville*, and who, not satisfied with spreading dangerous and heretical opinions, endeavoured to give a sanction to the errors he taught, by pretending that he found them in the writings of *St. Isidore*, his predecessor; of which the king being informed, he caused him immediately to be deprived, and even obliged him to quit his dominions; upon which he went over into *Africa*, where, after he had disturbed the minds of many people with his notions, he embraced, or pretended to embrace, the *Mohammedan* superstition; which fully justifi-

fied the king's conduct towards him, and shewed that he was not worse treated than he deserved (9).

(S) Some of the most celebrated *Spanish* historians have positively asserted, that queen *Ricibergue* was the consort of king *Chindasuintbo*; and this is grounded upon her epitaph, written by *Eugenius* metropolitan of *Toledo*, a man of learning and piety, and so disinterested, that he fled from his residence, and took sanctuary, in order to avoid the mitre, which nevertheless, at the king's command, he was constrained to accept (1). His works in verse and prose were published by Father *Sirmond*, and this epitaph among the rest; the substance of which, however, shews sufficiently the mistake; for therein it is said, that she died at somewhat more than 22 years of age, after having been married seven. It is not easy to conceive, that so wise a mon-

(9) Luc. Tudenf.

(1) Ildefons. de Script. Eccles.

a her relations^e. But notwithstanding all this, there were not a few malecontents who were exceedingly displeased with this measure, and inclined to pull *Recesuintbo* down before he was well seated on the throne. The want of free election was given out, with many other pretences, by such as were desirous of dethroning him; but the truth of the matter was, that the principal persons of the faction, who honoured his father with the crown, took it extremely ill that they were disappointed in their views, and all their hopes cut short, by this association; whereas, with them, the chief motive to the king's exaltation was his great age, which gave them a probability of surviving and succeeding him in turns^f. It does not however appear, that they declared openly at the time of the election, but waited for a more proper conjuncture, when the disposition of the common people in the more distant provinces should be known; for, having been treated with severity in the beginning of the old king's reign, it was presumed that they would not be universally pleased with this measure^g. Time made it appear that they were in their conjectures not at all mistaken.

AMONGST these malcontents there was one *Froja*, a man of great quality among the *Goths*, who was himself rich and powerful, and had many relations and friends^h. He was the first who took up arms, and, for the better support of his party, he employed his money among the *Gascons* to raise an army. These people, who had been frightened into submission by *Suintila*, were very glad of this opportunity to find their way once more into *Spain*ⁱ. As soon as they had passed the *Pyrenees* under his command, they began to shew their old disposition, desolating the country with fire and sword, ruining edifices of all kinds, churches and monasteries not excepted, and destroying without mercy persons of all ranks, sexes, and ages. In the midst of their career, *Recesuintbo* fell upon them with a small but well-disciplined army; and tho' the victory was not gained without a considerable loss, yet the king pursued it with such vigour, that the rebels were intirely defeated^k. *Froja* fled with a small party, and the *Gascons* suffered so much, that they repassed the *Pyrenees*, and thought themselves happy in recovering their own country. But, notwithstanding this blow, many cities and provinces discovered visible signs of discontent, and made preparations for their own defence, in case the new king should endeavour to reduce them with his victorious army^l. But those who were not frightened with the terror of his arms, he reduced by his clemency; for having declared that he was willing, and even desirous, to redress grievances, and to grant whatever could be justly expected, they consented, upon his publishing a general amnesty, to submit, and to acknowledge him for their sovereign (T). But what became of *Froja* does not appear from the *Spanish* history^m.

THINGS were in this situation when the old king died; and *Recesuintbo*, than whom no prince was more punctual in the performance of his promises, summoned a council at *Toledo*, in order to settle the affairs of the kingdom, which was opened on the 17th of December 653, at which assisted a multitude of prelates, and all the chief persons of the kingdom. The king opened this assembly of the states by a short speech, conceived only in general terms, and referring himself for farther particulars to a memorial which he left with them in writingⁿ.

^e FER. ubi sup.

^g ISID. Pacenf.

ubi sup.

p. 538.

^f MAR. Hist. Hispan. l. vi. cap. viii. MAYERNE TURQUET, FER. ubi sup.

^h Epist. TAJON ad Quiricum, apud Mabillon.

ⁱ ISID. Pac.

^k FER.

^m FER. ubi sup.

ⁿ Concil. tom. vi. p. 394. Concil. Hispan. tom. ii.

arch as *Chindasuintbo* would marry at fourscore and three a young lady of sixteen; but it is not at all improbable of the son. On consulting, however, the manuscript of this prelate's works, in the library of the church at *Toledo*, the name of *Recesuintbo* is found instead of *Chindasuintbo*, which appeared in all the printed copies (2). This princess, who, as far as we can judge, was the only wife of king *Recesuintbo*, died soon after the holding of the first council of *Toledo* in his reign, without leaving any issue; so that the brothers of the king flattered themselves thenceforward with hopes of succession, as well as the inheritance of his private fortune (3).

(T) The cities and districts in *Spain* that gave shelter to the rebels, without taking up arms themselves, made no scruple of declaring what they called their grievances. Some asserted, that they were so heavily taxed, that, with all their labour and industry, they could scarce procure a subsistence. Some alleged, that the privileges and immunities granted them by former kings, as a reward for their services, had been taken

away upon frivolous pretences; others, that they had been fined and punished by an augmentation of taxes, without any just cause. King *Recesuintbo* assured them, that all imposts should be lessened; that their antient rights should be restored; that satisfaction should be made to all who had been injured, or had so much as received hard measure: and that, for the future, arbitrators should be appointed to mediate between the king and the subject upon any prosecution by the crown (4). This gave such satisfaction, that, the cities and districts submitting immediately, the rebels, that had taken shelter amongst them, were left wholly to the king's mercy, which, at the same time it was out of his power to extend without the consent of the states, the precision with which the king performed every tittle of this agreement, and his procuring the pardon of the rebels by his intercession, gained him the hearts of his subjects, who acknowledged themselves obliged to him, and him only, for all the benefits that they had received (5).

(2) Ferr. Hist. de Hispan. p. iii. sect. vii. Pacenf.

(3) Luc. Tudens. Rod. Tolet. Vasæi Chronicon.

(4) Isid.

(5) Cencil. Tolet. viii. Julian. Chron. Fredcg. in Chron. Luc. Tudens. Vasæi Chron.

This paper contained, first, a confession of the catholic faith; next, the opinion of the assembly was demanded in respect to those who had taken up arms against the crown and the state, on account of the oath which the whole nation had entered into for excluding such offenders from all hopes of pardon; which, however, the king, in the present case, was willing to relax. In the third place, he desired, that where the subjects complained, with respect and decency of the sovereign, that arbitrators might be appointed by law to decide equally between them. He recommended it to the nobility to concur in judgment with the prelates, and to execute punctually the canons that should be made. Lastly, he desired to know their sentiments with respect to the *Jews*, who, after baptism, had apostatized. This august assembly not only settled these, but several other points of very high importance, to the intire satisfaction of the king and his subjects; and their canons, which were twelve in number, were signed not only by the bishops and abbots, but by the great men who were present ^o (U). The day after the council separated, the king published an edict, grounded upon their advice, by which he declared, that whatever estates or effects were acquired by monarchs after their accession to the throne, should be annexed to the crown, and belong to their successors; but that, with respect to their private fortunes, they should descend to their children ^p. In this edict he farther declared, that whereas he was in possession of his father *Chindasuintbo's* estates, he was ready to make satisfaction in the most ample manner to any who could make due proof of their having been oppressed or injured by that prince ^q.

His reign most
honourable for
himself, and
happy for his
subjects.

The reign of *Recesuintbo*, from this time, was perfectly calm and undisturbed ^r. His subjects, in general, began to understand and be perfectly sensible of their happiness in living under a prince who made that much more his study than his own ^s. The clergy, and with good reason, were wholly devoted to his service, and, in points of the highest consequence, had recourse to his authority, without applying themselves to the bishop of *Rome* ^t (W). The *Jews*, who were indeed the only people the king was disposed to treat with severity, pacified him by a memorial, in which they qualified what was called the apostacy, by declaring, in the most solemn manner, that it consisted not in any unbelief, but in a natural aversion to pork; desiring that the king would be pleased to excuse them in that respect, since it proceeded not from any repugnancy of their will, but from the imbecillity of their stomachs, which would not bear a food they from their infancy had been taught to abhor; submitting to be burnt, if, in any other respect, they behaved otherwise than as became good Christians; ^d

^o Conc. viii. Tolet. can. ult.
Tolet. l. ii.

^p FERR.

^q VASÆI Chron.

^r Luc. Tud.

^s Rod.

^t FER. ubi sup.

(U) *Mariana*, by a slight mistake, places this council in *November* instead of *December*; which we remark, to prevent this difference creating a suspicion of our negligence (6). *Orontius*, metropolitan of *Merida*, presided in this assembly, in which were present fifty-two prelates, and the flower of the *Gothic* nobility, more especially such as had great employments at court (7). By the second canon of this council it is declared, that the oath which does not regard the service of God, but respects only temporal interests, is not perpetually binding; and that, notwithstanding the past laws against such as took up arms, yet, for the safety and welfare of the state, the penalties inflicted by them may be, and are by this canon, remitted. By the tenth canon it is declared, that, for the future, the king shall be elected in the place where his predecessor dies, by the bishops and great lords of the court. The king shall protect the catholic faith, and shall be assiduous in preventing all dangers that might arise from the wickedness of the *Jews*, but shall keep within the bounds of moderation, taking at the same time all due care of the government. The new king shall succeed to whatever his predecessor held in right of his dignity; but he shall not be solemnly crowned till he has sworn to comply with this decree. By the 11th, they declare, that whoever offends against the decision of any council, shall stand excommunicated *ipso facto*; and by the 12th it is decreed, that, with respect to the *Jews*, the canons made in the council of *Toledo*, held by king *Sisenand*, shall be strictly put in force. After this follows the usual conclusion, in which the prelates return thanks to God and the king. We have mentioned the nature of the subscription in the text; and, on the whole,

there can be nothing clearer than that this was an assembly of the great men, a general council or meeting of the estates of the kingdom, which was the peculiar characteristic of the *Gothic* policy, of which the reader can never too often be put in mind, as it is the basis of legal liberty and constitutional freedom (8).

(W) The instance hinted in the text was this. In a short time after, at a council held at *Toledo*, the president *Orontius*, metropolitan of *Merida*, presented his petition to the king, setting forth, that the jurisdiction of his see was very much diminished, and a great number of his suffragans taken from him; desiring that the king would be pleased to examine the matter, and restore the metropolitan see of *Merida* to its antient state. The true reason of this complaint was, that as fast as the kings of the *Suevi* made conquests in *Lusitania*, they subjected the diocese, of which they became masters, to the metropolitan of *Braga*, the chief city of their own dominions; and this regulation, though the reason ceased, had still subsisted under the kings of the *Goths*; but *Recesuintbo*, who was both a pious and an equitable prince, directed that this matter should be carefully look'd into, and the jurisdiction of the metropolitan see of *Merida* re-invested in its former rights; which was accordingly done, and the king's conduct afterwards approved and confirmed by a council (9). This wise and good prelate *Orontius* was, it seems, intirely ignorant of the prerogatives claimed by the *Roman* pontiffs, and thought it sufficient to apply himself to his sovereign, who also without the least scruple, and without the least dispute, did him all the justice that he could desire (10).

(6) *Hist. de España*, lib. v. cap. x, xi.

(8) *Mariana*, *Mayerne Turquet*, *Ferreras*.

(10) *Mar. Hist. Hispana*, *Mayerne Turquet*, *Ferr.*

(7) *Conc. tom. vi. p. 394. Conc. Hist. tom. ii. p. 538.*

(9) *Cuncil. Emeritense*, can. viii. *Ferr. Hist. Hist. p. iii. sec. vii.*

a with which this well-disposed monarch seems to have been contented^u. Some corruptions having crept into the morals of the people, and into the discipline of the ecclesiastics, he corrected these by the advice of two councils held at *Toledo*; for which he was highly applauded by the nobility and prelates, who found the good effects of these frequent assemblies, which brought the kingdom in general into very good order, and took away many abuses that would have been otherwise fortified by prescription^w. 655, 656.

THAT happy spirit of loyalty and general tranquility that reigned throughout the kingdom, induced the brethren and family of the king, who was now become a widower, to insinuate that this was a proper time to do something for them; but the king, it seems, was of a different opinion, either from a persuasion that his relations wanted the proper talents for government, or that he was unwilling to disoblige the whole body of the nobility, by depriving them of that privilege which they had most at heart^x. He had, however, in the midst of this repose at home, a melancholy, and even an alarming prospect abroad; for the *Saracens* began to extend their conquests in *Africa*; and count *Gregory*, who was governor of the province of *Carthage*, having endeavoured to give a check to this progress with the best army it was in his power to raise, was not only defeated, with the loss of a great part of his forces, but likewise fell himself in battle^y. Some carry this farther, and assert, that the infidels pushed their incursions as far as *Mauritania*, then in the hands of the *Goths*, which obliged king *Recesuinto* to arm in its defence; but the best writers are silent upon this subject, and therefore the fact ought to be concluded doubtful, if not false^z. However, the king could not be without apprehensions from the vicinity of such neighbours, which, with the weight of his other affairs, brought him into a bad state of health; in hopes of recovering from which, he made a journey to a place called *Gerticos*, in the territory of *Salamanca*, at the distance of forty leagues from *Toledo*^a, which was his private patrimony, and perhaps physicians, he died, *September* the first, 672, in the 24th year of his reign, to the great and just sorrow of his subjects^b. *Ends peaceably, and without any diminution of its glory.*

As soon as king *Recesuinto* had breathed his last, the bishops and great lords of the court assembled; and being sensible how much the nation might suffer through the want of talents, if that should happen in the successor of so great and good a prince, unanimously cast their eyes upon *Wamba*, a nobleman whose years, whose virtues, and whose great experience in the most arduous public employments, left them nothing in that respect to fear^c. A new difficulty arose, however, which they had not foreseen; for he not only laboured to decline the honour, but, when he found that this was in vain, declared positively, that he knew himself best, and therefore would not accept the crown^d. This threw the assembly into much perplexity, till one of the lords laid his hand upon his sword, and, addressing himself to *Wamba*, told him, that in their choice of him, they were guided by no private motives, but aimed solely at the public good; that his behaviour was of a very different nature, since it shewed that he preferred his own quiet, and the pleasures of an independent life, to the welfare of his country; that he, who would not contribute, as far as in him lay, to the preservation of the state, was as guilty as he who contrived its ruin; and therefore, if he continued to prefer an indolent security to the cares of a crown, which the public interest, and the legal call of those present, required him to wear, he would sacrifice him upon the spot. The menaces of this nobleman, and the tears of all who were present, overcame the constancy of *Wamba*, who consented to be declared king, but desired they would remember he never sought it; that it was a dignity forced upon him, in which his ambition had no share. He farther desired that his coronation might be respited, till it should appear that their choice was the sense of the whole nation^e. On his return to *Toledo*, he was solemnly anointed and crowned on the 19th of *September*, 672, in the church of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, with the universal acclamations of the nobility and people, and, as many historians assert, with a very miraculous instance of the divine favour^f. *Wamba succeeds by election to the throne of the Visigoths.*

THE *Gascons*, according to the usual custom, made an irruption, under pretence that they were too heavily taxed; and their neighbours, the inhabitants of the country of *Asturias*, made an insurrection under the like pretence. The king was no sooner informed of this than he disposed every thing for the immediate reduction of the rebels; but his army was scarce in motion before he had intelligence of a more formidable revolt^g. *Hilderic*, count of *Nîmes*, apprehended he had a fair opportunity of rendering himself independent, and master of all the territories the *Goths* possessed in *France*^h. He was confirmed in these notions *Insurrection of the Gascons and Gallic province.*

^u FURRO JUZGO, l. xii. tit. 2. l. 16.

tom. vi. p. 459. Card. d'AGUIRRE, Conc. Hisp. tom. ii. p. 574.

viii. MAYERNE TURQ. FERR. ubi sup.

Tudens. ^b ROD. Toletan. VASÆI Chron.

TURQ. FER. ubi sup.

Hist. de Wambæ Expedit.

^d JULIAN. Hist. de Wambæ Expedit.

^e VASÆI Chron.

^w Conc. tom. vi. p. 451.

^y ISID. Pacens.

^z ROD. Toletan.

^a MARIAN. Hist.

^b JUL. ubi sup.

Conc. Hisp. tom. ii. p. 573. Conc.

^x MAR. Hist. Hispana, l. vi. cap.

^z ROD. Toletan.

^a LUC.

^c LUC. Tudens.

^f JULIAN,

by two of the most popular ecclesiastics, *Guimilde* bishop of *Maquelone*, and the abbot *Ranimir*, by whose assistance he soon drew over the populace, and found afterwards no great difficulty in corrupting the troops ^l. But, in this defection, *Areges*, bishop of *Nîmes*, remained inflexible, and gave the conspirators so much trouble, that they sent him into *France*, loaded with chains; and, that they might not be without a bishop, *Ranimir* was put in possession of that see ^k. The king being informed that the whole province was departed from its duty, made choice of count *Paul*, an old and experienced officer, and sent him at the head of the best part of his troops against these new rebels. When this general was advanced into the province of *Tarragona*, he consulted with duke *Ranofinde* and the warden *Hildigise*, who were intrusted with the government there, whether it would not be better for him to set up for himself, and to assume the title of king, as soon as he was master of *Narbonne*; in which wicked design, upon the promise of great advantages and preferment for themselves, they confirmed him by many arguments, and raised, to augment his army, the whole force of the province, under colour of the king's orders ^l (X).

General Paul revolts, and endeavours to make himself king.

ON his approach to *Narbonne*, though he kept his design as secret as possible, *Argebaud*, bishop of that city, had some suspicion of his intentions, and gave orders for shutting the gates against him; but these orders were not obeyed; and count *Paul*, after he was admitted into the place, reprimanded him for giving them very severely ^m. The bishop submitted, because it was not in his power to do otherwise; but gave the king privately the best account that he could of all that had happened. Count *Paul* acted with great subtlety and address; he represented *Wamba* as old, peevish, cruel, and altogether unworthy the title he assumed. He pretended to be extremely affected at the miseries that were fallen upon his country, and, in a great assembly of the officers and principal inhabitants, he gave it as his opinion, that nothing could contribute so much to restore the public tranquillity as their making choice of some proper person to be king; with which he had reason to believe that count *Hilderic* would be very well pleased ⁿ. *Ranofinde* and *Hildigise*, by whose advice he took this step, insinuated, in the mean time, to those who were near them, that *Paul* himself, on account of his birth, his wealth, and his great military experience, was the only person worthy of the crown; upon which they saluted him king, and soon after placed on his head a crown, which king *Reccared* the Catholic had dedicated in one of the churches ^o. In this strange election *Hilderic* thought fit to acquiesce; and the *Franks*, as their interest directed them, not only suffered *Paul* to raise what men he pleased amongst them, but promised likewise to be his faithful allies, and to furnish him with auxiliaries whenever he thought it necessary ^p. The inhabitants of the country of *Catalonia* likewise embraced his party; upon which he gave orders for fortifying several places that were important from their situation, and to occupy the chief passes of the mountains, while he laboured to assemble a regular army, capable of supporting him in his usurpation ^q (Y).

KING

^l Luc. Tudenf. Hist. de Wambæ Exposit.
^q Rod. Toletan.

^k JULIAN. Hist. de Wambæ Exposit.
ⁿ Rod. Toletan. l. iii.

^o Luc. Tudenf. Jul. ubi sup.

^m JULIAN.
^p Luc. Tudenf.

(X) The reader will easily discern that there is no part of this history so clearly, so circumstantially, and with so much certainty, related, as this upon which we are now entering. The reason is, that a complete narrative of this remarkable rebellion was written by the prelate mentioned in the last note, who is sometimes called in *Latin*, *Julianus*, sometimes *Pomerius*, who, A. D. 680, succeeded *Quiricus* in the metropolitan see of *Toledo*, and whose testimony therefore is, in this respect, beyond exception, as he was perfectly capable of treating this subject as it ought to be, and wrote of nothing but what fell under his own immediate observation (2). He is also, with great probability, supposed to be the real author of that antient *Spanish* chronicle, which is usually cited under the title of *Vulsa*, but in the manuscript is intitled *Julse*, which is no more than a cypher, or contracted way of writing *Juliana Sancti Episcopi*; that is, the chronicle of the holy bishop *Julian*, as the *Romanists* call him (3). This chronicle, which is remarkably correct in the dates, and descends only to the coronation of king *Egisa*, is printed in the second volume of the learned cardinal *d'Aguirre's* Councils held in *Spain*. These circumstances it is

necessary the reader should know, that he may not apprehend we have bestowed more care or colouring on this than on other parts of our history; whereas, in truth, the difference arises only from our having better materials.

(Y) As count *Paul* had, from the very moment he was intrusted with the command of the troops, formed the project of his revolt, so he began to hold secret correspondence with *Hilderic* count of *Nîmes*, and, by the shortness and slowness of his marches, afforded him leisure to complete all that he designed. By the defection of *Ranofinde* duke of *Tarragona*, and his coadjutor, the foundation was laid of *Paul's* usurpation, who, besides the personal ill qualities he attributed to *Wamba*, pretended that he was set up only by a slender faction, who, under the shadow of an old infirm king, meant to oppress the people, more especially those in the remoter provinces, and thereby enrich themselves (4). The crown that was set upon his head had been offered by king *Reccared* in the church of *St. Felix the Martyr* at *Girone*, from whence it was fetched upon this laudable occasion. As soon as it encircled his brows, *Paul* had the insolence not only to use the regal stile in all the

(2) Conf. Du Pin, Hist. Eccl. vol. vi. p. 43. Fabr. Bibl. mcd. & infim. Latinit. l. ix. vol. iv. p. 582.
(3) Fer. Hist. Hispan. ubi sup. (4) Luc. Tudenf. Rod. Toletan.

a KING *Wamba*, on the other hand, halted on the frontiers of *Navarre*, and, having called a council of his chief officers, laid before them the accounts that he had received, and demanded their advice. This produced various councils; some were for proceeding with the troops; others thought it better for the king to return to *Toledo*, in order to assemble an army suitable to the danger, and to the great force of his enemies ¹. *Wamba*, who was an old general, had probably taken his resolution before he told them, that when he accepted the crown, he resolved to act as became a king; and that he could not think it consistent with his dignity to turn his back to traitors; that therefore he would first reduce the *Gascons*, and then pass the *Pyrenees* ². At the same time he gave orders that all the forces in the adjacent provinces should march to the posts he assigned, and directed his fleet to repair to the coast of *France*, in order to wait the arrival of himself and his army. When he had done this, he entered *Navarre*, laid the country waste on every side, and struck such terror into the inhabitants, that, abandoning all sort of defence, they threw themselves upon his clemency ³. *Wamba* told them, that the devastation he had made was the proper recompence of rebellion; and that, since they had altered their conduct, they had nothing farther to fear from him; but that, since they were in arms, he would take them into his service. His army, thus recruited, he obliged to observe the most exact discipline, and marched with such diligence, that he appeared before *Barcelona* when he was little expected ⁴. The bishop of *Gironne* caused the gates of that strong city also to be thrown open, and presented the king with the keys, and with a letter from *Paul* to himself, directing him to give possession of the city to which king appeared first; at which *Wamba* smiled ⁵.

b His forces and his fleet having exactly obeyed his orders, he found himself in a condition to prosecute that war for which the rebels thought him only preparing. After three days repose, he divided his army into four bodies, and directed them to pass the *Pyrenees*, by three different routes, himself, at the head of the fourth division, following that which marched along the coast ⁶. His generals executed his commands punctually and successfully, without meeting with much resistance. In one place only they found a good fort, and a strong garrison, which they attacked, and, after a vigorous defence, took it by storm, and in it duke *Ransinde* and the warden *Hildigise*, whom they sent to the king with their hands tied behind their backs ⁷. They advanced then to *Sardonias*, where *Witimir*, whom *Paul* had made general of his forces, had a numerous garrison, and every thing requisite for a good defence; but as he judged it more adviseable to retire in the night, to carry his master an account of the condition things were in, his troops presently submitted ⁸. The king, finding his army had intirely passed the mountains, assembled all his forces, halted for two days, and having made the same division as before, directed his generals to march with the utmost diligence to *Narbonne*, himself following with a small guard ⁹. They pursued his instructions, and quickly invested the place, from which *Paul* was retired to *Nimes*, leaving the command of all the troops to *Witimir*, who, being summoned to open the gates, returned a rude and insolent answer ¹⁰. The generals of *Wamba*, provoked at this behaviour, and perceiving that it had irritated the army to a degree of madness, resolved to try if it was not possible to take the place by storm; and having proposed this to the army, they offered with joy to begin the attack immediately. The generals then made the necessary dispositions, and the royal army advanced on every side to the assault ¹¹.

c *Witimir*, with the rebels under his command, having no hopes left but in victory, since all expectations either of mercy or escape were equally vain, defended themselves with a degree of obstinacy that had been rarely seen, for about three hours; but at length the king's forces having burnt some of the gates, and undermined a part of the walls, entered the city on every side, and made a dreadful slaughter ¹². *Witimir*, giving all for lost, withdrew with a handful of men into a church, in which they made a desperate resistance. One of the king's soldiers having stunned him with a beam, he was at last taken alive, with most of his principal officers; and, after whipping them through the streets, the next day they were sent prisoners to the king. After the reduction of *Narbonne*, the king, without much difficulty,

¹ Luc. Tudenf. ² Jul. ubi supra. ³ Luc. Tudenf. ⁴ Rod. Tolet. l. iii. ⁵ Jul. ubi supra. ⁶ Luc. Tudenf. ⁷ Rod. Toletan. l. iii. ⁸ Jul. ubi supra. ⁹ Rod. Tolet. ¹⁰ Jul. ubi supra. ¹¹ Luc. Tudenf. ¹² Jul. Hist. de Wambæ Expedit.

orders that he issued, but even to write with an air of saucy impertinence to *Wamba* himself; a step that those about him thought necessary to raise the spirits of his associates, and to countenance the stories they had already propagated among the vulgar, that he was a person of a mean extraction, and one who, from holding the plough, was by his party set to manage the helm of the state (5). All of which was notoriously false, his family being very illustrious, his private fortune considerable, and himself employed and confided in during the last three reigns. We need not wonder, these circumstances considered, that, when *Paul* found his forces crushed, he had so little expectation of meeting with any mercy (6).

(5) Julian Hist. de Wambæ Expedit. Luc. Tudenf. Mod. Hist. Vol. VII. (6) Rod. Toletan. Jul. ubi sup. Luc. Tudenf. 7 E obliged

obliged other cities and great towns to return to their obedience; those who commanded in them retiring with their garrisons to *Nîmes*, where the usurper *Paul* did every thing that an able officer could do to render the place strong, and to inspire his troops with resolution^a; sometimes complimenting them on the fine appearance they made (for, in effect, he had the whole flower of the province with him); sometimes putting them in mind that the king's army was exceedingly weakened and fatigued; and sometimes assuring them, that prodigious succours were in full march to their relief from *France* and *Germany*. By these and other arts he kept up their spirits so well, that they prepared chearfully for their defence, and disposed every thing to keep the royal forces as long at a distance from the centre of the place as it was possible, at the same time that they fortified all the interior force, and more especially the arenas of the old *Roman* amphitheatres, with the utmost diligence. In short, their industry was such as would have deserved praise in a better cause^f.

Paul disposes
all things for
the defence of
Nîmes, but
without effect.

THE king's forces, after the repose of a few days, appeared before the place in four distinct corps, each commanded by an experienced general, making in all about 30,000 men, and, in a few hours, had completely invested the place. The besieged considered and despised them, as being themselves much more numerous, better armed, and better provided; so that they proposed marching out, and giving them battle; but *Paul* suspecting an ambuscade, persuaded them to act on the defensive^g. The king's generals, animated by their past success, thought to carry the place by storm, in the same manner as at *Narbonne*, and attacked it therefore with great fury, but were repulsed with so much loss, that they sent the king intelligence, that, without an immediate supply of *French* troops, they must be obliged to raise the siege. *Wamba*, who foresaw what might happen, had provided a body of ten thousand men, ready to march on the first notice; who, as soon as they received his orders, began to move, and, continuing their route all night, arrived the next day as the army was about to renew the assault^h. The centinels on the towers of the city gave notice to *Paul* of this reinforcement, which intimidated the garrison not a little. That usurper heard the news not only without emotion, but with a seeming air of satisfaction; and, as he passed from post to post, encouraged his adherents, by telling them, that this was *Wamba's* last effort; that they were now to fight with all their enemies at once, and that these being defeated, they had nothing farther to fear. Having thus revived their courage, the action began with great noise and fury. The dispute lasted long; but at length the *French* mercenaries in *Paul's* pay began to mutiny: they said, that defence was in vain; that the place once taken they should be all put to the sword; and that there was no reason so many brave men should die in the cause of a base usurperⁱ. This created a great confusion; and the royal army laying hold of that advantage, mounted the walls with ladders, and began to enter the place on all sides: the rebels took it into their heads that they were betrayed by the *Spaniards* that were about *Paul*, whom they killed without mercy, and particularly two of the officers in whom he most confided, close by his side. In this situation *Paul* thought proper to lay aside his crown and his purple robe, and retired with such forces as yet remained firm into one of the antient amphitheatres, where it was impossible they should be easily forced. The night brought on a cessation of arms, and the royal army contented themselves with taking quarters in all parts of the city, where they celebrated their victory, and the anniversary of the king's accession to the throne, which happened to be the same day. Things continued in this state for two days; and, on the third, they had notice of the king's approach with the rest of the army^k.

Sends Arge-
baud, arch-
bishop of Nar-
bonne, to im-
plore *Wamba's*
mercy.

PAUL and his associates, after mature deliberation, deputed *Argebaud*, metropolitan of *Narbonne*, to implore *Wamba's* mercy. He met the king at some distance from the city, and executed his commission in so pathetic a manner, that the king readily pardoned the whole body of malecontents, but would not hear of extending his clemency to *Paul*, and the chiefs of this dangerous rebellion^l. When he came in sight of the city, he found the army drawn up in order of battle, which having thanked for their services, he divided them into several corps, and ordered them to take post on the hills round the town, that they might be ready to oppose the *Franks*, in case they should attempt any thing in favour of their allies. But while the army were yet under arms, he ordered *Paul* and his companions to be summoned to come before him^m. They came accordingly, but in a dismal equipage. *Paul* was on foot, his cloaths torn, and his feet bare; a captain of the king's troops on each side, holding a lock of his hair. As soon as he saw the king, he went and knelt at his feet, at the same time cutting the military belt he wore, inflicting on himself that mark of degradation as a traitor. *Wamba* ordered him and his friends to be put under a strong guard, but dismissed the *Franks*, and other strangers that were with him, freely and without ransom. The spoils that were taken he caused to be restored to the churches and private persons from whom they

^a Rod. Toletan l. iii.
Toletan. l. iii.

^f Luc. Tudens.
^g JULIAN, ubi supra.

^h JUL. ubi supra.
ⁱ Luc. Tudens.

^k Luc. Tudens.
^m Rod. Toletan.

^l Rod.

a had been plundered, and directed also the breaches to be carefully repaired, and the dead bodies to be interred ^a.

THE public tranquillity being settled, the king, on the third day, ordered the whole army to be drawn out, and ranged on both sides of a tribunal, on which himself and the principal nobility of the *Goths* were seated; after which he commanded *Paul* and his adherents to be brought before him ^o. As soon as he appeared, the king stood up, and asked him whether he had ever given him any offence, ever done him any injury, or shewn him any mark of displeasure? To this *Paul* answered, that the very contrary was true; that he had always treated him with peculiar marks of favour; that he owed to his confidence the power of raising this rebellion; and that he had nothing to allege in excuse. Those who came with him said

b the same thing, and mentioned severally the obligations they were under to the king ^p. On this their oaths of allegiance were read, their subscriptions shewn, and then the laws against treason; lastly, the judges stood up, and pronounced sentence of death; but the king, a few minutes after, changed that sentence into their being shaved, and sent to several monasteries, where they might have time to repent of their offences ^q. This was the issue of a rebellion that had endangered the monarchy of the *Visigoths*, and which had been very probably fatal to a monarch of less prudence and less fortitude than *Wamba*, whom they provoked by the incursions of one *Lupus*, a *French* general, who made an irruption for the sake of plunder. *Wamba* contented himself with obliging them to make a precipitate retreat, and, after the miseries to which they had been already subjected, would not expose his people to the danger of a foreign war ^r.

c He appointed new officers and new governors throughout the whole province, put strong garrisons into all the fortresses, rewarding his soldiers amply, and recompensing the merit of every officer by preferment. With the rest of his troops he repassed the *Pyrenees*, and continued his march directly towards *Toledo*, into which he made a pompous and triumphant entry, all the soldiers being new clothed, and their arms in perfect order ^s. In the centre of the troops were several waggons, in which were seated *Paul* and his captains and counsellors, all of them close shaved, with ragged cloaths and naked feet, and their chief with a dirty leathern crown upon his head. The king closed the procession, surrounded by the nobility, from whom he was distinguished by the majesty of his appearance, his silver hair flowing on his shoulders, and his brow bound with a diadem. The whole city rang with acclamations ^t; and the king having returned thanks to God for having restored peace to his people, dismissed his troops, and applied himself to the regulation of such disorders, as time, accident, or corruption, had brought into church or state; for which he was excellently qualified, being perfectly versed in their laws, and having nothing so much at heart as the interest of the kingdom ^u. His first care was for the capital of his dominions; and as *Toledo*, since it became such, was very much increased, he ordered the old city walls to be well repaired, and circumscribed even the suburbs with a new one, which he adorned with the images of saints, and placed also certain inscriptions, which are still remembered, and are said to have been repaired and restored, out of respect to their royal founder, by king *Philip II.* ^v (Z).

e THE king summoned two councils in the year 675, one of which was held at *Braga* ^x, the other at *Toledo* ^y, in which many canons were made, chiefly with a view to restore the discipline of the church, and to repress the luxury, pride, and superstition of the clergy. At first sight this may seem a reflection upon that body; but, if duly considered, we shall find it quite the contrary; for if the bulk of them had not retained a just respect for the essential duties of their function, these laws could not have been made; for luxury would then have been stiled decent splendor, pride the support of ecclesiastical dignity, and superstitious ceremonies

Brought out, tried, and sentenced; but his life spared.

Wamba enters his capital in triumph. 673.

Summons two councils, one at Braga, and the other at Toledo. 674, 675.

^a JUL. ubi supra.

^o ROD. Toletan. l. iii.

^p LUC. Tudenf.

^q JULIAN. ubi supra.

^r ROD. Tolet.

^s LUC. Tudenf.

^t JUL. ubi supra.

^u ROD. Tolet. l. iii.

^v LUC.

Tudenf. ROD. Toletan. lib. iii. JUL. ubi supra.

^x Concil. tom. vi. p. 561.

Card. D'AGUIRRE Conc.

Hispan. tom. ii. p. 673.

^y Conc. tom. vi. p. 601. Conc. Hisp. tom. ii. p. 660.

(Z) In order to supply stones for this building, it was judged necessary to destroy a noble circus, which had been raised at a vast expence by the *Romans*, which is the reason that, in the walls of *Toledo*, there appear frequently large and beautiful pieces of marble, and because upon many of these the figures of a rose and a wheel are very elegantly expressed, an opinion prevails amongst the vulgar, that these were the arms of king *Wamba*; whereas, to a judicious eye, it is evident, from their being placed here and there, without any order or symmetry, that there is not the least colour for any such notion. It is reported that the outer wall was fortified with no less than 150 square and semicircular towers, according to the mode of those times. Upon

some of these the following *Latin* distich was engraved (4).

*Erexit fautore Deo rex inclutus urbem
Wamba suæ celebrem protendens gentis honorem.*

On the principal towers stood the statues of several saints then most in esteem, in white marble, and on their pedestals were engraven the following *Latin* lines, which, in those days, it seems, were accounted poetry (5).

*Vos Domini sancti quorum hic præsentia fulget,
Hanc urbem & plebem solito, servate favore.*

(4) Mariana Hist. de Hispana, l. vi. cap. xiv. Luc. Tudenf.

(5) Ibidem ibid.

elevated devotion ^a (A). It is, however, worthy of our notice, that we find in neither of a these councils the least footsteps of an affair of very great importance with respect to ecclesiastical government, which was nevertheless settled at this time ^a. The bishops, it seems, were some of them apt to encroach upon their neighbours dioceses, which occasioned much jealousy, strife, and disturbance; an application was therefore made to the king for the remedy of this grievance, which was effected, by describing and setting out the limits of all the dioceses in *Spain*, which seems to have been done by a royal commission ^b. This sufficiently shews his attention to one essential point of government. We shall see that this did not, however, so wholly occupy his mind, as to hinder them from providing for the safety of his subjects, and supporting the glory of his crown, in another respect, of which we find little notice taken in the reign of his predecessors ^c (B).

A decisive
victory gained
by his fleet
over that of
the Saracens.

THE *Saracens*, at that time, not only disturbed the continent with their armies, but harassed likewise the whole *Mediterranean* with their fleets, and were particularly troublesome on the coasts of *Spain* ^d. The king, who had a good naval force, disposed of it in so judicious a manner, that the infidels found themselves very much curbed thereby, which induced them to assemble their whole force, that they might at once crush that of *Spain* ^e. When they came to make the experiment, however, they found themselves mistaken; the skill of the *Goths* defending them from being oppressed by superior numbers, insomuch that, after a long and obstinate engagement, the *Saracens* were totally defeated, and, besides a number of slaves that were taken, lost 270 vessels of all sizes ^f. Some have thought this number excessive; but if we consider that they had no ships of great burthen, and reflect on the great number of men they sometimes transported, we need not be surprised at hearing of fleets of several hundred sail, because, in those days, they had not ships of war, properly speaking, but employed in such expeditions almost every vessel that was fit to put to sea ^g. This was a point of very great consequence, and very probably delayed for some time the disorders and distress to which the people of *Spain* were afterwards reduced, and from which they might always have been defended, if the successors of *Wamba* had in any thing, except the title, resembled him ^h.

Deprived of
his kingdom by
the artifice of
Erviga, or
Ervigio.

WHILE the thoughts of this great monarch were intirely taken up with arduous affairs of state, there was one near him, who, not out of pity to that indefatigable prince, but purely to gratify his own ambition, was studying how to remove him out of the throne, and to seat himself in his place. This was *Erviga*, the son of *Ardabastus*, and, as is generally supposed, the great grandson of *Hermenigilde* ⁱ. He saw with displeasure, that, through his temperance and

^a LUC. Tudenf.
Chron.
Chron.
Pacens.

^a FER. Hist. Hispana, p. iii. sect. vii.
^d MARISOT Orbis Mar. l. ii. cap. 3.
^e MARISOT, ubi supra.

^b LUC. Tudenf.

^c VAS. Chron.

^f ALPHONS. Magn.
^g ISID.

^h FERRERAS, Hist. Hispana, P. iii. sect. 7.

(A) The first of these, which is commonly stiled the third council of *Braga* (6), provided, that, in the celebration of the holy mysteries, priests should not make use either of milk or raisin wine, but should use only bread and wine, mingled with a few drops of water. Priests were restrained from having any other woman than their mothers in their houses, to prevent an indecent resort of females to visit their sisters or other relations, who were hitherto permitted to reside with them. Restraint was laid on the bishops, that they should not, for the future, be carried in a chair to church by four deacons, but that they should walk to church, attended by the clergy and people. They were likewise forbid to order priests, abbots, and other ecclesiastics, to be whipped for every slight offence; and, if they did, were to be excommunicated and exiled. The latter, which is stiled the eleventh council of *Toledo* (7), was opened November the 7th, 675. There were made in this council fifteen canons; the first of which is very remarkable, and to this effect: *Such as are members of this, or of any other council, shall behave with the utmost modesty, and speak with the greatest decency, observing at other times a perfect silence, and, by a strict attention, testify their respect to the place they are in. Whenever they are called upon to speak, they shall deliver themselves with much circumspection, without any variation from truth, without any strokes of ill-nature, without unnecessary tautologies, that create confusion, and with-*

out affecting to be witty, where the business was solid and grave. The rest of the canons relate to ecclesiastical discipline, and contain nothing curious, or of any great importance.

(B) The regulating exactly ecclesiastical discipline in *Spain*, by a distinct description of the bishopricks, and placing them under their respective metropolitans, to whom *Mariana* always gives the title of archbishops, was one of the most remarkable acts of *Wamba's* administration; and an extract of this regulation may be found in the historian before-mentioned, who compares it with another made in the time of *Constantine the Great* (8). It may be sufficient here to observe, that the six metropolitan sees were *Toledo*, *Seville*, *Merida*, *Braga*, *Tarragona*, and *Narbonne*, the capital of that province which the *Goths* still retained on the other side of the *Pyrenees*. What is principally to be observed in respect to this affair is, that the whole was done by the king's authority, without the least intimation to, or communication with, the pope, or even the intervention or approbation of a council of *Spanish* bishops; so that it is clear, in things temporal, which the limitation of episcopal jurisdiction is allowed to be, the supremacy was acknowledged in the *Gothic* kings in as large an extent as it hath been any-where enjoyed, since the propagation of the Christian faith has been promoted and supported by civil authority.

(6) Concil. tom. vi. p. 561.
Conc. Hisp. tom. ii. p. 660.
Hispan. p. iii. sect. vii.

Card. d'Aguirre, Conc. Hisp. tom. ii. p. 673.

(8) Mariana Hist. Hisp. l. vi. cap. xv, xvi. Mayenne Turquet, l. v. Ferreras, Hist.

(7) Conc. tom. vi. p. 601.

constant

a constant exercise, *Wamba*, notwithstanding his great age, enjoyed a firm state of health; and he was not thoroughly assured, if he had patience even to his death, that, upon a full and free election, he should be chosen his successor. He framed, therefore, to carry his point, a plot very ingenious, though at the same time very base; for he gave a kind of intoxicating potion to the king, by which he was thrown into a senseless and stupefied condition, and, while he was in this state, he caused him, according to the custom of those times, to be shaved, and put into a habit of penitence^k. The king, when he came to himself, dissembled his surprize, and the suspicion he entertained of the usage which he had received. He knew it was impossible, according to the laws, to resume his dignity; and, preferring the peace of his subjects to every other consideration, he recommended, by a writing under his hand, *Ervinga* for his successor; to prevent, what he saw plainly would otherwise have happened, a civil war^l. After this he retired peaceably to a monastery, where he spent several years in a life of the strictest devotion; and, after having shewn that he was not ambitious of a crown, and that none was more worthy to wear it, he left to posterity a glorious demonstration, that he could part with it likewise without losing that peace of mind which so much surpasses the regal title, and all the prerogatives annexed to it^m (C).

ERVIGA was declared king in virtue of *Wamba's* nomination, approved by the Gothic nobility Monday, October the sixteenth, in the year six hundred and eighty, and was anointed and crowned on Sunday the twenty-second of the same month, by *Julian*, metropolitan of Toledo. As, thro' the care of his predecessor, he found the affairs of Spain in very good order, so his accession was in every respect more peaceable, and more generally acquiesced in, than he could well have hoped; yet either some murmurings there were of the artifice by which *Wamba* had been removed, or the king's suspicions made him so uneasy, that he resolved to call a council to sanctify his title, and to make some laws which he thought might be beneficial to the stateⁿ. This assembly was opened on the ninth of January in the succeeding year, and continued sitting till the twenty-fifth of the same month; in which space they made several canons or laws relative to civil as well as ecclesiastical affairs, very proper to quiet the minds of people, and to make the crown sit light on the head of the new monarch^o (D). To render their endeavours still more effectual, and to remove, if possible, the heart-burnings of *Wamba's* family, he gave his daughter *Cixilona* in marriage to *Egiza*, his nephew and heir; but, notwithstanding all

^k ALPHONS. Magn. Chron. LUC. Tudens. RODERIC Toletan. Historia Arabum, l. iii. ^l ISIDOR. Pacens. ^m MARIANA, Hist. Hispana, l. vi. c. 14. ⁿ MAYERNE TURQUET. FERRERAS, Hist. Hispana, P. iii. sect. 7. ^o RODERIC Tolet. l. iii. Conc. tom. vi. p. 1221. Conc. Hisp. tom. ii. p. 681.

(C) Some writers assure us, that this treason of *Ervinga* was very far from being an hasty thought; and that, on the contrary, he had been before practising schemes less successful indeed, but not less villainous (9). In short, they ascribe to him the attempt made by the Moors, whom he solicited to come into Spain, in hopes of being put at the head of an army to oppose them, which might have facilitated his design upon the crown (1). After this miscarried, he perceived that prince *Theodofred*, the younger brother of the late king *Receswinth*, was now of a proper age to govern the kingdom, and had an interest amongst the nobility, at least equal, if not superior, to his own, which put him under insurmountable difficulties (2). It is asserted, that it was a piece of poisonous cane, soaked in the water he drank, that had this sad effect; and that *Julian*, metropolitan of Toledo, was made the instrument of deposing king *Wamba*, without being at all privy to the design; for finding him, after the administration of the sacrament, totally without sense or voice, he consented to the shaving, and dressing him in a religious habit, as thinking it impossible he should recover (3). The whole of this transaction happened on Sunday the 14th of October, and the very next day *Ervinga* was declared king (4). *Wamba* recovered his senses in little more than twenty-four hours; and looking upon this as an admonition from heaven to bend his thoughts for the future to the concerns of another life, caused himself to be removed to the monastery of *Pampliega*, and left his successor to enjoy the splendor, and to struggle with the cares, of a crown (5).

(D) This twelfth council of Toledo was opened by a

short speech made by the king, in which he told them, that his design of calling them together was, to engage them to confirm his title, and to make such other canons as they should think expedient, on the perusal of certain papers which he left with them (6). According to the king's desire, the first canon declared him the lawful monarch of the Goths, and, in support of his title, offered three reasons: The first, that king *Wamba* was shaved, and had taken the habit of a religious man during his sickness, so that he was incapable of resuming the crown; the second, that, in the presence of the great lords of the court, and with their consent, *Wamba* had declared him his successor; and, lastly, because *Julian*, metropolitan of Toledo, had made a strict inquiry into the legality of his election; before he proceeded to the ceremony of his coronation. By the second canon, they forbade absolving from the vow of penitence, upon any pretence whatever, those who, during sickness, and even though deprived of their senses, had taken a religious habit; but enjoined them to satisfy precisely the vows which in that condition they had made. They suppressed the bishoprick of *Aquis*, which had been erected by king *Wamba*; they gave the metropolitan of Toledo leave to name, with the consent of the king, to the vacant bishopricks in Spain, or rather to consecrate such as were elected; they restored such as had been declared infamous, for not attending king *Wamba* in his expedition against the rebels in France; and they confirmed, renewed, and directed to be strictly put in force, all the laws made against the Jews, with several other canons relating to ecclesiastical discipline.

(9) Julian. Chron. Isid. Pacens. Alphons. Magn. Tudens. Vossii Chron. (1) Mariana, Hist. Hispana, l. vi. cap. 14. (2) Luc. (3) Isidor. Pacens. (4) Concil. Tolet. xii. can. 1. (5) Luc. Tudens. (6) Conc. tom. vi. p. 1221. Conc. Hisp. tom. ii. p. 681. Mariana, Mayerne Turquet, Ferreras.

A. D. 683. these precautions, and one cannot easily conceive how more could well be taken, a war broke out; but whether this happened thro' an irruption of the *Gascons*, by an insurrection in the *Gallic* province, or through an invasion of the *Moors*, we cannot determine^p. But this we know from the most authentic testimony, the positive declaration of the prelates and grandees in the next general council, that some great convulsion there was, and that the king *Erviga* had behaved therein with great courage and conduct, by which his subjects were again restored to peace, for which they offered him the tribute of their most grateful acknowledgements^q.

*Governs with
inimitable
prudence and
public spirit.*

As *Erviga* had a numerous family by his queen *Luibigotona*, and as he was very apprehensive of their safety in case of his demise, he laboured all that was in his power to gain the affections of his subjects. It was with this view that he meditated within himself on every thing that could give the people disquiet or satisfaction, and studied all the means possible by which the one might be removed, and the other procured; believing, that whatever dislike or prejudice they might at first have conceived against him, they must be gradually moved by this conduct, and wish well to a prince who made their happiness more his study than almost any of his predecessors; and, to carry these his good intentions into execution, he held two other general councils in the course of his reign^r (E). By a steady perseverance in this laudable course, he so far carried his point, that whatever distaste some great persons might have, they were obliged to conceal them, the clergy and greatest part of the nobility and the common people in general, being well affected to his government. In his time, however, there happened a grievous famine, which was followed by an epidemic distemper that carried off great numbers of people^s. The *Jews* also, encouraged by the lenity of this reign, began to behave with some degree of insolence, and to multiply exceedingly, so as to give the clergy great apprehensions; but the moderation of the king was so great, that it does not appear he was ever moved to treat them with any extraordinary degree of rigour^t.

*Seized with a
malignant
disease, and
resigns the
crown in his
life-time.*

At length, after having worn a crown rather for the service of others than himself, and having every-where procured more tranquillity than in his own breast, the king found himself attacked by a disease that left him very little room to hope for recovery^u. This induced him to set his affairs in order while there was yet time. He began with appointing *Egiza*, the nephew and heir of king *Wamba*, his successor, on the fourteenth of *August* six hundred eighty seven, having obliged him to swear he would do justice to all whom he might have inadvertently wronged^v. This done, he sent for the nobility into his presence, released them from their oath of allegiance, ordered himself to be shaved, and dressed in a habit of penitence, by which *Egiza* entered into the possession of the government, and soon after *Erviga* breathed his last, in the eighth year of his reign^w. His predecessor *Wamba*, being still living in his convent, and having the satisfaction of seeing this prince obliged to take for his own security that step into which he had betrayed him, and to place the crown, while he was yet living, upon the head of that very person for whom it had been designed by himself; and which was perhaps another point of happiness^x, he did not live long enough to see the untoward consequences that followed from this disposition of the crown, from the implacable resentment which the new king preserved against all who had the least share in that ill usage which the old monarch had met with^y. But how long he survived his successor, and whether he gave his nephew any advice

^p ISID. PACENS. ALPHONS. Magn. Chron. Luc. Tudens. ^q Concil. Tolet. xiii. Can. 4. ^r RODERIC Tolet. l. iii. Conc. tom. vi. p. 1253. Conc. Hisp. tom. ii. p. 694. Conc. tom. vi. p. 1279. Conc. Hisp. tom. ii. p. 717. ^s ISID. PACENS. ^t FERRERAS. ^u JULIAN. in Chron. ^v ALPHONS. Magn. Chron. ^w ISID. PACENS. ALPHONS. Magn. Chron. ^x FERRERAS, Historia de Hispana, P. iii. sect. 7.

(E) In the next general council, the five first canons out of thirteen relate intirely to civil affairs (7). By the first, the accomplices in the revolt to *Paul*, who had been declared infamous, and deprived of their estates, are restored to both, through the king's clemency; and from the same motive the like favour is granted to all such as were punished in the time of king *Chintila* for the like offence. In the second, it is recited, that whereas in times past kings had deprived some great lords of the dignity of palatines, in right of which they voted at elections; had condemned them to death and perpetual infamy, without hearing their justification; the council, therefore, to prevent such crying acts of oppression, prohibited any palatine or bishop to be degraded, deprived of his goods, or condemned to be whipped, before the bishops, great lords, and

wardens, shall have taken knowledge of his offence, who, in case they find him guilty, shall punish him according to law. As the people were indebted great sums to the public treasury for the arrears of taxes, in the third canon the king's remission of all that was due before his accession is confirmed. In their fourth canon, after acknowledging the great obligations they have to the king, they forbid, under pain of excommunication, any person, of what rank soever, to do any evil to his wife, his children, his sons, or daughters-in-law, in their persons, dignities, or estates. The fifth canon forbids any person to espouse the widow of the king, or to live in an infamous familiarity with her; and whoever, say the council, shall dare so to do, even though it shall be the king himself, his name shall be rased out of the book of life.

(7) Conc. tom. vi. p. 1253. Conc. Hisp. tom. ii. p. 694. Mariana, Mayerns Turquet, Ferreras.

a as to the management of public affairs, though mentioned by *Mariana* ^z, is notwithstanding very uncertain. But so great was his reputation for wisdom and piety in succeeding times, that a potent *Spanish* monarch caused his body to be removed, and reinterred with honour (F).

WE find no difficulty or disturbance made on the accession of *Egiza*, who without doubt *Egiza ascends the throne* was very acceptable to a great part of the nation, on account of the great reverence he always paid to his uncle *Wamba*, notwithstanding the alliance he had contracted with the family of the prince then upon the throne; but it is not at all probable, that, by the advice *peaceably, in virtue of this resignation.* of the old monarch, he parted with his queen as soon as he found himself settled in the regal dignity ^a, because there is no authentic proof of this; and because, in the canons ^b made by the councils held in his reign, there are many circumstances which render this suggestion very improbable, to which we may add his associating the only son he ever had by her in the government ^b. But it is nevertheless very certain, that he was far enough from approving the measures of the last reign, and of this we have authentic evidence in the scruples he proposed to the first council which was held at *Toledo* after his accession to the throne, and which indeed seems to have been assembled chiefly on this account. The number of the prelates and of the great lords that sat therein was very considerable, tho' not so numerous as in some councils; but as there had been several lately held, it was not likely that many things of importance would be brought before them ^c.

THIS assembly met on the eleventh of *May* six hundred eighty-eight. King *Egiza*, at his *calls the* first entrance, saluted them, and, without desiring any confirmation of his title, said, that he *fiftenth council of Toledo,* had some scruples upon his mind which regarded the government of the kingdom, and which *to settle the meaning of the coronation oath.* he had called them together to decide ^d. These scruples regarded the oaths he had taken, which appeared to him contradictory. On the marriage of his queen, he had sworn, agreeable to a canon, to protect the widow of his predecessor, his children, his sons-in-law, and his daughters-in-law ^e. At the time of his coronation he had sworn to do justice to all his subjects; and as he was informed that the late king had degraded several of the nobility who were most attached to king *Wamba*, and had deprived them of their estates illegally, which he had bestowed upon his family, he was at a loss to know how far he was bound by his first oath to protect the family of the deceased king against those who, in virtue of the second, demanded justice, and ^d the restitution of those estates that had been iniquitously taken from them. He assured them, that he was desirous of keeping both these oaths as far as it was possible, and desired their sentiments upon this head, that some rule might be established, in case any thing of the like nature happened for the future ^f.

AFTER mature deliberation, the fathers in council declared, that the first oath could not oblige *They accordingly give their advice upon this delicate subject.* the king, but so far as it was not contrary to justice: that right was to be done to all the world, and that therefore *Egiza* was not to support his mother-in-law and his brothers-in-law against any others than those who set up ill-founded claims and unjust demands. They added, that the oath, if taken in favour of his subjects, could not oblige them any farther than justice required, and that the extent of this was to be determined by the judges ^g. This great point settled, the ^e council separated; nor was there any thing of importance done, except vindicating their president *Julian*, metropolitan of *Toledo*, against the pope, who pretended to question the orthodoxy of certain expressions that had been used in explaining mysteries of a high nature; and, in doing this, the council acted very roundly, not only without shewing the least submission to him, but even with a visible air of distaste at his conduct; yet at *Rome* they were so far from resenting this, as in later times, that the decision of the council was received as satisfactory, and the dispute thenceforward buried in oblivion ^h. The good archbishop did not survive

^z *Historia Hispana*, l. vi. cap. 18.

^{PHONS}, *Magn. Chron.*

Tolet. xv. ubi supra.

^g *Acta Concil. prædict.*

^a *MARIANA*, *Historia Hispana*, in loc. sup. citat.

^c *Conc. tom. vi. p. 1294. Conc. Hisp. tom. ii. p. 721.*

^e *FERRERAS*, *Hist. Hispan.* P. iii. sect. 7.

^h *FERRERAS*, *Historia Hispana*, P. iii. sect. 7.

^b *AL-*

^d *Act. Concil.*

^f *ALPHONS.* *Magn. Chron.*

(F) This wise and religious monarch, after spending very near as much time in the privacy of a convent, as in the pleasures of a palace, deceased at length, full of years and glory, and with a high reputation for his virtue and sanctity, at *Pampliega*, the place of his retreat, and was buried in the church of that monastery. But Don *Alphonso the Wise* directed his body, as well as his predecessor king *Recesuinto*, to be taken up, and brought to *Toledo* (8). Father *John Martinez*, of the order of *Franciscans*, and bishop of *Guadix*, who was charged with this order, performed it with all the de-

cency and respect imaginable; so that his remains being deposited in the church of *St. Leocadia*, a sumptuous tomb was erected over them, on the left hand of the high altar, over-against the tomb of king *Recesuinto*, whose bones were interred on the right side of the altar, where they have remained in peace ever since (9); except that *Philip* the second, in the year one thousand five hundred seventy-five, caused these tombs to be opened, and found the bones of both kings wrapped in cotton, and deposited in chests of wood, without any inscription whatever (1).

(8) *Isid. Pacerf. Luc. Tudens. Roderic. Tolet. Vasci Chron. sect. 7.*

(1) *Mariana, Historia de Hispana, lib. vi. c. 14.*

(9) *Ferreras, Hist. de Hispana, P. iii.*

two years, and then left behind him a character for learning and piety, which has rendered a his name venerable ever since, not only amongst his own nation, but throughout the whole literary world ¹.

Sisebert, metropolitan of Toledo, conspires against the king and royal family.

His successor in the see of *Toledo* was *Sisebert*, who is supposed to have been a person of very high rank and quality amongst the *Goths*, but he was withal a man insolently proud and extravagantly ambitious, which put him, within two years after he had received this extraordinary favour, upon one of the boldest acts of ingratitude, as well as one of the rankest conspiracies that ever entered into the heart of man ^k. In a word, the scheme he had formed was, to cut off the king, the queen, and all their children; and his interest was so extensive, his address so great, and his intrigues so well laid, that he had gained a multitude of people of all ranks to abet even so wicked and traiterous a design ^l. Yet he could not manage his affairs so cunningly, but that the king had notice of his schemes, which he defeated by causing his person to be secured; and, though some of his partisans actually broke out into rebellion, yet the king, by his prudent management, and by attending in time to the suppression of their attempts, quickly restored the tranquillity of the kingdom; and then summoned a council of *Toledo*, to judge of the punishment proper to be inflicted on this turbulent prelate. His cause was accordingly heard; and he was deposed, for having conspired against the life of the king, the queen, and their children ^m; which was as far as they could go, for he was still left to the king's prosecution in the ordinary course of justice, who, out of respect to his dignity and character, was content, notwithstanding his enormous offence, to banish him out of his dominions ⁿ.

The Jews contrive an insurrection, and invite an invasion.

BEFORE the close of the year, the discovery of a new conspiracy constrained the king to assemble another council. This scheme was as deep-laid and as dangerous as the former; for the *Jews*, who were scattered throughout all the provinces, had concerted a general insurrection, and, in consequence of their intelligence with others of their own nation in *Africa*, were in hopes of being strong enough, with the help of these foreign auxiliaries, to shake off the yoke. The king, by his vigilance, prevented this rebellion from breaking out; and the council, which met on the ninth of *November* six hundred ninety-four, decreed, that all *Jews*, who, after baptism, should either return to their old religion, or conspire against the king, should be made slaves, and lose all their effects ^o. They farther prohibited the permitting these people for the future the public exercise of their religion; and directed their children should be taken from them at seven years of age, in order to be brought up Christians ^p. It is very probable that this might contribute to prevent their breaking out into rebellion; but certainly it could have no great effect towards removing their disaffection to a government that treated them with so much severity. We have not, however, any distinct account of the manner in which this law was carried into execution, or of any farther steps taken by the king to keep them in subjection; though we may naturally conclude, from the disposition of this prince, and from the circumstances of the nation, that this was not omitted ^q.

A war by sea with the Saracens, in which the Goths are victorious.

THE *Saracens* in *Africa* having conquered the best part of *Mauritania*, and having a good fleet upon the coast to attend the motions of their army on shore, *Egiza* thought it a point of prudence to fit out a navy for the defence of his dominions. This was accordingly done, under the command of *Theodomir*, who is on probable grounds believed to have been either the son or the son-in-law of this monarch, being one of the persons devoted to destruction by *Sisebert's* conspiracy ^r. The young prince had not been long at sea, before the infidels, confident of their own strength, and despising the youth and experience of the young admiral, attacked the *Goths*, which brought on a general engagement; and this, after an obstinate dispute, ended in a decisive victory of the latter, by which *Theodomir* delivered *Spain* from its present apprehensions, and disappointed the hopes of those who wished for a foreign invasion, to give weight to their secret conspiracies, from which *Egiza*, thro' the whole course of his reign, was seldom or never free; yet it was not long before the expectations of the malecontents were revived by a war that broke out with the *French* ^s.

Rupture on the side of France likewise, which however is soon over.

It is not very clear what the motives were to this rupture, or indeed with whom it happened; for at this juncture the kings of *France* had so little real power, that they could not much disturb their neighbours; so that it is generally supposed, and in regard to this war we have no better light than conjectures, that the dukes of *Aquitain* and *Gascony*, having in a great measure rendered themselves independent, made an irruption into *Spain*, or rather into the *Gallic* province that belonged to *Spain*, which obliged *Egiza* to send a considerable army into those parts ^t. In the course of this war there were no less than three battles fought, in which

¹ CAVE, Hist. Literaria, tom. i. p. 596. ^k VASÆI Chron. ^l Act. Concil. Tolet. xvi.
^m Conc. tom. v. p. 1327. Conc. Hispana, tom. ii. p. 735. ⁿ VASÆI Chron. ^o Act. Concil.
 Tolet. xvii. ^p Conc. tom. vi. p. 1361. Conc. Hisp. tom. ii. p. 752. ^q VASÆI Chron. ^r ISID.
 Pacens. ^s ALPHONS Mag. Chron. ^t FERRERAS, Hist. Hispana, P. iii. sect. 7.

a the *Goths* had no advantage, and the *French* were also no great gainers, which made both parties so weary of the war, that, as it rose, so it ceased gradually; and *Egiza*, by keeping good garrisons on his frontiers, discouraged those invaders from repeating their visits; with which he was so well satisfied, that it does not appear he ever acted offensively against these enemies^a. It is probable, that one principal cause of his moderation was, his being being grown far into years, and the strong desire he had of seeing the tranquillity of his dominions thoroughly established before his death. With this view he proposed to the nobility associating his son *Witiza* with him in the government, that, amidst so many perils, the kingdom might run no unnecessary hazard by those disorders which almost constantly happened upon a vacancy of the throne. His arguments had so much weight with them, that they readily yielded to his request; and the old king thereupon sent his son into *Galicia*, where he kept his court in the city of *Tuy*, that, having the administration of a province in his own hands, he might be accustomed to business, and be more capable of ruling the *Goths* when he became the sole monarch of so potent a nation, and of so extensive a dominion as they at this time enjoyed^b. The design was certainly worthy the wisdom of *Egiza*; and, if it had not all the consequences that he expected, it was no greater a disappointment than might attend whatever plan a finite understanding could devise, as being more especially impeded by accidents he could not foresee, and which he could not have prevented if he had foreseen^c.

THE king, as it became a wise prince, when he perceived that his son's great abilities and many amiable qualities had gained him the affections of the people, resolved to sanctify what had been already done with the consent of the nobility by the approbation of a council, which he caused to be summoned for that purpose at *Toledo*, in which *Felix*, metropolitan of that city, presided^d, but the acts of it are unfortunately lost. We should have had no memorial of this assembly at all, but for the care of some ancient historians, who have barely mentioned the place where it was held, and given us some light as to the reason the king had for holding it, which, it seems, it effectually answered; but whether any thing more of moment was done therein, or of what nature, they are silent, who could have informed us, and have put us under a necessity of being silent likewise^e. This was one of the last public acts of *Egiza*'s reign, and must in all probability have afforded him very high satisfaction, as it gave him a fair prospect of securing to his son a peaceable entrance into the government, and to his subjects the quiet enjoyment of that felicity which it had been his study to procure for them during the continuance of a long and prosperous reign^f.

THE weight of years, and the load of those infirmities which accompany them, brought *Egiza* to his grave in a very short time after, that is to say, in the month of *October* in the year seven hundred^g, or, as others assert, and perhaps with reason, in the preceding year^h. Some, but these are for the most part modern writers, accuse this monarch of cruelty, especially at the entrance of his reign; which cannot, however, be easily reconciled to the high commendations for his clemency bestowed upon him by several councils, which, if they had been contrary to truth, must have been equally injurious to them and to himⁱ. Besides, it is certain, that, not long after his accession, he pardoned, and restored to the rank of a lord of the palace, *Theudemond*, a nobleman, whom his uncle *Wamba* had banished and degraded^j. It is also universally allowed, that he was a prince of great piety, that he lessened the weight of taxes, and that he was very strict in the administration of justice. The notion that has prevailed of his having repudiated his queen at his first coming to the crown, seems to have no other foundation than the mistaking the true sense of a canon made by one of the councils at *Toledo*; and, tho' it is countenanced by so great a writer as *Mariana*, is very justly rejected by *Ferreras*. Upon the whole, he was a vigilant and victorious monarch, laboured incessantly to bring things into good order, and, as far as it was possible, to provide the best remedies for those evils which he could not eradicate^k. His reputation and his power preserved his kingdom in peace, and the people of *Spain* in such wealth and plenty, that the luxury this produced proved very soon after fatal to their safety, but ought not to prove so to his reputation. He without question hoped they would have made a better use of that abundance which they accumulated from the happy situation and rich produce of their country, and from the wisdom and lenity of his administration, which did not fall in any degree short of that of his predecessor^l.

WITIZA was no sooner informed of his father's death, than, leaving *Tuy*, he repaired to *Toledo*, where he began his reign with such extraordinary acts of goodness and clemency, as gained him the affections of his subjects to a degree of adoration. He granted, in the first place, an act of general amnesty, recalled all that had been banished by his father on the score of their in-

The association of Witiza approved by a council at Toledo.

Egiza's death, and a justification of his character.

Witiza's actions, at the beginning of his reign, gain the hearts of his subjects.

^a VASÆI Chron. J. U. C. Tudenf. VASÆI Chron. sect. 7. Hist. Hispana, P. iii. sect. 8. Appendix.

^b ISID. Pacenf. ALPHONS. Magn. Chron.

^c ISID. Pacenf.

^d VULS: Chron.

^e ISID. Pacenf. ALPHONS. Magn. Chron.

^f ISID. Pacenf. VASÆI Chron.

^g RODERIC Tolet. l. iii.

^h FERRERAS, Historia de Hispana, P. ii.

ⁱ RODERIC Tolet.

^j FERRERAS,

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fidelity

fidelity to *Wamba*, or having had a share in the conspiracy of *Sisebert*, metropolitan of *Toledo*. ^a
 He not only recalled them, and restored them to their estates, but likewise reversed every thing
 that had been done against them, which put them into full possession of their former honours ^b.
 He was not content with doing this, but, being desirous that all ranks and degrees of his
 people should feel the effects of his generous disposition, he caused all the registers and books
 of account, in which there were any entries of fines, impositions, or taxes, remaining due to
 the crown, to be thrown into the fire, and so released them all at once ^c. We need not wonder that
 such a prince as this was excessively commended; nor is it at all strange that these excessive
 commendations had a bad effect upon a young man of a gentle, generous, and debonair dispo-
 sition. Yet we cannot imagine it happened all at once, or that, from his behaving with the
 greatest moderation, kindness, and tenderness, towards his people, he should immediately become ^b
 vicious and profligate in the most extreme degree ^k. This must certainly appear very impro-
 bable; and, as no authority is brought to support this charge, there is the greatest reason to
 believe that it is ill founded; and that, if *Witiza* became in reality such a monster as he is re-
 ported, he sunk gradually into vices and debaucheries as other men do.

*The pope's su-
 premacy reject-
 ed in the 18th
 council of
 Toledo.*

IN the first year of his reign, he held a general council at *Toledo* ¹, in which *Gunderic*, me-
 tropolitan of that see, presided; a prelate universally extolled for his piety, and, which is still
 more remarkable, for his zeal and fortitude in opposing the king in his ill courses, and remon-
 strating to him the bad effects his vices would have in weakening his government, and cor-
 rupting his subjects ^m. Such a man could not be suspected of countenancing wicked actions,
 and much less of giving them credit by the decrees of such an assembly, the acts of which are ^c
 long ago destroyed; but if, in this council, an attempt made by the pope to settle his jurisdic-
 tion in *Spain* was rejected with contempt, and treated as a usurpation, we may easily find a
 reason why the acts of this council were either destroyed, or with-held from the light ⁿ. If,
 in the same assembly, any canon was made for allowing secular priests to marry, we may easily
 apprehend that this did not arise from any intention of indulging, but rather from a desire
 of repressing, the corruption of the clergy. We can likewise easily see, that, as things now
 stand, and have long stood, in *Spain*, it is by no means fit that any such canons should ap-
 pear; and this will account to any unprejudiced mind, for the methods in which these facts
 are related in the *Spanish* histories ^o.

*Witiza be-
 comes dissolute
 in the most
 extreme degree,
 and is generally
 hated.*

WE must, however, admit, if we will give credit to the unanimous voice of the *Spanish* ^d
 historians in these and in succeeding times, that, within a short time after the decease of his
 father, *Witiza* suffered himself to be seduced by his natural propensity to pleasure, by the base
 insinuations of flattering courtiers, and by that smiling prospect of prosperity that had attend-
 ed his father's virtues and his own, to digress from that path which he had hitherto trod, and
 to make excursions unworthy of a wise man and a great prince. In short, he gradually gave way
 to sensual inclinations, till at last he abandoned himself wholly to women, which in him had its
 usual effects, that is, it increased his desire of commanding, in proportion as it weakened his
 understanding ^p. From being dissolute only, he quickly became unjust; and, having deserted
 his queen's bed, he invaded the beds of other men; a crime, which however common among
 princes, is notwithstanding the most compendious method of filling up their iniquities, and ^e
 conducts them by the very shortest cut from general esteem to universal execration. *Gunderic*
 told him this early; but *Witiza* was not to be restrained; he was misled by those transports of
 loyalty which he had beheld in his people, simply imagining they would keep their duty when
 he forgot his own, and that the fervour which his virtues had raised would not be extinguish-
 ed even by his vices ^q. But in the space of a few years he found his mistake, and that a per-
 suasion of his having lost his people's hearts encouraged some to think of arming their hands
 against him; which discovery, instead of convincing him of the necessity of regaining
 their good opinions, by taking a contrary course, prompted him to another vice, more
 hateful than the former, which was cruelty; a step, which, as it made him a much worse
 man, made him so much the more hated ^r. In all countries, sooner or latter, like causes will ^f
 produce the same effects, but their operations are soonest perceived amongst a free people:
 slaves have indeed resentment, and a dangerous resentment, but then it is silent: whereas amongst
 a free people, those who are injured complain.

*His sense of this
 renders him
 also cruel and
 suspicious.*

IN the train of his debauches he came at length to have as little regard for decency or ho-
 nour as for the dictates of his conscience, or the laws of his country; so that the daughters and
 wives of the most distinguished persons about his court entered as frequently into the number of

^h MARIANA, *Historia Hispana*, l. vi. c. 19. MAYERNE TURQUET. FERRERAS, *Hist. Hispana*, P. iii. sect. viii. ⁱ ISID. PACENS. ^k ALPHONS. *Magn. Chron.* LUC. TUDENS. RODERIC TOLET.

l. iii. ^l ISID. PACENS. CARD. d'AGUIRRE, *Concil. Hisp.* tom. ii. p. 763. ^m ISIDOR. PACENS.

ⁿ See Dr. GEDDES's *Treatise*. ^o MARIANA *Historia de Hispana*, lib. vi. cap. 19. ^p ALPHONS. *Magn. Chron.* LUC. TUDENS. RODERIC TOLET. l. iii. ^q ISID. PACENS. ALPHONS. *Magn. Chron.* VASÆI *Chron.* ^r FERRERAS, *Hist. de Hispana*, P. iii. sect. 8.

- a. his concubines, as the irregularity of his passions led him to cast his eyes upon them preferably to others^x. By this imprudent as well as impudent procedure, he provoked those who were most able to hurt him; but having intelligence of the first conspiracies that were raised against him, he delivered himself by exiling such as he had most reason to suspect. Amongst these were some princes of the royal family, particularly *Theodofred*, the brother of king *Recesuintbo*; whom he sent to *Cordova*, where some say he caused his eyes to be put out, that he might be in no condition of mounting the throne, which however is not to be depended upon; with him went his son *Roderic*, who actually succeeded *Witiza*^y. At this time also it is believed he banished *Pelagius*, who is generally held to be the son of *Favila*, who was likewise brother to king *Recesuintbo*. If we speak doubtfully of these genealogies, it is that we may avoid misleading the reader; for we make no question at all that these were princes, that is, descended from crowned heads among the *Visigoths*, but from whom, and in what degree, is very uncertain, and so it ought to be understood. *Mariana* would have us believe, that, while *Witiza* resided at *Tuy*, he killed *Favila*, the father of *Don Pelagius*, with a blow of a baton, or commanding staff, at the time this prince was captain of his guard, which, as we have elsewhere observed, does by no means agree with those high and universal praises bestowed upon *Witiza* at his accession to the throne^z.

- He is also said to have done other strange, wicked, and even wild actions, which are many of them improbable, and some of them impossible. Among the first may be reckoned a law he is said to have made, permitting his subjects to have as many wives as they pleased; and another for breaking to pieces and destroying arms of every kind, under pretence that he would render them needless, by maintaining his people in constant peace; towards which, this would have been a very foolish step^a. Amongst the latter, we may justly range another law, said to be of his making, for dismantling every town in his dominions, except the cities of *Toledo*, *Tuy*, and *Astorga*, which could not be true, because the *Moors* found many of them very well fortified, and were put to a great deal of trouble in reducing them. We have no intention to extenuate his vices, or apologize for his conduct; but, with the wiser and more judicious of the *Spanish* historians, to expose those exaggerations which are unworthy of belief. *Witiza* might be a wicked, and, in that sense, a weak prince, without being a madman or an idiot^b. His vices grew upon him daily, more especially after the death of *Gunderic*, who was succeeded by *Sindered* in the see of *Toledo*; a man who is said to have complied with his prince, at the expence of his conscience and his function; and it is likewise asserted, with great probability, that, misguided by the bad example of the court, the people in general became luxurious, indolent, and vicious, which, as it was very natural, lessened them in the esteem of their neighbours, and prepared the way for that ruin in which they were quickly after swallowed up. We must now turn our eyes upon those whom Providence made the scourges of a dissolute monarch and a degenerate people, and take notice of the first steps that were made towards their destruction^c (G).

WALID was at this time khalif of the *Saracens*, and *Muza* was the general who commanded his forces in the maritime parts of *Africa*. He had already, by order of his master, *Muza* besieged *Ceuta*, which

^x ALPHONS. Magn. Chron. RODERIC Toletan. lib. iii. l. iii.
^z FERR. Hist. de Hispan. p. iv. sect. 8.
RODERIC Toletan. l. iii.

^y Chron. de ALBAYD. RODERIC Tolet.
^a ALPHONS. Magn. Chron. LUC. Tudenf.
^b FERRERAS.
^c ISIDOR. Pacenf. ALPHONS. Magn. Chron. LUC. Tudenf.

(G) We are told by *Mariana*, and, upon his credit, by many later writers, that *Sindered*, metropolitan of *Toledo*, admitted *Oppas*, the brother of king *Witiza*, or, as some say, his son, as his colleague in that see (8); but for this there is no sufficient authority alleged; nor is it easy to discern why the king should put *Sindered* under such a difficulty, who is said to have been so complaisant to him as to restrain, and even to punish, such of the clergy as would have admonished him of his vices. The ancient writers speak of *Oppas* as metropolitan of *Seville*, not of *Toledo* (9); and it seems more agreeable to the king's interest to have his brother at the head of a large jurisdiction in one place, and his creature in another, than to crowd them both into one see. As to this *Sindered*, he has a very indifferent character given him on all sides, and therefore, we presume he deserved it (1). But what seems to shew him in the worst light, is his flying to *Rome*,

when the *Moors* became masters of *Spain*, where he survived many years, for we find him, in the year seven hundred twenty-one, assisting at a council held there by pope *Gregory* the second (2), who no doubt considered him as archbishop of *Toledo*, which however was not the case in *Spain*; where, upon his abdicating his see, the clergy chose *Urbanus* to succeed him (3), which is a proof, that, to the very last moment, the *Spanish* church maintained her independency. It is no improbable conjecture, and we mention it barely as a conjecture, that this *Sindered*, who was so complaisant to *Witiza* in the worst part of his reign, might carry away the records of the last council at *Toledo*, and, out of complaisance to his new master, suffer them to be destroyed at *Rome*, where, from the nature of their contents, it is not to be expected they should meet with any quarter.

(8) *Histor. de Espana*, lib. vi. c. 19. lib. iii.

(2) *Baron. & al.*

(9) *Isid. Pacenf. Chron. Hisp.*
(3) *Isid. Pacenf. Chron. Hispan.*

(1) *Roderic Toletan.*

is gallantly
defended by
count Julian.

reduced the rest of *Mauritania* under his obedience, and resolved to finish his conquest by driving the *Goths* out of the small part of that country of which they were possessed ^a. It was with this view that he marched directly with a numerous army to form the siege of *Ceuta*, in which count *Julian* commanded, who is said to have espoused the sister of *Oppas* and of king *Witiza*. He was certainly a man of great quality, and an excellent officer, of which he gave a noble instance, by defending this place with such skill and intrepidity, that, after considerable loss before it, *Muza* was obliged to raise the siege, and, as a proof of his resentment for want of success, he ravaged and destroyed all the adjacent country without mercy ^c. Some time after this, bearing still in his mind the anger kindled by this defeat, he caused a powerful fleet to be fitted out, that he might try whether the *Goths* were as able to defend themselves at sea as on shore. *Witiza* had no sooner intelligence of this, ^b than he likewise equipped a powerful navy, under the command of prince *Theodimir*, who had been before victorious over this enemy, and was so fortunate as to defeat them again; which obliged *Muza* to consider his future attempts better, though at the same time it served to augment that indignation he had conceived against the *Goths*, and which was ever after implacable ^f.

Witiza continues in a state of dissolute insensibility.

THIS, as some judicious *Spanish* writers observe, ought to have opened the eyes of the monarch of the *Goths*, and excited in him an active and diligent zeal for putting his dominions, more especially their sea coasts, into the best state of defence possible. But when men, and more especially princes, devote themselves intirely to pleasure, it so enervates their faculties, and clouds their understandings, that they remain in a kind of dead sleep, in which destruction generally finds them ^e. But, besides this neglect of *Witiza*, to take the measures necessary in so critical a conjuncture, there was another circumstance that could not fail of retarding his progress in that respect, though he might have been so inclined; and this was, the suspicions he had of the fidelity of many of his subjects, which rendered it extremely dangerous for him to raise forces in different parts of the kingdom, who, instead of resisting foreign enemies, might have turned their arms against himself ^h. We may from hence discern, that the condition of *Spain* at this time was such as really invited the *Moors*, a restless and martial nation, to attempt an invasion, at the same time that it disabled the *Goths* from exerting themselves in a manner otherwise natural to a people who had established themselves ^d in *Spain* by conquest, and who had hitherto defended their territories by the same courage and discipline, through the exercise of which they had been acquired ⁱ (H).

A civil war at length breaks out, but followed by a total defection.

ALL the arts that *Witiza* could use, and all the precautions that his diffidence could inspire, proved in the end ineffectual for preventing the defection of his subjects, who, taking the advantage of the distracted state of his affairs, began to shake off all respect for his government in several distant provinces. *Roderic*, the son of *Theodefied*, availing himself of this general disposition, was quickly in such a state, as to form pretensions to the regal dignity; so that a civil war began, and confusion served, as it commonly does in all countries, as the prelude to universal destruction ^k. The king's thoughts, being taken off from the care of the public, were from this time intirely turned to the preservation of himself and of his family: on the other hand, the rebels and malecontents, having their own safety chiefly in view, were assiduous only in bringing that revolution to bear which might free them from all fear of punish-

^a RODERIC Tolet. Hist. Arab. ^e FERR. Hist. Hispana, P. iv. sec. 8. ^f ISID. Pacensf.
^g ALPHONS. Magn. Chron. LUC. Tudenf. RODERIC Tolet. l. iii. ^h VASÆI Chron. ⁱ LUC. Tudenf.
^k ALPHONS. Magn. Chron. LUC. Tudenf. VASÆI Chron.

(H) There is no part of *Mariana's* history written with greater solidity of thought, or beauty of expression, than where he describes the strange degeneracy of the *Visigoths*, and that universal corruption by which they might be said to qualify themselves for destruction. By their conquest of the *Suevi*, by the expulsion of the *Greeks*, and from the confusion into which the *French* monarchy fell under their last kings of the first race, the *Goths* had no enemies left to struggle with; and this long peace producing vast riches, to which may be added the disposition of the three preceding kings to court the good-will of their subjects, by studying what might be most acceptable, absolutely turned their heads, and made them believe that they were as much superior in power to other nations as they evidently were in wealth and luxury. We may also remark (the rather, because hitherto it has escaped observation), that in these times all who had any degree of property were waited upon by slaves, than which nothing contributes so much to enervate the strength of a country; for, by a servile submission,

they lose all sense of honour, and consequently all spirit and courage, at the same time that they render those they serve excessively indolent, and inspire them with an insupportable haughtiness, that renders them utterly unfit for discipline; so that, however tumultuous and seditious in time of peace, they can never be brought to undergo the hardships and fatigues of war. *Witiza's* great fault was, that he soothed his subjects in this manner of living, at the same time that he encouraged them in it by his own example, without ever reflecting, that, to disable a nation from making war, must inevitably deprive them of the power of maintaining peace. There is no need, therefore, of prying into the rolls of destiny, in order to account for the sudden ruin of this great people, since that settled connection, which Divine Providence has established between enormous vices and their adequate punishments, may sufficiently satisfy; and in this sense their destruction was a judgment from heaven, which they might have averted by a timely change of manners.

a ment from *Witiza*; so that the apprehensions of present and immediate danger on both sides, hindered either party from discerning the peril they were in of being totally overthrown by an enterprising and vigilant enemy, that kept an eye continually upon their divisions, and expected with impatience when a proper opportunity would offer for renewing their endeavours to extend that empire, which they had lately established in *Africa*, over the opposite country in *Europe*, which they knew to be rich and flourishing, and which these hungry and rapacious conquerors had a longing desire to plunder¹. Of this they very speedily gave another pregnant instance, even before things were altogether ripe for making a general invasion; but by what means they were led to this expedition is not easy to determine^m, though we conceive the following at least a probable account.

b THE governor of *Mauritania* for the khalif, *Muza*, after long meditation, judged the most probable means of subduing *Spain* was to gain a footing therein, by seizing either some strong place, or some small district that might be easily fortified; and, having this project once in his mind, it was not long before he perceived, that the peninsula fronting *Africa*, and within four leagues of his own province, was the fittest that he could desire for such a purpose. He made choice, therefore, of *Tarick* or *Tarif Abuzara* to command a small body of troops, which he caused to be embarked for the execution of this design, about the success of which authors differ extremelyⁿ. The *Spanish* writers say, that he landed with so small a force, that he was speedily repulsed, and obliged to return to *Africa*; whereas some of the *Arabians* assert, that, finding the *Goths* engaged in a civil war, he ravaged all the coasts, and returned to *Muza* with an account that his enterprize would be found a great deal more easy than himself had imagined^o. Others maintain, that he went yet farther, and that he established himself here, bestowing the name of *Geizira Haladra*, i. e. the *Green Island*, afterwards contracted into *Algeira*, on the whole tract, and that of *Gebel Tarick*, which by degrees has been softened into *Gibraltar*, on the promontory and fortrefs which he erected there^p (1). This, in the sentiment of the most judicious of the *Spanish* critics, is accounted the first entrance of the *Moors*, the step by which they prepared for a general conquest, and, from a nice and judicious comparison of facts and dates, they fixed this introductory expedition of *Tarif Abuzara* to the year of our Lord seven hundred and nine^q; and if, in this, they have not hit the exact truth, we may be at least certain, that they come as near it as, at this distance of time, and with the few lights which

The first descent made by the Moors in the neighbourhood of Gibraltar.

f can be derived from antient writers, it is possible; and therefore with this we must be content; for though nothing is of greater importance to the history of *Spain* than the fixing of this period, yet too much nicety therein would serve only to deceive us.

d WHILE *Muza* was contriving in what manner he could most effectually avail his master of what had been already done and discovered in *Spain*, the civil war went on between king *Witiza* and Don *Roderic*, till the death of the former put the latter in possession of the kingdom, but without putting an end to the war; for *Evan* and *Sisebut*, the sons of *Witiza*, having been long accustomed to be stiled princes, could not think of being degraded into the rank of private persons with patience, and therefore took every method that could be devised to make the utmost use of their father's creatures, in order to set one of them upon the throne^r. It was to compass this end, that they began to intrigue with the *Saracens*; and, as if the miseries of their country were not already too many, to propose to them sending an army into *Spain*, which, through the intrigues of count *Julian*, they were more than enough inclined to do^s. It must appear strange to an attentive reader, that this noble personage, who but a short time before had done his country such a remarkable service, by the defence of *Ceuta* against this very man and this very nation, should now go over to their interests, and labour to throw his country into the most miserable condition that can possibly be conceived^t. It must be imagined,

Some truth there may be, though but little, in the story of count Julian.

¹ RODERIC Tolet. Hist. Arab. ^m MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS. ⁿ ALPHONS. Magn. Chron. LUC. Tudens. RODERIC Tolet. ^o Chron. de ALBAYD. MOHAMMED EBN ALGOCIA. ^p SHARIF AL EDRISI, five Geog. Nub. ^q MONDEJAR, Examen Chronologico. ^r LUC. Tudens. RODERIC Tolet. VASÆI Chron. ^s RODERIC Tolet. Hist. Arab. ^t MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS.

(1) In obedience to his master's commands, it is said, that *Muza* acquainted count *Julian* he was willing, in pursuance of his advice, to make an attempt upon *Spain*; but that the situation of affairs in *Africa* was such at this time, that it would not permit him to spare any great number of men; and on this account only one hundred horse and four hundred foot were embarked on board four trading ships, and sent over under the conduct of *Tarick Ebn Nacair*, an old officer, who had but one eye, yet in great esteem with his master, and held the fittest amongst all under his command to

form a right judgment of what might be expected from count *Julian's* intrigues and interest (1). We have set down the *Arabic* names, as bestowed on the island and promontory, in this rather than in the next expedition, in which we differ from *Ferreras* (2), though we rely upon the same authority (3); because it appears much more natural that new names should be given to places at first sight, than when they become more familiar. The reader, however, being apprised of this, will decide as to him shall seem reasonable.

(1) Marques de Mondejar, Examen chronologico del ano, in que entraron los Moros en Espana, Par. xxi. (2) Historia de España, P. iv. sec. S. (3) Sharif Al Edrisi in Geograph.

that he was drawn to this either by the promise of a prodigious recompence, or, which is rather ^a to be expected in a man of his birth or quality, by a too deep resentment of some personal injury. This last is adopted by most historians, and, in some, we find a copious and circumstantial account of the manner in which king *Roderic* ravished his daughter *Cava*, with a long train of particulars, that visibly betray the romance. Those who are more desirous of finding truth, are very far from being positive whether it was the daughter or the wife of count *Julian* that was thus injured; and some modern critics, after entering closely and deeply into this inquiry, instead of solving those doubts, have introduced a new and greater difficulty, with respect to the king by whom this injury was done, and who they think it very probable was not *Roderic*, but *Witiza* ^u. Others again, reflecting upon these uncertainties, and that none of the ancient *Spanish* chronicles afford the least hint of this matter, conclude the whole to be a fable, which ^b therefore they reject intirely ^w (K).

By his persuasion, Muza makes a second descent upon Spain.

BUT without carrying the matter so far, we may allow the *Arabian* writers ^x, who in this respect had as good a title to be well informed as the *Spanish*, may be in the right as to the assistance given *Muza* by Don *Julian*, moved to this inexcusable and barbarous conduct by resenting some flagrant injury done to him at home, while he was defending the conquests of the *Goths* abroad, not only against the prince who committed the offence, but against his innocent subjects, and Don *Julian*'s own countrymen ^y. This was no more than *Witiza*'s sons likewise did, and their uncle *Oppas*, who was metropolitan of *Seville*, who, to preserve a precarious principality, were content to abandon a part, and thereby hazard the whole of *Spain*, thro' the bringing in of these infidel auxiliaries ^z. By the persuasion of count *Julian*, as their own ^c writers say, *Muza* made a second and much more considerable embarkation, under the command of a new general, whose name was *Tarick Abdalabi*, who, with upwards of seven thousand men, accompanied by count *Julian*, landed near *Gibraltar*, and from thence made inroads into the adjacent country ¹. The *Saracen* general, being thoroughly informed of the divisions of the *Goths*, and how little king *Roderic* was in a condition to oppose them, resolved, even with so inconsiderable a force, to attempt the reduction of the whole kingdom; and, that this design of his might not be disappointed by his soldiers endeavouring to return with their spoils into *Africa*, he caused his fleet to be set on fire before his intentions were generally known; but it is to be supposed that he gave proper notice, as well of what he designed to do, as of what he had already done, to *Muza*, from whom he derived his authority ^b. This is considered as the second invasion of the *Moors*, and is by many writers confounded with the first, because the forces landed at the same place; but the best authorities place this in the year seven hundred and ten ^c.

King Roderic assembles with difficulty an army ready to resist them.

THE wise governor of *Mauritania*, who had rendered himself accountable to the khalif his master for the success of the war he had undertaken, intirely approved this measure, as thinking the force already sent over by no means proportionable to such a design, though he was at the same time very well pleased that his general was in possession of a fortress and port where,

^u RODER. SANTI Episc. Palent. ALPHONS. a Carthag. Reg. VASÆI Chron. LICER. ^x RODER. Tolet. ^y MONDEJAR, Examen Chronologicæ. ^z VASÆI Chron. ^a Geograph. Nubiens. RODERIC Tolet. ^b ISID. Pacens. Chron. Albayd. ^c FERRERAS, Hist. Hispana, P. iii. sect. 8.

(K) It is certainly not a little unfortunate for the credit of this story, that *Isidore of Badajoz*, Don *Alphonso the Great*, and the author of the Chronicle of *Albayda*, the three most ancient as well as most authentic writers concerning these times, should not mention or take the least notice of it; so that till the archbishop Don *Roderic* of *Toledo* brought it to light from the memoirs, and on the faith, of the *Arabians* (4), it was scarce known in *Spain*; yet it might for all that be very true, and the doubts raised concerning it are not so much founded in the fact, as in the circumstances with which it is related. For it is said that *Roderic*, king of the *Goths*, accidentally discovering from a window *Cava*, the daughter of Don *Julian*, who then attended upon the queen *Egilona*, half naked, became in love with her to such a degree, that, finding every method he could take to corrupt her virtue, vain, he at length employed force. Upon this, she wrote to her father; and *Mariana* has given us her letter at large, which is one of the ornaments of his history, and Don *Julian*'s answer, who afterwards returned into *Spain*, and, dissembling the injury he had received, prevailed upon the king to send him ambassador to *Mu-*

za, and to permit him to carry his daughter with him, which opportunity he took to persuade the *Saracens* to undertake the conquest of *Spain* (5). Now most of these facts may very probably be true, if, instead of king *Roderic*, we substitute *Witiza*, in whose time, as we have already shewn, count *Julian* began his intrigues with the *Moors*. The great, indeed the only, objection to this is, that, in the succeeding part of the history, we find count *Julian* acting in concert with the sons of *Witiza*, which seems to be inconsistent with the resentment shewn against their father. The answer to this, however, is both easy and natural, since *Marmol*, who was an inquisitive and intelligent writer, positively assures us, that he found it recorded in an ancient history of those times, that this traitor was the brother-in-law of the king he betrayed, and we may believe the wife of count *Julian* was *Witiza*'s sister (6), and, consequently, those young princes were his nephews. We may add to this, that the reign of *Roderic* was so short and so full of troubles, and his own personal character in other respects so fair, that nothing can be more improbable, with respect to him, than this imputation.

(4) *De rebus Hispanis*, l. iii. cap. 19. *dejar, Examen Chronologico, Par. xxii.*

(5) *Mariana, Hist. Hispana, lib. vi. c. 21.*

(6) *Men-*

- a for the future, he might send reinforcements, as occasion required^d. But believing it necessary, in the first place, to have a superior army in the field, he got together as many vessels as was possible, and drew out of his army twelve thousand men more, mostly natives of *Mauritania*, from whence the conquest of *Spain* is attributed to the *Moors*, and sent them over under the command of *Tarick Abincier*, whom he declared general and commander in chief, and who had instructions to extend his conquests as far as he was able, without hazarding his troops too much, by marching into the heart of the country^e. We must naturally conclude, that the contrivance, providing necessaries, and carrying this scheme into execution, must have been attended with various delays, and occasioned, on the whole, a great consumption of time, insomuch that we cannot easily conceive this new general could take the field before the
- b summer of seven hundred and eleven, at which time he found king *Roderic*, who had already brought his affairs into some order, at the head of a small army, ready to oppose him, and at the same time to cover, as far as he was able, all the open country behind him from the incursions of the *Moors*, who, as they had a considerable body of horse, made where ever they came a most dreadful devastation, and exercised, by the advice of Don *Julian*, and with a view to strike a terror that might render resistance vain, the most inhuman cruelties, upon the unarmed and defenceless inhabitants^f.

THE reader will discern that hitherto we have had but a very indistinct account of this last monarch of the *Visigoths*, and for this plain and short reason, that there is no better to be had. We have no authentic relation of the place or manner of *Witiza's* death, or of the solemn election, or at least recognition, of *Roderic* afterwards; for things were now in such disorder and confusion, so many evils were felt, such numberless dangers threatened, and this calamitous scene was of so long a continuance, that very few people had any inclination to put the transactions of these times into writing, till it became impossible to speak of them with that correctness and accuracy that posterity might wish or expect^g. It is indeed true, that some historians afterwards stepped in, and in a good measure filled up this chasm with incongruous and superstitious stories, below the dignity of history; and which have so obscured any traces of truth that may remain amongst them, as to prevent the bringing them together in a way that might afford the reader any tolerable satisfaction; and therefore it is much better to content ourselves with a few facts that are tolerably well supported, as being

d drawn from the short chronicles of antient writers, than to have recourse to these fabulous supplements, which, though they might entertain and amuse, could not either inform or instruct^h (L).

THE king of the *Visigoths*, perceiving plainly that this kind of defensive war would by degrees waste his army, and ruin his subjects, and being at the same time conscious that he was in no condition to act offensively, laboured with all imaginable industry to heal the divisions that had been so fatal to his country; and, with this view, made some propositions to the sons of *Witiza*, who had still a considerable party at their devotion. Whether these young princes repented of their past conduct, and entered into the king's reasons, or whether they

^d RODERIC Tolet. ^e FERR. Historia Hispana, P. iv. sect. 8. ^f ISID. Pacens. ^g MA-
RIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS, Historia de Hispana, P. iv. sect. 8. ^h RODER. SANTI
Episc. Palent. ALFONS. a Carthag. reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis.

(L) The reports concerning the death of *Witiza* (for what we have in modern historians must be esteemed as taken from tradition, since the ancient writers before-mentioned contain nothing upon that subject) were not only various and uncertain, but at the same time inconsistent and contradictory. According to some he was killed in battle by such as adhered to Don *Roderic*; others, that he was not killed, but taken, sent prisoner to *Cordova*, and, having his eyes put out, lived there some time in a miserable condition (7). Some again affirm, that he died of sickness at *Toledo*, and was buried in the church of *St. Leocadia*, on the twentieth of *December* seven hundred and ten, says a certain writer, upon whose credit however we cannot rely (8). Yet in this respect he cannot be very far in the wrong; for towards the latter end of this year happened his decease, if the ablest among the *Spanish* critics are not mistaken in their judgments. To justify farther what is said in the text, it may not be amiss to represent succinctly a story, which *Mariana* tells us from an *Arabian* author, of Don *Roderic*, which, as they have placed it, must have happened early in his reign (9). There was, it is said; a certain structure in *Toledo*, filled the enchanted palace,

which was very carefully locked up; and the current tradition was, that, whenever this place should be opened, the monarchy of the *Goths* would be quickly overthrown. Don *Roderic*, it seems, took it into his head, that this was only a political invention of his predecessors to secure their wealth, which he fancied must be deposited in this house, under such a variety of bars and locks; all of which he caused to be broken, and, having thus forced an entrance, he found the place altogether empty, except that there was an iron chest, which he also directed to be forced open, and therein a piece of cloth, with armed men painted thereon, and an inscription, signifying, that, very soon after this should be brought to light, *Spain* would be subdued by men resembling those that were there painted; a piece of intelligence that made him quickly repent his ill-timed curiosity. *Mariana*, to excuse himself for inserting this idle tale, alleges he was unwilling his readers should be unacquainted with an event transmitted by tradition; and it is inserted here to justify our remark on the fabulous circumstances interwoven by certain writers, for want of facts worthy of history.

(7) Roder. Santii Episc. Palent. Alphonf. a Carthag. reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis.
(9) Roder. Tolet. de rebus Hispan. l. iii. c. 17.

(8) Maxim. Chr. 2.

resolved to postpone their resentments for the present, and to resume them when a more favourable opportunity offered, is very uncertain; yet, whatever their intentions were, it is generally agreed that they altered their behaviour, accepted the terms offered them by the king, and joined his army with their forces¹. The *Moorish* general *Tarick*, being informed of this, and that *Roderic* was putting himself at the head of all the troops he could raise, in order to act offensively, sent an exact account of every thing to *Muza*, demanding a reinforcement, that he might be in a condition to dispute matters with the enemy, in case, after this alteration of their affairs, it should come to his turn to act on the defensive². *Muza* no sooner received this intelligence, than he caused a body of five thousand men to embark, and sent fresh instructions with this reinforcement to his general, who now thought himself in a condition to keep the field, and even to give them battle if he was forced to it³. This was indeed the only method *Roderic* had to take; his army was more numerous, he had the flower of his nobility about him, and he saw that things could not remain long in the situation they were in, unless it was in his power to give the *Moors* such a check as might oblige them to return again to *Africa*; he therefore disposed every thing in the best manner he was able for a general engagement, which he knew must be decisive; and omitted nothing that was in his power to inspire his troops with the hopes of victory, by reviving the ancient spirit of valour, and regard for the public welfare, which had rendered them invincible in former times⁴. His presence, his eloquence, and his activity, had, as might be well expected, a great influence over his army, insomuch that they received this proposition with applause. Though the season of the year was far advanced, and themselves much fatigued by their frequent endeavours to cover the country, yet they shewed themselves willing to exert their utmost power to rid themselves once for all of such dangerous and troublesome neighbours; and *Roderic*, upon this, without suffering their courage to cool, assigned all his generals their proper posts, and marched directly towards the forces of the *Moors*, to determine the fate of *Spain* by a single action⁵ (M).

The total defeat of the Spanish army, and subversion of the Gothic monarchy.

The *Moors*, on their side, were very far from declining the engagement, and fought only to avoid fighting with any manifest disadvantage of ground. At length the two armies met in a plain near the town of *Xeres de la Frontera*, on the banks of the river *Guadelete*, about three leagues from *Arcos*, in the kingdom of *Andalusia*, as it is now called. The *Goths* charged with all the fury that is commonly inspired by despair; but the *Moors*, who were old seasoned troops, received them with such firmness and intrepidity, as quickly diminished their fire. They made, however, several brisk efforts to penetrate through the infidels, but in vain; for the number of experienced officers amongst them kept the soldiers to their duty, and hindered them from rendering victory precarious by too early a pursuit⁶. At last, however, the *Goths* being intirely broken, the *Moorish* cavalry fell in amongst them, and made prodigious slaughter, rendering their victory as complete as they could desire; for the *Goths* flying without any order, or so much as knowing where to seek for safety, more were killed in running away than had fallen in the action; and the scattered remains dispersed in such a manner, that if their generals had attempted, it would have been very difficult to have brought even a small body of them together. We are not told what the numbers were that fell in this bloody dispute, but without question the loss on the side of the *Goths* must have been very great; and yet this was not their utmost misfortune; but their having no place of retreat, no other army

¹ FERRERAS *Historia Hispana*, P. iv. sect. 8.
² ROD. Tolet. ³ ISID. Pacenf.

⁴ RODER. Tolet. *Hist. Arab.*

⁵ FERRERAS.

⁶ ELMACIN, *Epit. Hist. Saracen.* l. i.

(M) We find in some historians a long detail of this war, in which the troops of king *Roderic* are said to have been commanded by a general named *Sancho*; but as we find nothing of this in authors of indubitable authority, we say nothing of him in the text. There seems to be as little regard due to the fine speeches of king *Roderic* and the *Moorish* general *Tarick*, which, it is easy enough to discern, were framed on the model of ancient historians, and may perhaps be not elegant but useful in the general history of *Spain*, though quite without the compass of our plan (1). We will content ourselves, therefore, with observing, that the river, on the banks of which this fatal battle was fought, received its name from this very action, and that too not in the sense that some interpret it, as if *Guadelete* implied *Rio del Olvido*, or *River of Oblivion*; whereas the *Arabians* called it *Guadel Ledet*, which in *Spanish* is *Rio del Delite*, that is, the *River of Delight*, in honour of the glory they ac-

quired by deciding the fate of a kingdom in a single battle (2). This method of changing and imposing names was ever customary amongst the eastern nations, as appears from several passages in the Scriptures, and, like most of their customs, continues in use to this day. This remark shews us, how expedient, and even necessary, it is, to have recourse to the *Arabic* writers, in order thoroughly to understand the history of *Spain* (3). But then it requires a very nice judgment, and very great caution, to make a right use of what assistance they offer, since their affection for the marvellous leads them frequently into such excesses, as render it extremely difficult to distinguish how much or how little there is of truth in what they write. The same humour also prevails amongst many of the *Spanish* authors who have published histories of those times, of which we shall frequently have occasion to take notice, in the course of our subsequent sections.

(1) Mariana, *Historia de Espana*, lib. vi.
tinger, de usu linguæ Arabica. Mariana, Ferreras.

(2) Mondejar, *Examen Chronologico.* Parraf. 22.

(3) Hest-

a to which they might retire, nor any person of note with them to give the least directions in so dreadful a conjuncture. Such was this fatal battle, by which the monarchy of the *Goths* was intirely subverted; and though there seems to be very little or no dispute about the day, which was the eleventh of *November*, the festival of the popish saint *Martin* bishop of *Tours*, yet it is not easy to say whether it was in the year seven hundred and eleven^p, or seven hundred and twelve^q; the majority of writers declaring in favour of the latter, though the former is maintained to be the true date by the most judicious of the *Spanish* critics^r.

SOME of the *Spanish* historians, and even *Mariana*, ascribe this defeat in a great measure to the treachery of the two princes, sons to *Witiza*, who, by the advice of their uncle *Oppas*, metropolitan of *Seville*, went over to the *Moors* in the heat of the action, and charged with them upon the flanks of their countrymen; but as this is not mentioned by any ancient author, it cannot be depended upon^s. As for the king *Roderic*, he made his escape, and, as many writers say, retired first to a convent near *Merida*, and from thence, with a monk whose name was *Romanus*, to a hermitage not far from the city of *Viseo* in *Portugal*, where it is reported he lived some time, and then died in obscurity^t. King *Alphonso* the Great assures us, that in his time the tomb of this unfortunate monarch was discovered in a church in that neighbourhood, but, as *Ferreras* justly observes, it is much more probable, that, being wounded in the battle, he fled thither with the utmost expedition, and died quickly after of fatigue, of his wounds, or of despair, because it is not easy to conceive how he should continue for any space of time, much less for two or three years, undiscovered, in a country over-run by the enemy; or that a prince, so personally brave as all historians report him to have been, should abandon his subjects to the rage of such barbarous enemies, without making the least attempt to assemble, in some distant part of his dominions, another army, that might have done something towards their deliverance^u. The danger of leading that retired life was not at all less; and the glory of aiming at the relief of his subjects, whatever the consequences might have been, would have done more honour to his memory than those legendary stories that have been published of his severe penance in the place which he chose for his retreat^v. As a king, it was his duty to have exposed himself for the sake of his people; and, as the fate of war is uncertain, he might at least have saved a part of his dominions, and have left the recovery of the rest to his successors; whereas, by this abdication, supposing the fact true, he deprived the nation of the *Visigoths* of all appearance of government, which was no less fatal in its consequences than the battle he had lost.

THE *Moorish* general *Taric*, as soon as he perceived that he was not only master of the field of battle, and the enemy intirely defeated, but that there was not so much as the appearance of an army in the field, and that the inhabitants of all the adjacent cities and country were in the utmost distraction and consternation, resolved, like an experienced general, to leave them no time to recover their spirits, but immediately attacked and reduced *Seville*, *Cordova*, and other cities that were in no condition to make resistance. That this universal terror might not abate, he suffered his army to commit the most horrid outrages, without restriction or punishment, so that persons of all ranks, sexes, and ages, fell by the sword, unarmed, and without the least provocation; which had the effect he foresaw, and filled the people every-where with such amazement and fright, that they lost all power of resistance, and submitted to whatever terms he thought fit to prescribe^x. After making the best provision he could for the security of the country he had conquered, he sent an exact account of all that had passed to *Muza*, under whose authority, and by whose orders, he had undertaken and executed this fortunate expedition. He shewed that general, at the same time that he informed him that the king had disappeared, that the people were so terrified as not to think of a new election; and that this, of all others, seemed the most proper time for making a complete conquest: that it was necessary for him to come over in person; that he should bring with him a competent supply of troops; and that, before the *Goths* had time to recollect themselves, he might then be able to penetrate even to the most distant provinces of the kingdom; whereas the troops under his command were but barely sufficient to garrison the towns, and protect the country he had already conquered, so that it was impossible for him to improve this important and decisive victory any farther^y (N).

THERE

^p ISID. Pacenf. Annal. Compostell. RODERIC Tolet. l. iii.

plutens. Annal. Toletan.

Tolet. ^t PELLICER, Annal. l. i.

RIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, VAYRAC.

Tolet. l. iii. & Hist. Arab. LUC. Tudens. VASÆI Chron.

^q Chron. de ALBAYD. Annal. Com-

plutens. Annal. Toletan. ^r MARCA, PELLICER, ABARCA, PEREZ, MONDEJAR.

Tolet. ^t PELLICER, Annal. l. i.

RIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, VAYRAC.

Tolet. l. iii. & Hist. Arab. LUC. Tudens. VASÆI Chron.

^u FERR. Historia Hispana, P. iv. sect. 8.

^x ISID. Pacenf. ALPHONS. Magn.

^v RODERIC

^y RODERIC

(N) According to *Mariana*, and some other historians, great numbers of the flying army of the *Goths* took shelter in *Ecija*, not far from the field of battle, where they endeavoured to fortify themselves as well as they

could, but were attacked before they were in any state of defence, so that they had no resource but that of their courage, or rather that of their despair, which taught them to sell their lives dear, but subjected the inhabit-

Plan laid for
carrying this
great design
into execution.

THERE wanted not many arguments to convince *Muza* of the expediency of his passage ^a into *Spain*, neither was he at all retarded in his expedition through the want of those supplies that *Tarick* had demanded: for, having caused a report to be spread through *Afric* of the immense wealth of the *Spaniards*, and that the plunder of every place that made the least resistance was given to the soldiers, his army was quickly completed, so that it was much more difficult to find shipping to embark them, than men who were ready to embark ². On his arrival in *Spain* with this multitude, which were all landed at or in the neighbourhood of *Gibraltar*, he held a council of war, at which *Tarick* and all the general officers under him assisted; and in this council it was resolved, that, as nothing more was to be apprehended from the *Goths*, whose intestine feuds survived their government, and prevented any stop from being put to that conflagration which it had kindled, the wisest measure that could be pursued, as they had ^b a competent force, was to embrace the conquest of this great country at once ³. In order to this, *Muza* divided his forces into three armies; the first, commanded by his son *Abdalaziz*, had orders to conquer all the country lying on the *Mediterranean*; another general was charged with the like commission in respect to the provinces lying upon the ocean; but the largest of the three corps, under *Muza* himself, with whom *Tarick* went as his lieutenant-general, undertook the reducing the midland countries; and this plan of conquest, being once settled, was immediately carried into execution ^b; to facilitate which, it was resolved that good terms should be given, or at least promised, to every place that submitted; and that, where-ever they met with any resistance, all should be left to the discretion of the soldiers, or, in other words, the effects of the inhabitants given up to be pillaged, and their persons to slaughter ^c without mercy.

In what manner and in what space of time this was effected.

MUZA, with the main army under his command, advanced without any resistance as far as *Merida*, which being a place of some strength, the inhabitants stood upon their defence; but at length judged it best to surrender, on promise that they should be permitted the free exercise of their religion, and live under their own laws ^c. The general of the *Moors* then advanced with his victorious forces towards the capital, and in a short time after appeared before *Toledo*. *Sindered*, metropolitan of that city, had retired before this time to *Rome*, abandoning his flock to their misfortunes. Many of the ecclesiastics had likewise withdrawn with the treasure of their respective churches into the mountains of *Leon* and *Old Castile*, where they were covered and protected by those who preferred liberty in a desert to the finest ^d country where that was wanting ^d. The great lords of the court, who had done so little either for themselves or for their country, were desirous of making their escape before the place was invested. *Oppas*, metropolitan of *Seville*, who accompanied *Muza*, pursued them with a body of *Moorish* cavalry, and, coming up with them, cut them off, in revenge for the dislike they had shewn to his family ^e. The people, delivered from these incumbrances, defended themselves with great resolution, and surrendered at last upon honourable terms; in which, amongst other things, it was stipulated, that seven of their churches should remain to the use of the Christians, and that the people should be governed by their own laws. In the course of this capitulation, there was some mention made of the security the inhabitants might expect for the due performance of articles; upon which those who treated for the town ^e declared, that they did not expect or desire any other security than the faith of *Muza*; by which it is certain there were no sufferers; and from hence *Ferreras* thinks they were stiled *Muzarabians*, or *Mozarabians*, though as to this there are very different reasons given by some of the most learned amongst the *Spanish* antiquaries ^f (O).

What happened in the course of their over-running Portugal.

WHILE *Muza* was thus employed, he sent a strong detachment, under the command of a general officer, into that country which is now called *Portugal*, where the towns of *Egitania* and *Osonoba*, having made some resistance, were plundered and demolished; which so terrified

² FERR. Hist. de Hispan. p. iv. sect. 8.
Hispana, P. iv. sect. 8.

^a ^b ISID. Pacens. ROD. Tolet.

^d FERRERAS Hist.

^c ROD. Tolet. lib. iii.

^d VASÆI Chron.

^e MARIANA,

MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS.

^f ALDRETTE, MONDEJAR.

ants to be also put to the sword, and the place, when taken, to be first plundered, and then ruined (4). Some say, that the project of making an intire conquest of *Spain*, by employing different armies in different provinces at once, that the consternation might be general, and the *Goths* no-where have leisure enough left them to recollect themselves, so as to provide for their own defence, was given to *Tarick* by count *Julian*; and that one *Magued*, a renegado, had a considerable post in the army, and procured several places, by means of secret intelligence and bribes, to be put into the hands of the *Moors* (5).

(O) These adjectives, *Mozarabian* and *Mozarabic*, occur so frequently in all the *Spanish* histories, that we need not wonder authors differ about their origin and signification. The derivation given in the text is from *Ferreras*, and as probable as any. The famous *Mozarabic* liturgy, said to be revised at least, if not composed in part, by St. *Isidore* of *Seville*, is so called from its having been in use among the Christians who remained at *Toledo*, and remains a notable proof of the true sentiments of the old *Spanish* church. There is also a chapel in the cathedral of that city, distinguished by the same title, and for the same reason.

(4) *Histor. de Espana*, lib. vi. c. 24.

(5) *Roderic Tolet. Hist. Arab.*

a the inhabitants of *Evora*, *Lisbon*, *Viseo*, and *Lamego*, that each of them submitted upon the best capitulation that could be obtained: but the people of *Coimbra*, or *Conimbra*, making an obstinate defence, that city was almost intirely destroyed. Some *Arabian* historians, who are followed by many *Spanish* writers, place the reduction of *Merida* here, and enter into a long detail of the siege, which, to lessen the horrors of so melancholy a story, they have decorated with some marvellous circumstances ^s (P). After all these conquests, *Muza* thought it proper to give his troops some repose, that he might have leisure to provide for the civil government of his new subjects, of whom at present no higher tributes were demanded than they had paid to their own monarchs. But let us now say somewhat of what was performed by the other generals, who did their business as effectually ^h.

b *ABDALAZIZ*, with his forces, entered those countries that have been since known under the Theodomir titles of the kingdoms of *Jaen*, *Granada*, *Murcia*, and *Valentia*, the best part of which were ^{makes terms} ravaged by his cavalry ^{for himself} ^{and his ad-} ^{herents.} Yet he met with more resistance than his father had done; for prince *Theodomir*, who had acted with so much reputation at the head of the naval forces of the *Goths*, assembled a small body of troops on the frontiers of *Valentia*, with which he gave the *Moors* so much trouble, that they were obliged to send advice of the situation they were in to *Muza*, whose troops were quickly in motion; so that *Theodomir* must have been surrounded, if he had not very wisely demanded conditions from *Abdalaziz*, a young man of a noble and generous disposition, who granted him a fair capitulation, the articles of which were put into writing, and signed on both sides; by which the country he protected reaped great advantages, and *Theodomir* himself was intrusted with the government of it as in time past. The other general, meeting with little or no opposition, but marking his progress every-where with blood and devastation, pushed his conquest to the very extremities of *Galicia* ^k.

THE next year *Muza* with his army entered early into the field, and seems to have di- ^{Muza pro-} ^{ceeds to the re-} ^{duction of the} ^{inland parts of} ^{the kingdom.} ^{vided his forces in two columns; for it appears, that, while he marched with one part of} them to form the siege of *Saragossa*, the rest entered into *Old Castile* and *Leon*, where it is probable they met with more than ordinary resistance; since they dismantled and destroyed almost all the cities and towns in those countries, to the very foot of the mountains ^l. *Abdalaziz*, on his side, brought, partly by force, and partly by persuasion, the provinces on the coast of the *Mediterranean* under his subjection, as far as *Tarragona*, a city in those days strong, rich, and very populous, the inhabitants of which defended themselves, for some time, with great courage; but at length, perceiving that on one side they had nothing to expect but utter destruction, and that there was no kind of succour to be looked for on the other, they made their peace on the best terms possible, which left the young *Moor* at leisure to carry his victorious arms throughout *Catalonia*, to the foot of the *Pyrenees*. By this means the reader will perceive, that the poor remains of the *Goths* were shut up in the mountains of *Asturias*, *Burgos*, and *Biscay*, where they were not easily to be forced. As for the inhabitants of *Arragon*, *Catalonia*, and *Navarre*, who, in conjunction with them, might have made a considerable stand against the common enemy, they chose, for the most part, to retire into *France*, better pleased to enjoy quiet in a foreign country, than to live in a miserable or precarious state in their own ^m.

^s MARIANA, Historia Hispana, l. vi. cap. 25.
^k ISID. Pacens.

^l ROD. Tolet.

^h ROBERIC Tolet. l. iii.

^m LUC. Tudens. ROD. Tolet.

^l VASÆI Chron.

(P) Amongst the circumstances of this siege of *Merida*, which are recorded by some historians, the principal are these (6). There was, it seems, in the neighbourhood of this city, a very large quarry, and the roads leading to and from it were very broad and deep. *Muza* had intelligence that the besieged intended to make a general sally on that side, which induced him to order a very strong detachment of cavalry to take possession of these hollow roads in which they were concealed, and to charge the enemy in the rear as soon as their situation gave them an opportunity. In consequence of these instructions, this sally, though managed with great prudence, and supported with much intrepidity, proved very fatal to the besieged, who lost the best part of their bravest men. Being compelled to treat, though *Muza* rejected their propositions with contempt, they continued notwithstanding to make an obstinate defence,

upon the report of their deputies, that the *Moorish* general was of a great age and very infirm, in hopes that his death might occasion the raising of the siege. But *Muza*, being informed of this, encouraged them to renew their negotiation, and, before he gave audience to their deputies, caused his beard and his eye-brows to be painted black: on which they reported to their fellow-citizens, that the *Saracen* general was grown young again, and that it was to no purpose to resist a man who had even nature at his command. At their persuasion, therefore, the inhabitants submitted, upon such terms as he thought fit to prescribe, though, amongst others, this was one; that they should deliver up to him all the gold and silver in their churches. But in all this there is such an air of fable as renders it very justly suspected, which was the reason we did not give it a place in the text.

(6) *Rasis*, *Vargas*, *Mariana*.

His difference
with Tarick
obliges them
both to quit
Spain.

As the business of war was now over, and the inhabitants of *Spain* had their spirits so a weakened and broke, that they seemed to have lost equally the will and the power to revolt, *Muza* found himself obliged to yield obedience to the khalif *Walid's* order, which required him to repair immediately to *Damascus*, to answer such demands as the emperor had to make. This was drawn upon him by the misunderstanding that arose between him and *Tarick*, almost as soon as he set his foot in *Spain*; for that general attributed all the success they had met with to his own abilities and good fortune, and could not bear with patience that *Muza*, with his superior title, should run away with the reward ⁿ. On the other hand, *Muza* having amassed, in this and in his other conquests, a prodigious treasure, and having the most considerable officers of the army at his devotion, behaved in *Spain* rather as a sovereign prince than as the lieutenant of the khalif, and more especially towards *Tarick*, with whom he professed himself displeased, b and would have made him very willingly feel the weight of his resentment. When he came to depart, he caused a vast quantity of precious stones, rich plate, and other valuable effects, together with the most beautiful slaves of both sexes, to be put on board his fleet for the khalif's use: he carried likewise *Tarick* with him, and prince *Theodomir*, that he might hinder the former from doing mischief in *Spain*, and procure for the latter the ratification of that treaty which he had made with his son, being extremely pleased with the noble frankness and great candour of that worthy person. On their arrival at the court of the khalif, *Muza*, after all his services, found but a very indifferent reception; but *Theodomir* obtained all that he sought, and was treated with the utmost respect and kindness by the khalif *Walid* as long as he lived, and had the like attention shown him after his decease by his brother *Zuliman*, or *Soly-* c man, who succeeded him in the khalifat ^o.

The govern-
ment, upon
this, devolves
on Abdalaziz,
son to Muza.

THE government of *Spain* remained all this time in the hands of *Abdalaziz*, whose authority was confirmed by the khalif *Zuliman*, and from him it is supposed that he received orders to make an actual survey of the whole kingdom, that the administration of justice might be put into a regular method, the revenue more easily collected, and the value of this important conquest be with more certainty known. At least in this all historians agree, that *Abdalaziz* undertook to have such a description made, and this under his own inspection, which obliged him to enter on a tour through most of the provinces of the kingdom; in which it is asserted, that if he was assiduous in doing the khalif's business, he was not negligent in his own ^p. He made himself, by this means, perfectly acquainted with the true state of things, and the condition the people were in, their laws, customs, and tributes, which he regulated at his pleasure; and, from whatever motive it proceeded, he was certainly very gracious and very kind to the inhabitants, to whom he made magnificent promises, and upon whom he bestowed many favours. The *Moorish* officers and governors of great cities had orders to cleanse and repair them, new fortresses were erected in proper places, and the necessary orders issued for restoring a free intercourse between the several provinces, that the people in general might enjoy the blessings of peace, and have reason to be pleased with his mild administration; methods that there is little reason to doubt produced, at least in a great measure, the desired effect ^q (Q).

He forms a de-
sign of render-
ing himself in-
dependent.

BUT, with all this prudence, œconomy, and moderation, *Abdalaziz* had his foibles as well c as other men; he loved to acquire money, as a thing necessary to support that magnificence in which he lived; he had a strong passion for the fair sex, and was not without a tincture of ambition, which even the high post that he possessed could not satisfy to the full: with all his failings, he was a person of great abilities, and had address enough not only to cover his vices, but also to render them useful to his secret and important designs ^r. Amongst the ladies that were brought into his seraglio was *Egilona*, the widow of king *Roderic*, for whom he had a peculiar tenderness, and treated her with all imaginable marks of deference and respect. He fixed upon *Seville* for the seat of his government; and, after he returned

ⁿ ISID. PACENS. ELMACIN, Epit. Hist. Saracen. ^o ELMACIN, Epit. Hist. Saracen. ISID. PACENS.
^p MARIANA, Historia Hispana, l. vi. cap. 27. MAYERNE TURQUET. FERRERAS, Hist. Hispana, P. iv. §. 8.
^q RODER. Tolet. ^r MARIANA, FERRERAS.

(Q) It must have been under this government, if what the *Spanish* historians write from the tradition of their ancestors be true, that count *Julian* met with the just reward of his treason against his country (7). For, the war being over, and his intrigues no longer of any service, his advice was treated with contempt; and, upon his shewing some resentment of what he took to be ill usage, they threw him into a dungeon, and confiscated his large estates. There he had leisure to make

a true estimate of his own ill conduct, as participating in his person and fortune in that universal scene of tyrannical oppression he had been so instrumental in bringing upon his own nation, through the resentment of an injury in which that nation had not the least share. In these melancholy circumstances, with little ease of body, and less of mind, he wore out his miserable life, as much despised by the *Moors*, as he was hated and abhorred by the *Goths*.

(7) Luc. Ludens. Roderic Tolet, Vasai Chron. Marian.

a thither from the progress he had made, it is said that he espoused *Egilona*, and, under pretence of her former quality, caused her to be treated with all the marks of duty and submission that could have been paid her if she had still been a queen. She was a princess of exquisite beauty, majestic presence, and of a high spirit, though accompanied with an affability and easiness of deportment which gained her a great ascendancy over all who approached her. It was suspected that she inspired him with an inclination to render himself independent; and some writers go so far as to assert, that, at her persuasion, he in private assumed the diadem, and took, though with all the secrecy imaginable, the most effectual measures he was able to pave the way to absolute sovereignty ^s.

b This scheme, though managed with the utmost dexterity, could not be carried on without creating some suspicions. The principal officers among the *Moors*, who envied his greatness, and thought he kept them at too great a distance, began to have a strict eye on all the motions of *Abdalaziz*, and at length penetrated, or at least pretended to penetrate, into his scheme of revolting; in which, as they did not perceive that they were any-ways to find their account, they resolved to prevent him. For that purpose, they formed a project of assassinating him, as the only method that could effectually answer their intent, his credit with the army being so great, and his influence over the people being so strong, as left them nothing to hope, if their conspiracy was detected, and themselves compelled to have recourse to arms. This resolution once fixed, they only waited for a favourable opportunity to strike their blow; and it was not long before they met with an occasion every way suitable to their wish ^t.

c It was necessary for *Abdalaziz*, in order to preserve the affection of the *Moors*, to maintain a great shew of zeal for the *Mohammedan* religion; and therefore he went regularly at the proper hour to make his prayer at a certain mosque, which gave *Ayud*, an antient general, who was at the head of this plot, an opportunity of observing that he went thither one day almost alone; of which having given notice to the rest of the conspirators, they presently repaired thither, and, while he was occupied with his devotion, surrounded and dispatched him with their daggers ^u. They had no sooner perpetrated this fact, than they caused public proclamation to be made, that he was a traitor to the khalif, and that they had put him to death only to prevent the design he had formed of usurping *Spain*, to the prejudice of his master; and at the same time, to prevent the dreadful effects of anarchy in a state so lately settled, they declared *Ayud* governor *pro interim*, till the pleasure of their sovereign should be known ^w. This revolution was attended with little or no disorder; for the *Moorish* army, seeing this stroke abetted and approved by their principal officers, were silent; and as for the *Goths* and *Spaniards*, they conceived themselves very little interested in this change of masters. *Ayud* was a man of courage and experience, and, for the few months that he held the administration, behaved with vigilance and discretion; notwithstanding which, the *Moorish* governors, in many places, exercised great oppression, and acquired immense riches, in some measure at the expence of the khalif, whose revenues they embezzled, but chiefly by pillaging the Christians; being never at a loss in imputing crimes to such as, after the destruction of their country, were yet in possession of any thing that was worth taking from them ^x.

f THE reins of government were taken out of his hands by *Alahor*, upon whom the khalif bestowed that employment. He began immediately to look into the conduct of his predecessors; and having clearly distinguished the errors and iniquities that had been committed, he made the first essay of his authority in doing strict justice to the khalif and to the people. He fixed the seat of his government at *Cordova*, and from thence issued his orders for the principal officers to attend him. When he had them thus in his power, he laid open all their acts of fraud and oppression, caused strict restitution to be made to the Christians of what had been taken from them, and, when this was done, took what he could find towards reimbursing the khalif; and, where satisfaction could not be had, he caused the offenders to be publicly chastised with rods ^y. This inquisition once over, he ordered a general review of the army, and, under that pretence, assembled a great body of forces for an expedition which he had meditated for some time. He had received orders from the khalif *Omar II.* who succeeded his nephew *Zuliman*, to make himself master of all that the *Goths* had possessed in *France*; and the first intelligence the public had of this order was by his making an irruption into that country with the flower of the *Moorish* troops. He opened the campaign, after their usual manner, with wasting all the country before him with fire and sword, which spread such a terror amongst the inhabitants, that he reduced *Elna*, *Carcassone*, *Ayde*, *Narbonne*, *Beziers*, and *Nimes*, as soon as he came before them, and the rest

^s ISID. PACENS. LUC. TUDENS. RODER. TOLET.

^x ALPHONS. MAGN. LUC. TUDENS. VAS. CHRON.

ISIDOR. PACENS. ROD. TOLET. HIST. ARAB.

^t ISID. PACENS.

^u ROD. TOLET.

^w ISID.

^y ELMACIN, EPIT. HIST. SARACEN.

of the province in the space of a few weeks ^a. There were two things that greatly facilitated this expedition; the first, that the people had not hitherto so far recovered of their consternation, as to vest in any of their nobility the supreme command; the second, that the *Franks*, who might have protected them, were so involved in their intestine disputes, that they were not at leisure to look after any body's affairs but their own ^a.

He completes
the subversion
of the kingdom
of the Visi-
goths.

As this expedition completed the conquest of the *Moors*, and left the *Visigoths* nothing of their antient monarchy but those rough and mountainous countries which nature had fortified against all invaders, the proper business of the section ends here: but, notwithstanding this, the judicious reader might very probably conclude we had handled this something imperfectly, if, after pursuing the history of the *Visigoths* established in *Spain*, from the time it became their seat of empire to the ruin of the monarchy, we should, to save ourselves the labour of a strict and troublesome enquiry, say nothing at the close, of that polity by which this glorious nation was ruled, during the space of almost 350 years that they remained in possession of such extensive dominions, and were justly respected as one of the greatest and most formidable powers in *Europe* ^b; the rather, because this enquiry will throw light upon the other *Gothic* constitutions, in demonstrating the means by which they conciliated dominion and liberty, secured independency in church and state, and, without weakening the power of the crown, maintained the authority and vigour of the laws, which protected the subject in the enjoyment of his property, and settled the privileges of all ranks and degrees of people, so as to hinder their clashing with each other, at least as far as could be expected from any frame of rule contrived by finite understanding. This, indeed, is a task incumbered with many difficulties; but which, from a close attention to facts, and the assistance of the candid reader's attention, we flatter ourselves, may be, in a good measure, overcome.

The religion of
that nation
during their
dominion in
Spain.

In reference to religion, the *Visigoths* were *Arians* at the time they became masters of *Spain*, and so continued during the space of above 123 years; that is, till *Reccared* the Catholic, with the principal nobility of the nation, returned to the profession of the Christian faith at the third general council of *Toledo*. As the faith which they then embraced was that of the old *Spanish* church, which, under various difficulties and hardships, had constantly subsisted there amongst the natives in general, so it was in a great measure pure and uncorrupt, very little tinged with those innovations that had crept into other churches, and as near the primitive integrity as any that was then in being; and so it continued to the very time of its subversion, when, though the morals of the people were corrupted, yet the doctrines of their church were sound, at least if we may judge from the canons made in their councils, from their liturgy, and from the writings of those great luminaries of the *Spanish* church, whom they still honour with the titles of saints. It is true the *Spanish* ecclesiastical historians deliver, with great confidence, many things as facts, which are not very compatible with this account, and some that are directly inconsistent with it. But the reader will consider, that this is done to justify the present situation of things, and to prevent the *Spanish* nation from discerning, that, after the destruction of their church and state by the *Moors*, which constrained the poor remains of the *Goths* in the mountains to have closer communication with *Rome* than their ancestors had maintained, the doctrine and discipline of their church were gradually changed; for, notwithstanding this, even their latest and their ablest writers clearly acknowledge, that, through this whole period, the nation of the *Visigoths* were remarkable for their zealous attachment to the catholic faith. What that faith was we may certainly learn with much greater security from their own writers than from modern commentators; and upon this ground we maintain, that the Christian church here very much resembled that of our *British* ancestors before the coming of the monk *Augustine* from *Rome*, and was consequently free from all gross superstitions. A point of very high importance, and which deserves the most serious attention (R).

As

^a ISIDOR. Pacenf.

^a FERRERAS.

^b MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, FERRERAS.

(R) In order to make this matter more perspicuous, it may be expedient to enter into a few particulars. The *Spanish* historians, for many ages past, speak very confidently of images as commonly in use in those times, and assign it as a cause why so many have been discovered or dug up in different places. But those who know what strange artifices have been practised in *Spain*, to give an air of antiquity to things of a very recent date, will not be much moved by this argument, which, at the very best, is conjectural only, and not conclusive

(1). On the other hand, amongst the canons made by near forty councils, the most piercing eyes of those who are patrons of image-worship, have not been able to produce a single passage that favours this opinion; and as the *Spanish* prelates were so ill-natured in this respect, when assembled in councils, so their antient doctors have been to the full as obstinate in their writings; and this, notwithstanding their subjects must have led them to have spoke in another stile, if their sentiments had been really such as some have represented them (2). A

(1) *Censura de Historias fabulosas, Obra póstuma de Don Nicolas Antonio.*
vol. iii. p. 17.

(2) *Dr. Geddes's Tracts,*

- ^a As to the civil government, it was certainly an elective and limited monarchy; for though, at their first entrance into *Spain*, the succession seemed to be hereditary in the line of *Euric*, or *Evoric*, since the crown descended even to a child, yet this was with the assent of the nobility: so that they never quitted their right of election, which was natural and inherent to them in their military capacity, by which they became conquerors and lords of *Spain*^c. In process of time this prerogative of election seems to have been confined to a kind of senate, or privy council of the nobility and prelates attending on the person of the king, and thence styled palatines, who might, it seems, be chosen, but could not be legally removed from that authority by the prince upon the throne^d. By their assent also the king might associate another person with him in the government, who thenceforward was considered as the apparent successor, though, on the demise of a reigning prince, his title was again recognized, and sometimes, even after the solemnity of his coronation, confirmed in a general council, which was in fact an assembly of the states, where the palatines sat together with the prelates, and whose assent was necessary to the decrees or canons which were made in them^e (S).

THE

^c MARIANA, Hist. Hispana, l. vi. MARIANA.^d SAAVEDRA Corona Gothica.^e LOYASA, MORALES,

negative argument, indeed, is not of the weightiest sort; and therefore let us set it against the conjectural reason before-mentioned, which will bring the scale even. We may then urge against images the canons made against idolatry, penned in such very strong terms as would have recoiled upon themselves, if they had used images (3). This is a very persuasive argument, and must incline the negative scale not a little. To bring it quite down, let us observe, that, in one of their ancient canons, we find these words, *It is decreed that pictures ought not to be set up in churches; that what is worshipped and adored be not painted on walls* (4). Can it be imagined, that those who were so cautious as not to admit pictures, should have a more favourable opinion of images? A candid enquirer will never believe this. It may not be amiss to add, that all the accounts of the statues set up by king *Wamba* are supported only by tradition; and if even that tradition were incontestable, it will not overturn what has been said; for they stood not in the church, but upon the city-walls, and are celebrated not by any canon, but by a poet. The praying to saints and angels is a doctrine under the very same circumstances, the lawfulness of which cannot be proved from the canons of the *Spanish* councils, or from the writings of their ancient prelates. St. *Isidore*, bishop of *Seville*, in his *Book of Sentences*, has a chapter upon prayer, and another on the honour due to the saints; inviting topics surely to have declared his notions on this head, if they had been his notions (5). It is indeed true, that, in the printed *Mozarabic* liturgy, some saints are prayed to, and, among the rest, St. *James*; but this proves nothing, at least nothing more than this, that the prayer was not of St. *Isidore's* composing; because the legend of St. *James* of *Compostella* did not obtain credit in *Spain* till some centuries after his decease: so that though this may be an old prayer, and perhaps the first of its kind introduced into their liturgy, yet not so old as his time. Purgatory was also a doctrine unknown to this church. They did commemorate in their worship upwards of 50 saints, that is, holy men, of whose felicity in another life they had the strongest assurance; and, which is not a little strange, there is not a bishop of *Rome* amongst them: but they did not offer for souls departed, or intimate their belief that the prayers of the faithful could alter their condition. Yet, not to dissemble the truth, they did in some sense pray for the dead, but in a sense that clearly excludes purgatory. They believed that the souls of pious men were at rest from their labours, and had peace in the Lord; but that they could not enter into the joys of heaven till the general resurrection; and, for this reason, they prayed that God would speedily accomplish the number of his elect, that the souls of pious men departed might the sooner enter into

the fruition of eternal happiness. That they gave the holy communion in both kinds, and that they styled the elements, after consecration, bread and wine, is evident from the canons of their councils, and their ancient liturgies. We may affirm the like with regard to auricular confession, and several other things; but we content ourselves with referring the reader to a treatise in which these subjects are very candidly explained, and the truth of them as fully evinced (6).

(S) All the governments instituted amongst those warlike nations, by whom the dominions of the *Roman* empire were erected into kingdoms, had much resemblance one to another, though hardly any two of them were perfectly alike. It was impossible that a person, who had not military virtues and experience, should have the supreme command of a nation always in motion, and in the field; and, for this reason, their monarchs were elective (7). Among the *Goths* as well as the *Franks*, they at first had attention to certain great families, out of which they constantly chose their kings; which might be an act of great political prudence, as it confined the number of candidates, and did not leave that room for intrigue and faction which was afterwards found. In process of time this humour wore out in *Spain*, and the regal election came to have no other restriction than that the person chosen should be of the illustrious blood of the *Goths* (8). By degrees also this power of electing, under colour of the public good, was transferred, at least in respect to the laity, from the nobility in general to the great officers of the crown, or lords waiting upon the king in his palace. There is still an appearance of this in the empire, where it is not his dominions that constitutes an elector, but some great office in the emperor's household, which now, except upon some very particular occasion, is merely nominal, that intitles him to his lands, and to his voice in the election. In *France* they had their mayors of the palace, who, for a long time, set up and dethroned kings at their pleasure (9). In *Poland* they have the title of palatines at this day; but they have no power of excluding the rest of the nobility from the choice of a king; and the mischiefs to which such a constitution is liable are visible enough on every vacancy of the throne; which sufficiently demonstrates the wisdom of confining this great trust to a few. We have before mentioned, that, in the subscriptions still extant to the decrees of several councils, we may, in some measure, collect the offices to which this high privilege was annexed (1). Some historians also observe, that these great lords were admitted only into those councils, in which civil as well as religious concerns were to be brought under consideration; for where nothing was to be done but what regarded ecclesiastics, or ecclesiastical

(3) Concil. Tolet. xii. can. xi.

(4) Concil. Eliber. can. xxxvi.

(5) Isid. Opera.

(6) Vassal Chron. Giddes's Miscellaneous Tracts, vol. iii. p. 21. Turen. Isidor.

(8) Ferreras.

(9) Greg. Turen. Fredeg. in Chron. Paul. Emil.

(1) Selden's

The prerogative of the crown, though elective, very extensive.

THE prerogative, or royal power of the kings of the *Visigoths*, was very extensive and considerable, notwithstanding they derived their title from election. They had an absolute power over the army, which they commanded in person, or intrusted with any officer of experience, as they thought proper. They called general councils, or assemblies of the states, at their pleasure; proposed, at the opening of the sessions, all points which they were to deliberate upon; and, at the close, gave a sanction to their proceedings, by subscribing their decrees. They stamped money with their own effigies, and settled its value. They bestowed all places of trust and profit; and they exercised, as we have fully proved, an ecclesiastical supremacy, which was not only submitted to by the clergy separately, but owned and acknowledged by them collectively in their provincial and general councils. They had also the power of making laws, as appears by that antient body of their laws, intituled, *Fuero Juzgo*, which sometimes were revised, confirmed, and published, in their councils, or assemblies of the states ^a.

Of the administration of justice, and obedience paid to the laws.

THE administration of justice was provided for in every district of the kingdom, where the *Conde*, the bishop, and the *Guardinga*, or warden, seem to have had a conjunct authority, as in other *Gothic* governments; nay, such a reverence was paid to laws, that we see that king *Recesvinto* desired that judges might be appointed to decide between him and his subjects; and where princes exceeded their authority, or where, in compliance with their commands, any illegal acts were done, they were censured and declared void in the next council, and the best remedies applied that the wisdom of the nation could devise. By this a noble and generous spirit of freedom was kept up, which, without intrenching on the power of the king, a circumstance equally honourable and useful, secured the people from feeling any bad effects from it; so that as the dignity of the monarch procured duty and submission from his subjects, his sense of the importance of preserving their affections obliged him to a reciprocal reverence for the nobility and the whole nation ^b. This is not a notion taken up at pleasure, or from prepossession, and which we endeavour to impose upon the reader, but an observation resulting from facts, of which the reader himself must be sensible. The motive to our making this observation was to shew, that as this principle was, through the course of several reigns, the cause of happiness to the *Visigoths*, from that royal condescension which was the capital maxim of their wisest and best princes, yet it became, in the end, the source of their destruction. The mutual complaisance of *Witiza*, and the bulk of his subjects making an ill use of that amazing prosperity which a long peace, and a succession of wise administrations, had poured upon them, and which corrupted both prince and people, and, opening the floodgates of luxury, resolved all their wishes, and softened all their passions, into a love of ease and pleasure, were alike incompatible with the true principles of piety and public spirit, and brought along with them all those evils that are the constant attendants of a preposterous desire of being perfectly happy here, which is the never-failing prelude of extreme and universal misery ^c.

The great number of people, splendour, and wealth, of the Visigoths.

WE may with certainty infer, from the number of bishopricks, in the regulation settled by *Wamba*, from the numberless towns mentioned in the old historians, from the ruins of places of considerable extent, which yet appear, from the various other circumstances, and more especially from the concurrence of Christian and *Mohammedan* authors in their relations of the state of things at the close of this period, that the *Moors* found *Spain* thoroughly peopled, excellently improved, full of cities, boroughs, and villages, and many of these adorned with fine structures, some of which, in spite of the injuries of time, and of barbarous enemies, are not wholly decayed. Now, though much might be due to the industry of the natives, to the frugality of their ancestors in former ages, and to other incidents, of which it may be we have received little notice, yet we can scarce conceive that this should be brought about without an extensive and beneficial commerce. For, first, this has rarely happened in any country; secondly, it is unnatural to believe it of this, which lay then the most convenient of any part of *Europe* for carrying on foreign trade; thirdly, and which is indeed the strongest argument of all, on account of the puissant naval force which it is evident they had, and which never can be had where commerce does not flourish. This is so much the more apparent, as it is out of dispute that, even at the time they were undone, their fleet was superior to that of the *Saracens*, notwithstanding they found means to embark ^d ^e ^f.

^a Hispana Illustrata, tom. iii.

^b MORALES.

^c MARIANA, FERRERAS.

affairs, their presence was not either required or permitted. *Pero como era concilio para solo cosas de la Fe, y no para negocios seglares, no intervino en el agano de los Pulatinos* (2), says a very learned and judicious histo-

rian, whose sentiment is highly rational and probable; and yet perhaps the point is incapable of strict proof.

(2) Saavedra Corona Gothica.

- a so many thousand men. It likewise merits attention, that their seamen kept up their courage to the last, which was owing to their active and hardy kind of life; so that if this had been attended to as it deserved, their enemies might have been prevented from undertaking and executing such an invasion. But their factions and domestic discontents prevented them at least from using, it may be hindered them from discerning where their remaining strength lay, and of what importance it was to their preservation. But this is clear and undeniable, that their victorious admiral *Theodomir* was the only nobleman in *Spain* that behaved in a becoming manner, and made any struggle worth recording in defence of his country; which justifies the foregoing observations, and, in the midst of this obscurity, furnishes us with a ray of light sufficient to discover, that great part of that immense wealth, which proved the bane of
- b this once warlike nation, and that so much enriched their plunderers, was derived from maritime traffick ⁱ (T).

In the writings of *Isidorus Pacensis*, whom some stile bishop of *Beja*, and others of *Bada-joz*, we have an ample and affecting detail of that dreadful devastation which the *Moors* every where committed at their first entrance into *Spain*, as if their business had not been to conquer and to possess, but to dissipate and destroy; so that as this section began with representing the grandeur of the monarchy, and proceeded to shew how the country was gradually improved, and its inhabitants rendered opulent, it ends with the subversion of the one, and the ruin of the other, leaving all things in a state of horror and confusion, till, out of this chaos, both the Christians and the *Moors* returning to their senses, began to form themselves into regular governments, and to bend all their endeavours, which succeeded, however, but slowly, to repairing and restoring what had been so suddenly and surprisngly reduced into a state of desolation, to which history scarce affords us a parallel ^k. The history of these changes of the revival of the *Gothic* power, the revolutions in the *Moorish* administration, the principalities established by the former, the kingdoms that grew out of the latter, their perpetual contentions, which, with various turns of fortune, sometimes flattered one nation, and sometimes the other, till, by the joint efforts of force and policy, and through the over-ruling disposition of Providence, the Christians recovered their ancient dominions, and, after a long series of years, many cruel battles, and a vast effusion of human blood, at length forced the *Moors* utterly to abandon *Spain*, will be the business of succeeding

d sections, in which it shall be our study to represent a variety of great events as clearly and as concisely as possible, and at the same time with candour and impartiality, that this part of the Modern History, than which there is none more instructive or more pleasant, may,

ⁱ ISID. PACENS. ROD. TOLET. MORALES.

^k SAAVEDRA Corona Gothica, PELLICER, MONDEJAR.

(T) It is an omission justly to be regretted, that the historians living in and nearest these times are so very succinct in all they say concerning the naval strength of the *Goths*; so that when we speak of it with any degree of confidence, many may be inclined to treat it as a mere conjecture; whereas, in reality, though we can state but very few facts; yet the deductions made from these are so plain and natural, and withal so certain, that whoever attends to the chain of reasoning cannot entertain any doubts about them. The *Goths* and *Vandals* were famous for their power at sea before they settled there. The former nation, if a *Greek* historian is to be believed, once covered the *Mediterranean* with 6000 ships, which, let them be of what size they would, was a very great naval force (3). The *Vandals* again had such a strength of shipping as enabled them to transport their whole nation into *Africa*, from whence they invaded *Italy*, in favour of *Attilus*, with a fleet of 3000 sail. These nations cannot be supposed to have lost their attention to, or their skill in, maritime affairs, in countries abounding with ports, and happily situated for the command of commerce and of the sea. On the contrary, though we seldom read of their fleets, yet whenever they are mentioned, we find them described as numerous and powerful (4). It was by being superior at sea, that the *Visigoths* established themselves on the coast of *Mauritania*, which they held long after the *Saracens* became powerful on that element, as well as at land, as appears from their struggles with the *Greek* emperors, and from the conquests they made in the *Archipelago*. Yet, before the conquest of *Spain*,

we do not find that they ever defeated the *Goths* by sea; which is a direct testimony that they must have been very powerful on that element; and this necessarily implies their having a great number of ships and seamen in constant employ; which is a clear proof that they had a great trade, or otherwise how should they have employed them (5)? We cannot indeed suppose that their vessels were comparable, in any respect, to those now in use; but, notwithstanding this, there is good reason to believe, that the shipping of these times was far from being so despicable as some have imagined, since, in the first expedition made by the direction of *Muza*, we are expressly informed, that he embarked 100 horse and 400 foot on board three merchant-men, which must therefore have been ships of some burden: and it is farther observed, that he took this method of embarking them, that the *Goths* might conceive no umbrage upon his assembling armed vessels; which seems to imply that these were of a large size (6). That the naval power of the *Goths*, or rather of the *Spaniards*, was afterwards very inconsiderable, is no just exception to what has been said, because almost all the maritime coast of *Spain* was for a long time in the hands of the *Moors*, who kept them pent up in a mountainous inland country; by which no doubt they lost the spirit and skill of their ancestors in maritime affairs, and, as their fortunes mended, were to begin afresh in respect to things of this nature; and we very well know that all such beginnings must be weak, and the progress, generally speaking, uncertain and slow, more especially where their designs are opposed by potent neighbours.

(3) Zosimus, lib. i. *Vasæi Chron.*

(4) Greg. Turon. *Fredeg. in Chron. Isid.*

(5) Alph. Magn. Rod. Tolet.

(6) Rod. Toletan. *de rebus Hispan.*

as far as our abilities will permit, answer the reader's expectation, and shew him all the steps ^a by which so many kingdoms, partly by alliances, but chiefly by conquest, came to be united in the *Spanish* monarchy, which once threatened to extend its influence at least, if not its power, over the greatest part of *Europe*.

S E C T. IV.

The revival of the Christian power in the Asturias, with the foundation and progress of the kingdom of Oviedo and Leon, through that succession of princes who governed this as a distinct monarchy.

The difficulties attending this part of the history, and the method to avoid them.

THIS period of the *Spanish* history, as the critics of that nation justly observe ^a, may, ^b with great reason, be styled perplexed; since, as many passages in the former sections remain, through want of proper information, not a little obscure, so in this the variation, confusion, and contradiction, visible in writers of different nations, opposite religions, flourishing in different ages, many of them plainly partial, none free from prejudices, and all of them prone to fable and superstition, account sufficiently for that embarrassment into which most who have treated this history have fallen ^b; and others, to avoid their misfortune, have tripped so lightly over it, that we can scarce discern any marks of their passage ^c. We will follow better guides, and, by separating the threads which hitherto, for the sake of conciseness, more especially in general histories, have been wrought up together, we will exhibit to the reader's view each of the Christian kingdoms in *Spain*, in the same order in which they ^c rose ^d; and referring whatever might perplex the narration to the notes, we hope to render our relation succinct, without prejudice to its perspicuity ^e.

Don Pelayo restores the Spanish monarchy in the Asturias, 718.

We have, in the last section, shewn how such of the Christians in *Spain*, including under that general name the descendants of the ancient *Spanish* nations of the *Romans* and *Suevians*, as well as the *Goths*, who preferred liberty, and the unrestrained exercise of their religion, to the precarious possession of their properties of every kind, fled into the mountains, and, forgetting every other care, sought only to provide for their safety and freedom ^f. We have likewise shewn, as far as the difference of opinions would permit, who that *Don Pelayo* was, that, by the nobility of his birth, distinguished courage, and superior capacity, recommended himself, in this distressed state of things, to the choice of his countrymen, who, according ^d to their ancient constitution, elected him for their prince ^e; and, by that election, laid the foundation of a new government in a country so well fortified by nature, that it afforded them leisure to take those steps, which, if it had not done, the Christian power in *Spain* must have been absolutely suppressed, and that country have remained, perhaps, till this time in the hands of the *Mohammedans*. At what time, or in what manner, this election was made, the reader will easily perceive it is impossible we should fix with any degree of certainty (A). Let it suffice then to say, after one of the most methodical of the *Spanish* historians,

^a See FERRERAS's Preface to the Fourth Part of his History.

and Mr. HERMILLY on their respective Translations of Mariana and Ferreras.

^b See GRIMSTONE's Hist. Dr. HOWELL, and Dr. HEYLIN.

^c PUFFENDORF, P. Method and Order of reading Civil and Ecclesiastical History, p. 209.

^d MARIANA Historia General de Espana, lib. vii. FERRERAS Hist. de Espana, p. iv. MAYERNE TURQUET Histoire Generale d'Espagne, lib. vi.

^e Chron. var. Antiq.

^f See Remarks of P. CHARENTON

^g PUFFENDORF, P.

^h WHEARE'S

(A) There are some very learned writers who refuse the title of king to *Don Pelayo* (1), because they find no mention made of him by *Isidore* bishop of *Badajoz*, who is indeed the oldest and most authentic writer extant in relation to those times; but, notwithstanding this, such an exception is very unreasonable, for many reasons, but more especially because, in the first place, besides that work of the author which has been published, he wrote two others that are lost; one concerning the wars of the *Mohammedans* in *Spain*, and the other of his own times; and who can say what might be contained in them concerning this great man (2)? In the next place, he is as silent in relation to *Don Favila*, whose monument is still remaining in

the church of *Santa Cruz*, and *Alonso* the Catholic, who succeeded him; so that if the objection taken from his silence will prove any thing, it will overturn all that the best writers in the next age have written; and we must believe that *Don Alonso* the Great was not acquainted with his own descent; that the Chronicle of *Albayda*, that of the monk of *Silos*, and the Annals of *Compostella*, hitherto regarded as unexceptionable vouchers, are full of nothing but falsehoods (3). But a certain ingenious writer, *Don Joseph Pellicer*, who maintains this notion, and who, with incredible learning and a great fund of good sense, had nevertheless a strange turn for paradoxes, supported another opinion still more singular; which was, that

(1) Pellicer, *Anales de la Monarquia de Espana*. Pet. de Marca, *Marca Hispanica*.
Biblioth. Antiq.

(2) *Don Gregorio Mayans y Siscar en la Prefacion de las Obras Chronologicas del Marquis de Mondejar*.

(3) *Don Gregorio Mayans y Siscar en la Prefacion de las Obras Chronologicas del Marquis de Mondejar*.

a historians, that it is highly probable this great event happened towards the close of the month of September, in the year of our Lord 718^b (B)

THE news of this election was no sooner carried to *Alabor*, the Moorish governor-general of Spain, who, at this juncture, had taken up his winter-quarters in *Gaul*, than, foreseeing at once the consequences that must necessarily follow, if this new power had any time allowed for its establishment, he directed an army to be drawn out of the garrisons in Spain, and, as soon as the season would permit, caused a great part of his own to repass the mountains, giving the command of all these forces, which were very numerous, to *Alchaman*, a Moorish officer of great experience, and who had served in Spain from the beginning of the warⁱ. On the other hand, Don Pelayo, perceiving clearly that the loss of a battle must be attended with the loss of all, exhorted his subjects first to address themselves to God for protection, and next to apply themselves with all imaginable precaution to defend their country against these implacable enemies to their faith and their freedom^k. In order to do this more effectually, he distributed his troops, which were sufficiently numerous, every subject at man's estate being a soldier, along the sides of the precipices, with strict injunctions to conceal themselves with the greatest care, and not to give the enemy the least annoyance in their passage, but to reserve themselves for one great general effort, when he should be attacked by the Moors in his head quarters. These he placed in the cavern of *Santa Maria de Cavadonga*, on the side of a mountain prodigiously high, and overlooking a long valley edged with precipices on both sides, and into which there was no other passage than over the mountain *Auseba*^l. *Alchaman* having provided his army with all necessaries, passed the *Rio Buegna*, and began to advance slowly through the vallies, taking with him the famous false prelate Don Oppas, at the head of a body of Gothic cavalry in the service of the Moors. At first they moved with great caution; but meeting with no resistance, they marched more briskly, till having traversed the mountain *Auseba* with some difficulty, they poured their numerous forces into the valley, where they had very soon intelligence that they were not far from Don Pelayo^m. Upon this, archbishop Oppas was sent to offer him terms. We will not trouble the reader with the speeches on both sides, though nothing can be more elegant than those inserted in his history by *Mariana*. For our purpose it is sufficient to say, that they were rejected with contempt; and that Don Pelayo declared plainly that he and his subjects would live or die freeⁿ.

Alchaman, at the head of a vast army of Moors invades that country.

^b FERRERAS, Hist. de Hispania, p. iv.

^k Chron. var. Antiq. Tudenf. Chron.

^l VASZET Hispania Chron.

ⁱ Rod. Toletan. Historia Arabum. Luc. Tudenf. Chron.

^m Chron. var. Antiq.

ⁿ Luc.

Theodomir and *Pelagius*, or *Pelayo*, were the same person, in which he has been followed by father *Orleans* (4). Yet whoever considers attentively the exploits performed by the one, and the great actions done by the other, the times when, and the places where, they were done, will easily perceive that this notion cannot subsist.

(B) It is a point of some importance to have a right notion of the beginnings of Don Pelayo's kingdom, which, though we can no otherwise describe than by mentioning the provinces under their present names, yet we must at the same time remember that they were not circumscribed exactly then by the same bounds that they are now. We are told in all the Spanish histories, and very truly, that Don Pelayo was first acknowledged for a sovereign in the *Asturias* (5). Yet we cannot imagine that he became at first master of that whole country, nor ought we to believe that in process of time, and after he had gained many victories over the Moors, his territories extended no farther; neither of which are facts. But the place where he laid the foundation of his government was the little province of *Litana*, which is about nine leagues in length, and four in breadth, the most inland part of the country, full of mountains of most enormous height, and, in a word, a place so fortified by nature, that its inhabitants are at all times capable of resisting almost any number of invaders (6). It was from hence that, in process of time, under the special protection of God, and by the

valour of his generous subjects, for he reigned over none but those who, despising both property and ease, preferred their own freedom, and the liberty of their posterity, like wise and good men, to all other considerations. By their assistance, then, he descended into the lower and better part of the country, where he made himself master of the strong town of *Gijon*, seated in a peninsula, which was his first capital, and from which he borrowed his original title of king of *Gijon* (7). Afterwards he became master of all the *Asturias*, which word is a plural in the Spanish language, because it is divided into two parts, *Santillane* and *Oviedo*; but the name common to both *Asturias* is taken from the river *Astura*, which runs by the walls, and bestows an appellation likewise on the city of *Astorga* (8). The inhabitants of this principality, which is always the title of the heir apparent to the crown of Spain, value themselves at this day on the purity of their blood; and some of the best families in that extensive monarchy acknowledge, or rather boast, themselves to have proceeded originally from that country (9); but the dominions of Pelayo stretched themselves east as well as west, and comprehended the best part of *Biscay*, or the antient *Cantabria*, from whence came his son-in-law *Alonso* the Catholic, and, as the reader will perceive in the text, comprehended gradually other countries likewise, in proportion as the success of his arms made room for multitudes of distressed Christians to come and settle under his protection (1).

(4) *Revolutions d'Espagne.*

(5) Chron. Adefons. Magn. Luc. Tudenf. Rod. Toletan.

(6) Ludovici

Nonii Hispania, cap. xliii. Les Delices de l'Espagne, par Don Juan de Alvarez de Colmenar, tom. i. p. 115.

(7) Abbe de Vayrac, Etat present de l'Espagne, tom. ii.

(8) Don Juan Alvarez de Colmenar, ubi supra.

(9) Memorial al Rey D. Phelipe IV. de la gran Calidad y Servicios del Linage antigo di Asturias, por Rodrigo Ordon Alvarez de las Asturias.

(1) Chron. Adefons. Magn. Luc. Tudenf. Ludovici Nonii Hispania, cap. xliv.

The glorious
victory obtain-
ed by the Chri-
stians at St.
Mária de Ca-
vadonga.
719.

THE preparations for a general attack were quickly made, and the *Moors* began the onset with great fury ; but by a miracle, as all the *Spanish* historians say, perhaps through the special providence of God in bringing this important point to be decided in such a place, the darts and javelins of the *Moors* rebounding from the rocks fell back upon themselves, which threw them into some confusion, out of which Don *Pelayo* did not suffer them to recover ; but persuading his troops that God fought for them, issued from his post with such impetuous valour, that the *Mohammedans*, unable to sustain the charge, began to recoil ; upon which the troops placed in ambuscade on each side of the valley rolled down the fragments of the rocks upon their heads ; and the slaughter ensuing upon this victory strewed the valley, where it was gained, with the dead bodies of 124,000 infidels °. *Alchaman* himself fell amongst the first, and Don *Oppas*, being taken prisoner, met with a death which would have been cruel, if he who suffered it had not been a traitor to his country. The poor remains of this army repassed the mountain *Auseba* as fast as they were able, and descending likewise the narrow passages of *Amofa*, entered the territory of *Liebana*, and, beginning to coast the river *Deva*, thought themselves safe from the arms of the Christians ; but here they met with a new misfortune, which might be justly stiled miraculous ; for part of the mountain overlooking that river fell down upon them, and partly overwhelming, partly stopping the chanel, raised the waters so high that the rest were drowned †.

Don Pelayo's
second victory
over the
Moors in the
valley of Olal-
les.

THE news of this dreadful defeat being carried to *Mumusa*, who commanded the next *Moorish* garrison established at *Gijon*, he judged that the wisest step he could take was to march out with his forces, and endeavour to recover some post of greater strength ; but before he was able to do this, Don *Pelayo*, with his victorious army, fell upon him in the valley of *Olalles*, three leagues below the place where the city of *Oviedo* now stands, and cut the greatest part of these troops to pieces †. By this victory, and the right use he made of it, Don *Pelayo* cleared the *Asturias* effectually from all *Moors*, whom he did not reduce into a state of slavery, and established such a reputation as, during the remainder of his reign, served him instead of an army. He did not, however, as too many conquerors do, become insolent or indolent in consequence of his victories ; on the contrary, he employed the leisure they procured him to great and glorious purposes : he built some towns in convenient places ; he restored others that were almost ruined ; he repaired many that were but inclining to decay, and founded and rebuilt churches in them all †. But if these are instances of his being a good prince, we shall produce an omission that will demonstrate his refined skill in policy : he walled none of his towns, he fortified no passes, he did not erect a castle throughout his dominions ; for he knew, that, while his people were brave, their country would be safe, and he was unwilling to pave the way for the loss of virtue, by providing for their security †.

The manner in
which that
great prince
settled and im-
proved his do-
minions.

THERE was indeed another circumstance that contributed not a little to the tranquility of his territories. The *Moorish* governors perceived the great risk they ran in leading numerous armies into so rough a country ; and being also satisfied that there was nothing to be got if it was conquered but rocks and mountains, a few homely hamlets and paultry villages, they thought it better to employ their arms against *Gaul* ; which humour continued, or rather was augmented, by the repeated checks they received in those attempts ; the providing for which obliged them to levy such heavy taxes in *Spain* as proved the cause of frequent insurrections †, and at length of civil wars among themselves. All these contributed to leave Don *Pelayo* in quiet ; and he improved this season so well in the restitution of the ancient government in all its branches, that great numbers of Christians retired privately out of the *Moorish* provinces, in order to put themselves under his protection ; by which his new towns were quickly peopled, and this too by persons of the better sort, because they were most exposed to hardships and ill usage from the vices, caprices, and misunderstandings, of the *Moorish* governors, who, as they knew they were not to remain long, were always in great haste to be rich †.

His family,
death, and
place of inter-
ment.

Don *Pelayo* also discovered great prudence in the settlement of his family. He had by his queen *Gaudiosa* two children, the prince *Favila* and the princess *Ormifinda* †. He procured the former to be associated with him in the government by the consent of the nobility, and gave the latter in marriage to Don *Alonso*, the son of *Pedro* duke of *Cantabria*, descended, as the *Spanish* writers affirm, from king *Reccared* †. However that matter may be (for indeed there ought to be no great weight laid upon their genealogies in these times), he is universally allowed to have been a person of great accomplishments, and to have merited the honour done him by Don *Pelayo* by his services both in peace and in war. That monarch having

° Chron. ALFONS. Magn.

Toletan. de Rebus Hispan. l. iv.

† Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

* Luc. Tudens. Chron.

† Luc. Tudens. Chron.

Vasæi Hispan. Chron.

† Luc. Tudens. Chron.

† Chron. var. Antiq.

† Chron. var. Antiq.

† Rod. Tolet. de Rebus Hispan. l. iv.

a attained to a good old age, and having governed the remains of the Christians in *Spain*, with uninterrupted prosperity, for nineteen years, deceased, as the *Spanish* writers say, *September* the 18th 737, and was buried in the church of *Santa Olalla de Velana* ^y, in the territory of *Cangas*, which was of his own foundation, and had the satisfaction of leaving his people in as happy and flourishing a condition as, the state considered in which he found them, he had any reason to expect or desire, leaving behind him a reputation that will last at least as long as that vast monarchy, the basis of which was laid by his valour and virtues ^z (C).

Don *Favila*, who had for some time shared the administration with his father, succeeded him without the least opposition, and held the reins of government but a very little time. He has a very different character given him by the *Spanish* historians, particularly *Mariana* ^b and *Ferreras* ^a. The former says he was a light, indolent, and luxurious prince, having no resemblance to Don *Pelayo*, and who kept his dominions through the ill management and inactivity of the *Moors*, rather than through any prudence or other great qualities of his own. The latter assures us, that his courage was great, and his conduct equal to it; that he was the worthy successor of his noble father; that he defended his dominions gallantly against the *Moors*, and governed his subjects with mildness and discretion. The plain truth of the matter is, that we have no just foundation either for these or for any other character of this prince; all we know of him is, that he lies buried in the church of *Santa Cruz*, in the territory of *Cangas*, of which he was founder, and where there is an old inscription remaining that tells posterity thus much; and farther, that his wife's name was *Froleva*, by whom he had several children ^c; but either they died before him, or *Mariana* was mistaken in saying that he left no issue. His end was very unfortunate; for, while he was hunting, a bear rushed upon him, and gave him a mortal wound, before any of his attendants could come up to his assistance. This melancholy event happened in the year of our Lord 739 ^e. His corpse was interred in the church before-mentioned; and the peasants have put up a cross on, or at least near, the place where he received his wound.

THE nobility, upon his demise, made choice of Don *Alonso*, the brother-in-law of the deceased monarch, and the son-in-law of Don *Pelayo*, a prince of an heroic spirit, and born to repair the losses of his country ^d. In the third year of his reign, perceiving that the *Moors* were extremely weakened by their civil wars, which had continued long, and were not like to cease in haste, he assembled an army, and, with his brother *Froila*, passed the mountains, and fell into the northern part of *Galicia*, where finding no considerable resistance, he carried all before him till he came to *Lugo*, where the infidels made some defence; notwithstanding which he soon made himself master of the place, and, in this single campaign, recovered the best part of *Galicia* ^e. The next year he fell with his army into the plains of *Leon* and *Castile*; and, before the *Moors* could assemble a force capable of looking him in the face, he reduced *Astorgas*, *Leon*, *Saldagna*, *Montes De Oca*, *Amaya Alava*, and all the country at the foot of the mountains; in which expedition his army amassed a prodigious booty. The year following he was in the field again, and pushed his conquests as far as the frontiers of the country now stiled *Portugal*; and, in his next campaign, he ravaged all the country as far as the mountains that separate the two *Castiles* ^f. If his activity and success in war procured him justly the title of a great captain, he had an equal claim to that of a consummate politician, from the manner in which he improved his victories.

^y Chron. var. Antiq. ^z VASÆI Chron. ^a Histoire Gen. de España, l. vii. Histoire de España, p. iv. MAYERNE TURQUET. Hist. Gen. de Espagne, l. vii. ^b Chron. var. Antiq. ^c LUC. Tudenf. Chron. VASÆI Hispaniæ Chron. ^d MARIANA Historia General de España, l. vii. FERRERAS Historia de España, p. iv. MAYERNE TURQUET. Histoire Generale de Espagne, l. vi. ^e LUC. Tudenf. Chron. ROD. Tolet. de Rebus Hisp. l. iv. ^f Chron var. Antiq.

(C) This restorer of the Christian monarchy in *Spain* was so eminent for his virtue, wisdom, and piety, that we find him stiled a saint by some very antient writers. *Mariana* speaks of his will, by which the succession was limited to his son in law Don *Alonso*, and his daughter *Ormisinda*, in case his son Don *Favila* died without issue; but for this he cites no antient author; and as it is directly contrary to the antient constitution of the *Goths*, which, as it appears clearly from the current of the history, still prevailed, we ought to regard it as a fiction. The *French* translator of *Mariana* censures him, however, unjustly, for asserting positively, that Don *Alonso* was the son of Don *Pedro* duke of *Cantabria*, as if he had advanced this of himself, and a little inconsiderately; yet, whatever becomes of the fact, our historian deserves no blame in that respect, because we find it in the chronicle of *Alonso the Great*, from whom

it is derived to other historians. We may, however, collect, from the manner of his coming into the service of Don *Pelayo*, and the respect paid him, that he had been before at the head of a body of independent *Spaniards* in the mountains of *Biscay*, and united his territory and people to those under his father-in-law, who seems also much strengthened by this accession, since we find him from that time descending into the plain, and making excursions on one side into what was afterwards called the kingdom of *Leon*, and into the fruitful country of *Galicia* on the other. It may be these excursions were chiefly made under the command of Don *Favila* and Don *Alonso*; and that Don *Pelayo*, being old and infirm, reserved to himself chiefly the civil administration, and the care of reviving the antient form of government; for which reason he resided chiefly in the *Asturias*.

He greatly extends, and considerably improves, his dominions.

HE was sensible that he wanted strength sufficient to preserve the flat country, and therefore he ruined and destroyed it, obliging all the Christians that were settled there to retire into his dominions, into which he carried many thousands of *Moors*, whom he made slaves; and leaving behind him a country unpeopled and destroyed, the harvest failed, and the infidels found enough to do to defend themselves against famine at home, without attempting to follow him into his dominions^a. But when he had availed himself sufficiently of these maxims, and found his country thoroughly peopled, and his subjects in a condition to occupy and defend part of the flat country which he had reduced, he suffered them to extend themselves pretty far into *Galicia*, and also to rebuild *Leon*, *Astorga*, and some other places; so that, at the time of his demise, he left his territories much extended, and his subjects in a far better state than at his accession to the throne^b. He deceased in the year 757, and was buried near his queen *Ormisinda*, in the monastery of *Santa Maria de Cangas*, leaving behind him two sons by that princess, *Don Froila* and *Don Bimarana*, and a natural son by a *Moors* woman, who, for that reason, was called *Mauregato*. This monarch, for his great zeal in building Christian churches and destroying mosques, obtained the surname of *Catholic*, which, from the time of *Riccared*, had not been used by any of his predecessors^c.

His son Don Froila succeeds, and obliges the clergy to relinquish their wives.

THE nobility held themselves so much obliged to their late king, that they made no difficulty of raising his son *Don Froila* to the throne, who, at the beginning of his reign, is said to have distinguished himself by his zeal for religion, though his future conduct shewed that he had less of that than any of the three princes who had reigned before him. It seems he was scandalized at the thoughts of having any to serve in his churches but married clergymen; and therefore, whether with or without the consent of the bishops does not clearly appear, he compelled those who were married to separate from their wives, and forbid their entering into the state of matrimony for the future under severe penalties. This edict, *Ferreras* assures us, procured him the blessings of all honest people, and the hatred of the far greater part of the clergy^d. But while he was thus employed, and perhaps because he was thus employed, the inhabitants of *Alava* and part of *Navarre*, which his father had subdued, took up arms; but he quickly reduced them, and punished the ringleaders. Among the prisoners he found a young lady exquisitely beautiful, whom *Mariana* calls *Monina*, and makes her the daughter of the duke of *Aquitaine*, which is not very agreeable to history; but other writers content themselves with commending her person, without acquainting us of her family or name^e (D). This lady, whoever she was, the king married, and had by her *Don Alonso*, of whom we shall have much to say. About this time the disputes that had so long disturbed the *Moors* were composed, or rather removed, by *Abderrahman's* establishing himself as an independent monarch, and fixing the seat of his government at *Cordova*; which event could not but prove very prejudicial to the Christians.

Gains a complete victory over the Moors at Pontumo.

THIS prince assumed the title of *Almir Anuminim*, which the *Spaniards* commonly, though corruptly, call *Miramamolin*, the sense of which is, *commander of the faithful*: a title implying his claim to the khalifat, or *Mohammed's* lieutenant, by which he pretended not only to the sole and absolute dominion over all the *Mohammedans* in *Spain*, but expected a like submission from the Christians, whom he considered only as rebels, that had hitherto maintained themselves in a state of independency, through the divisions that reigned amongst their masters^f. He caused therefore a great army to assemble in that part of *Portugal* which was under his obedience; and having given the command of it to *Haumar*, directed him to reduce *Don Froila*; with which view he invaded his territories that lay nearest to him^g. The Christian monarch had not been a supine spectator of the great military preparations amongst the infidels; on the contrary, he had drawn together the force of his dominions, and having suffered the enemy to advance into *Galicia*, as far as a place called *Pontumo*, he there attacked them with such vigour and judgment, that he gained a complete victory, killed 54,000 men upon the spot, and, having taken their general prisoner, caused him to be put to death^h.

Found the city of Oviedo,

THIS victory was as wisely improved as it was courageously obtained; for the king employed the greatest part of that wealth which was found in the enemy's camp, and raised in contri-

^a I. Luc. Tudenf. Chron. Rod. Toletan. de Rebus Hisp. l. iv. Annal.

^b Chron. var. Antiq.

^c Vas.

^d MARIANA, Hist. General de España, l. vii. FERRERAS, Hist. de España, p. ix. MAYERNE TURQUET Hist. Gen. d'Espagne, l. vi.

^e Chron. var. Antiq.

^f Rod. Toletan. Hist. Arabum.

^g LUC. Tudenf. Chron. VASÆI Chron.

^h Chron. Var. Antiq.

(D) When we find so accurate and cautious a writer as *Ferreras* telling us, that we ought to presume the king *Don Froila* took the advice of the few prelates then in his dominions, before he published his edict against married priests, we may be sure that, notwithstanding his general knowledge in the antiquities and history of this country, he could find no positive authority to sup-

port it. We have therefore a right to say, that the clergy of old in *Spain* had the legal authority of a king and general council in favour of their marriages; whereas they were deprived of that liberty by the arbitrary act of a tyrannical prince, who, in this instance, set up his will against the common voice of his subjects, as we shall presently prove.

butions

- a butions after the defeat, in building the city of *Oviedo*, which he resolved to make the capital of his dominions, in order to be in a better condition to defend the flat country, which he now determined to people ^p (E). He there erected also a bishop's see, and covered the place, till it was in a state of defence, with such a force as prevented the *Moors* from giving him any disturbance. *Abderrabman*, in the mean time, turned his arms against those *Moorish* provinces that had revolted upon the defeat which his forces had received from the Christians, and in the course of several years, not without a great effusion of blood on both sides, reduced them at length under his obedience ^q. After this, having a numerous and victorious army under his command, he made an irruption in person, on the side of *Castile*, into the territories of *Don Froila*, who suffered him to advance till he began to enter the rough country, and then gave him so severe a check, that *Abderrabman* was inclined to conclude a truce with him, being thoroughly convinced that it was to no purpose to attempt the conquest of a country fortified by nature, and defended by a numerous and martial people. Upon the first appearance of this invasion, *Don Froila* had summoned the *Galicians*, amongst the rest of his subjects, to march to his assistance, which they neglected; and having now leisure to make them feel the weight of his resentment, he directed his march into that country, defeated and dispersed the rebels, and afterwards made so many and so severe examples, as not only frightened the inhabitants of that province, but raised an universal discontent amongst his subjects; so that nothing was more visible than that they obeyed him not through reverence or affection, but merely from fear ^r.
- b
- c At his return to *Oviedo*, *Don Froila* could not help perceiving to how great a degree he had lost the hearts of his people; and as this increased the natural fierceness of his temper, so he could not help seeing with regret the different conduct of his brother *Don Bimarano*, and the universal spirit of affection which it produced. This by degrees raised such a tempest in his bosom, that, forgetting his own dignity, the ties of nature, and the dictates of religion, he went to the palace of that young prince, and, under pretence of conferring with him upon matters of importance, stabbed him to the heart with his dagger, and left him dead upon the place ^s. This unnatural and brutal act alarmed the nobility to such a degree, that, believing none could be safe under a prince of such a suspicious and sanguinary temper, they resolved, for their own security, to remove him out of the way; and, having concerted this design with the utmost secrecy, it was not long before they found an opportunity of executing it. As he had stabbed his brother, so some bold assassin stabbed him at a private audience, and the people, instead of avenging their sovereign, congratulated each other upon their being delivered from a blood-thirsty tyrant. Thus fell *Don Froila*, in the prime of his life, when he had held the reins of government somewhat more than eleven years, and was buried in the church of *Oviedo*, which he founded in the year of our Lord 768^t. All the *Spanish* historians agree that he was a prince of invincible courage, very zealous against the *Mohammedans*, and endowed with many excellent qualities; but *Mariana* goes beyond them much in extolling his piety; in proof of which he insists chiefly upon his inflexibility with regard to the married clergy, his severity in exterminating the *Moors* ^u, as far as it lay in his power, and his many religious foundations, which, with him, sufficiently excuses all his other failings, and even that spirit of cruelty and resentment which certainly could not be pleasing in the sight of God: for it rendered him universally odious amongst men, and, as we shall see hereafter, excited such an apprehension of a like disposition in his son, as hindered that prince, though, in reality, one of the best and most amiable of any that flourished in his time, from ascending the throne so soon as otherwise he might have done. It exposed the whole nation to those losses and inconveniences which are commonly the lot of people divided into factions, and who, in reality, pursue private interest under the plausible pretence of a zealous regard for the public good. This can never be so effectually secured as by a reciprocal affection between a legal sovereign and his subjects, the one zealous only of his people's happiness, and the other regarding from thence the glory and prosperity of the crown as an advantage accruing to themselves, from a persuasion that the extension of the royal authority must contribute to augment their felicity.
- d
- e
- f

THE nobility, upon this vacancy of the throne, placed thereon *Don Aurelio*, whom some historians make the brother of the deceased prince, but who, with greater probability, is held

^p Luc. Tudens. Chron. Rod. Toletan. de Rebus Hisp. lib. iv. ^q Luc. Tudens. Chron. ^r Chron. var. Antiq. ^s Luc. Tudens. Chron. Rod. Toletan. de Rebus Hispan. l. iv. ^t Chron. var. Antiq. ^u Hist. General de Espana, lib. vii.

(E) It is generally believed that this city was raised upon the ruins of places known in the time of the *Romans* by the names of *Asturum*, *Lucu*, and *Brigacium*. It stands very pleasantly, five leagues to the south of *Gijon*, between the rivers *Ove* and *Deva*; from whence its modern *Latin* name *Ovetum*, as well as its *Spanish*, *Oviedo*.

ceeds him in
the kingdom.

to be no nearer related to him than being the son of his father's brother *Froila* *. Some like- a
wise say that he was at the head of the conspiracy, as to which others are silent. He appears
to have been a prince either naturally of a mild and sweet temper, or prudent enough to take
warning from his predecessor's misfortune. His first care was to renew the peace with the
Miramamolín, in which he found no great difficulty, for this measure was as necessary to that
monarch's affairs as to his own; and this once done, he addressed himself with great applica-
tion to regulate the interior of his dominions *. But while he was thus employed, himself and b
his subjects fell suddenly into the most imminent danger, from a cause that had never pro-
voked so much as a suspicion. The *Moorish* slaves, with which their victories had furnished
them in great numbers, and who had been hitherto very kindly treated, revolted all at once,
and assembled together in arms. This rebellion had certainly been attended with fatal conse-
quences, if it had been delayed till the martial temper of the Christians had been a little soft-
ened through prosperity and peace; but falling out at this time, when there was a perfect
understanding between the sovereign and his subjects, they were quickly defeated and subdued;
so that it proved most fatal to themselves, as they were deprived by law of those indulgencies
which hitherto they had enjoyed, and which they had so ungratefully abused *. This was
the only remarkable event of the reign; for Don *Aurelio* having no children of his own,
and his brother Don *Bermudo* having taken deacon's orders, the chief object he had in view
was to pass his days quietly; in order to which he cast his eyes upon *Silo*, the wealthiest
and most potent of the *Gothic* nobility, to whom he gave his cousin *Adosinda* in marriage, and
admitted him to a large share in the administration, which had, though that seldom happens,
the desired effect, and kept him free from disturbance during the remaining part of his reign. c
He breathed his last in the year of our Lord 774, in the seventh year of his reign, and was
buried in the church of *St. Martin's*, about fifteen miles from *Oviedo*, which was of his own
foundation †.

Don Silo
mounts the
throne, and
reigns pacifi-
cally.

ACCORDING to his own plan, the late king was succeeded in the throne by Don *Silo*, who
had married his relation. This prince is thought to have descended from the *Moors*, because
of a remark in an old chronicle, that, on the score of his mother, the peace with the king
of *Cordova* was without difficulty renewed †. He prosecuted the same scheme of govern-
ment that had been introduced by Don *Aurelio*; while queen *Adosinda*, with a laudable vigi-
lance, superintended the education of Don *Alonso*, her cousin, whom she regarded as a prince
that ought one day to wear the crown, and whom she therefore endeavoured to render worthy d
of it, by appointing him proper masters, and by giving him very good instructions herself *.
But while all was quiet at court, the *Galicians*, for what cause is not recorded, took up arms;
upon which Don *Silo* marched against them with a numerous army, and though they had taken
care to entrench themselves strongly on the top of a high mountain, yet he attacked and forced
their camp, dissipated their army, made them put a few of their chiefs to death, and returned
in triumph to *Pravia*, which he had made the capital of his dominions. He passed the remain-
der of his days in quiet, if we except some heresies that sprung up in the church, with which,
notwithstanding the bad example of some bishops, the court remained uninfected. He
founded the church of *St. John de Pravia*, in which, after having worn the crown for nine
years, he was, at his decease, interred, in the beginning of the year 783, without leav- e
ing any issue † (F).

Don Maure-
gato, the
bastard of
Alonso the
first, usurps the
crown from
his grandson.

ON the decease of her husband, queen *Adosinda*, with the consent of some of the principal
nobility, caused her nephew Don *Alonso*, now in the 18th or 19th year of his age, to be de-
clared king. But, notwithstanding the personal good qualities of that young prince, it very
soon appeared that the people in general had an aversion to him, from the dread they were
under that he might one day prove of the same disposition with his father; which was so art-
fully heightened by his uncle *Mauregato*, that, with very little difficulty, he supplanted him
in the throne, Don *Alonso* himself declaring that he would never reign over an unwilling people;

* MARIAN. Hist. Hispana, lib. vii. FERR. Hist. de Espan. p. iv. MAYERNE TURQ. Hist. Generale d'Espagne, lib. vi. * Chron. var. Antiq. † Luc Tudens. Chron. ROD. Tolet. de Rebus Hispan. lib. iv. ‡ LUC. Tudens. Chron. VASÆI Hispanie Chron. † MARIANA Hist. Gen. de Espan. FERRERAS MAYERNE TURQUET. † Chron. var Antiq. † ROD. Toletan. VASÆI Chron.

(F) What we have said in the text of his place of residence and interment, is supported by good authorities, and yet the current of historians agree, that he built the splendid church of *San Salvador* in *Oviedo*; and that his tomb stands at the entrance near the great gate, with these three words inscribed thereupon, *viz. Silo Princeps fecit*, in so whimsical a manner, that it may be read two hundred and seventy ways. At the bottom of this tomb stand the following capitals, *H. S. E. S. S.*

S. T. L. which implies, *Hic situs est Silo. Sit sibi terra levis*; that is, *Here Silo lies; let earth lie upon him light*. It seems, as he made no figure in his life-time, he was desirous of distinguishing himself at his death by this tomb and inscription; and yet it is probable he changed his mind, and directed his corpse to be buried in the church of *St. John* at *Pravia*, which was likewise of his foundation.

a and retiring to his own estate in *Biscay*, the populace, who had rejected him for their king, insisted that he should be left there in safety and in peace; neither does it appear that his uncle, though he was not either a good man or a good king, ever attempted any thing to his prejudice, but rather wished he might prove his successor ^d. The new king, in support of his title, had brought an army of *Moors* into his country, and lived always in such intelligence with the *Miramamolín*, as rendered him suspected and despised by his subjects. Some historians assert, that he became tributary to him, and yielded the *Miramamolín* annually one hundred beautiful virgins for his seraglio, which, as it has very much the air of a fable, so the most judicious critics are of opinion that it was really such, and had no other foundation than his encouraging marriages between *Moors* and Christians, of which, if we consider his own birth, b we may easily discern the spring ^e. How much soever they disliked, his subjects were afraid to disobey him, because of his close alliance with the *Miramamolín*; and therefore he remained in quiet possession of the throne to the time of his decease, which was in the month of *July*, in the year of our Lord seven hundred eighty-eight, in the sixth year of his reign, much less regretted than any of his predecessors ^f.

UPON this vacancy of the throne, the nobility, who doubted what the consequence might have been of restoring *Alonso*, made choice of Don *Bermudo*, who, though he had received deacon's orders, was married, and had children ^g. It is however highly probable, that this step was taken with the approbation, it may be at the desire, of Don *Alonso*; for, as soon as Don *Burmudo* was seated on the throne, he sent for that prince, brought him into his councils, c and, when he saw the distaste of the people gradually subside, intrusted him with the command of the troops. It was not long before an occasion offered to shew the virtues of that young prince in a proper point of light. *Issem*, king of *Cordova*, either prompted by ambition, or displeased at finding in the new king much less complaisance than in his predecessor, invaded his territories with a numerous army of *Moors*, against whom Don *Bermudo* marched in person, accompanied by his cousin Don *Alonso*. The armies met at a town called *Bureba*, in the neighbourhood of *Burgos*; and an obstinate engagement ensued, in which at length the Christians were victorious, and the *Moors* defeated with great slaughter ^h. As the prince Don *Alonso* distinguished himself extremely upon this occasion, he was not only complimented at his return by the nobility, who were ever well inclined to him, but received with universal d acclamations by the people; which the king no sooner perceived, than he declared his resolution to abdicate in his favour; and, the nobility having approved this measure, he publicly resigned the crown; but his successor would never permit him to leave the palace, where he lived as a private man, but in the strictest friendship with the king Don *Alonso*, to the time of his death ⁱ.

Don *Alonso*, the second of that name, who, from the great purity of his life and manners, was surnamed *El Casto*, or the *Chaste*, was declared king by election, on the voluntary abdication of his predecessor, *September* the fourteenth, *Anno Domini* seven hundred ninety-one ^k, and in a short time after transferred the court to *Oviedo*, where he repaired and beautified the church which his father had founded, applying himself with great diligence to correct the errors that had in process of time crept into the government, and labouring to the utmost of e his power to make his subjects of all ranks and conditions live quietly and happily, in a manner agreeable to their station. In the third year of his reign, *Issem*, king of *Cordova*, thinking his friendship neglected, and hoping that his veteran and victorious army might enable him to recover part at least of the flat country from the Christians, ordered a numerous army to assemble in *Portugal*, with instructions to march at a proper season of the year into the territories of Don *Alonso* ^l. Accordingly, under the command of *Macheit*, an experienced general, they entered *Galicia*, as they thought by surprise, because they met with no Christians to oppose them. But when they had reached *Lodos*, and found themselves entangled in a morass, they were quickly attacked by Don *Alonso* and his troops, who, by their perfect f knowlege of the ground, as well as by their superior valour, gained a complete victory, in which there were sixty thousand either killed upon the field of battle, or drowned or choaked in the bogs ^m, which gave such a damp to the spirit of the infidels, as prevented them from giving Don *Alonso* any trouble for several years afterwards, which enabled him to finish intirely those regulations which he had so happily begun, and which contributed not a little to the welfare and prosperity of his subjects.

^d Rod. Toletan. de Rebus Hispan. lib. iv.

^e Luc. Tudens. Chron. VASÆI Annal.

Hist. de Hispana, P. iv. MAYERNE TURQUET, Histoire general d'Espagne, l. vi.

Chron. RODERIC Tolet. de Rebus Hispan. l. iv.

Histoire generale d'Espagne, l. vii.

^m Chron. var. antiq.

^g MARIANA Historia Gen. de Espana, lib. vii.

^h MARIANA, Historia general de Espana, l. vii.. FERR.

ⁱ Luc. Tudens.

^j Chron. var. antiq.

^k MARIANA,

^l Luc. Tudens. Chron. RODERIC Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

His victory
over the
Moors, and
magnificent
embassy to the
emperor Char-
lemagne.

UPON the demise of *Issen*, king of *Cordova*, a new civil war breaking out among the *Moors*, the succession of his son *Albacan* being contested by his two uncles, *Don Alonso* did not let slip this favourable opportunity, but employed it in repeopling the city of *Braga*. While those he brought to inhabit it were occupied in rebuilding it, he made an incursion with his forces into the territory of the *Moors*, and, having beat their forces, advanced as far as *Lisbon*, which he took by storm, and then returned to *Braga* with a very rich booty, and a great multitude of slaves ^a. The very same year he sent a most splendid embassy to the emperor *Charlemagne* with very rich presents, amongst the rest a magnificent tent, eight mules very richly harnessed and adorned, and eight slaves, who were appointed to conduct them. The ambassadors were most honourably entertained, and the presents they brought very kindly received, the emperor promising to give their master upon all occasions marks of his esteem and confidence; which assurances were so much the more welcome, as this monarch had made great conquests upon the *Moors*, and was at that time master of several very important fortresses in *Spain* ^b. As a farther mark of his piety and generosity, *Don Alonso* erected, in the great church of *Oviedo*, a noble cross of gold, and thereupon inscribed the date of the year, which, as it is still remaining, is considered as a venerable monument of antiquity by such learned *Spaniards* as are addicted to that study ^c. *Ferreras*, amongst others, assures us, that he went thither on purpose to see it, and that he found the date of the *Spanish* æra to be D.CCC.XXXVI. though it had been otherwise reported by *Morales* ^d.

Alonso gains
another victory
notwithstanding
which he is deposed
and imprisoned.

AN obstinate and bloody war breaking out between *Lewis*, king of *Aquitain*, son to the emperor *Charlemagne*, and the *Moors*, in which the former attacked *Barcelona*, which was not only gallantly defended, but a powerful army sent to its relief by *Albacan*, though without effect; to repair which disgrace, those forces, passing up the *Ebro* by *Saragossa*, fell suddenly into the dominions of *Don Alonso*, and committed great ravages in *Biscay*, and in the mountains of *Burgos*; upon this the king marched against them with a considerable army, and, having forced the *Moors* to a general engagement, obtained a complete victory; but as human prosperity is ever deceitful, so this gleam of good fortune proved but the prelude to an unexpected calamity ^e. There still remained in his dominions a large number of malecontents, who, upon this occasion, had taken arms, and made the greater part of the king's forces: these, immediately after the victory, turned upon their sovereign, and endeavoured to seize his person, in which, by their superiority to those who were well affected, they succeeded, and, having deposed the king, carried him to the monastery of *Abelia*, into which they thrust him as a prisoner. This account is indeed dark and perplexed, which must be excused, since there is no better to be had, because the *Spanish* historians are, of all others, the least inclined to perpetuate the memory of rebellions ^f.

Restored to his
dominions, he
becomes twice
victorious over
the Moors.

THIS defection, however great, was not general; and though the rebels, by managing their design with great secrecy, and being first in arms, appeared very formidable, yet when those, who were loyal to their prince, came to recollect themselves, and saw plainly, that, though the people submitted to, they took no pleasure in, this revolution, it induced them to contrive in their own minds a new change of affairs. Amongst those who were in these honest and honourable sentiments ^e, was one *Theudis*, a man of great quality, whose numerous alliances created him a general influence over his relations and neighbours. He made use of this to persuade them that it would be no difficult thing to take the king out of the monastery where the rebels had placed him, and to set him again upon the throne. As they concurred upon the first motion, the thing was executed almost as soon as concerted; and the people rising in multitudes, as soon as they appeared in arms, they brought the king ^a out of the monastery, and carried him in triumph to *Oviedo*, where he resumed the regal dignity, and, by his clemency towards the conspirators, extinguished at once a faction that might have proved very troublesome, if he had treated them with severity. The war continuing between the *French* and the infidels, by sea as well as land, *Don Alonso* took occasion from thence to execute all the designs he had before formed in their utmost extent, by which his dominions were very much improved, and the force of the monarchy rendered much greater than at the time of his accession. But a peace being at length made between the two nations before-mentioned ^b, *Albacan* took that opportunity of raising a great army, which, under the command of *Almatan*, passed the *Duero*, and fell into the territories of *Don Alonso*, whose policy now suffered some alteration; for he no longer permitted the *Moors* to ravage a country which he had been at so much pains to people, but gave them battle as soon as possible, in which he gained a glorious and most important victory ^c. The very next year another army, under

A. D. 802.

^a Luc. Tudens. Chron. Roderic Tolet. Hist. Arabum. de Espana. P. iv.

^b VASÆI Hispaniæ Chronicon.

^c Hist.

^d AMBROSIA MORALES, Chronica general de Espana, p. 355.

^e Luc.

^f Roderic Tolet de rebus Hispan. l. iv.

^a Chron. var. antiq.

^b Rod. Tolet.

^c Luc. Tudens. Chronicon. VASÆI Hispaniæ Chron.

^d Roderic Santii Hist.

Hispan. P. iii.

^e Luc. Tudens. Chron. Rod. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. iv. VASÆI Hispaniæ Chron.

gained

a the command of *Omar*, again entered his dominions, and were again beaten; upon which a truce ensued, which gave *Don Alonso* leisure to pursue his wife and pious designs for the securing his dominions, and gaining new advantages, to his subjects.

THE true design of this cessation, on the part of the infidels, was only to gain an opportunity of surprising the Christians, as appeared plainly by an irruption of theirs under the command of *Abdalcarrin*, in the year ensuing. After wasting the adjacent country, he formed the siege of *Calborra*, a place of great consequence, and of which he was in hopes of becoming master, before *Don Alonso* was in a condition to give him any disturbance; but in this he found himself mistaken; for the place made a vigorous defence, which gave the king sufficient time to march to its relief; and, upon this, *Abdalcarrin*, not caring to trust the issue of a battle, raised the siege and retired. All these repeated disappointments discouraged *Albacan*, king of *Cordova*, so much, that he remained quiet for several years. At length he resumed his design of recovering at least some part of the countries which had been taken from him. To facilitate this design, he divided his forces into two considerable armies, one under the command of *Alabez*, the other under that of *Melic*, both his near relations^a. They entered *Galicia* by different routes, destroying the country without mercy. These disorders, however, did not last long, for the king, at the head of one army, and his cousin *Don Ramiro*, at the head of another, quickly gave a check to the infidels, and gained two signal victories^b on the same day, which soon delivered that province from the fury of the infidels, and left the king at liberty to proceed in his care of civil and ecclesiastical concerns, and to provide for the cultivation and settlement of those districts which he had so gallantly and successfully defended.

The infidels invaded his territories again and again without success.

A. D. 816.

821.

A NEW civil war broke out amongst the *Moors* upon the death of *Albacan*, king of *Cordova*, and, amongst others who revolted from his son *Abderrahman* the second, was *Mahamut*^c, governor of *Merida*, an officer of great valour and experience, who, having a numerous garrison, believed it possible for him to render himself independent. *Abderrahman*, either moved by the importance of the place, or desirous of making a particular example of *Mahamut*, marched against him immediately with a very formidable army, and, though he defended himself with great skill and courage, and sometimes also with considerable advantage, yet, perceiving his troops gradually diminish, and knowing that he had no resource if the place was once invested, he threw himself with all his adherents into the dominions of *Don Alonso*, and demanded his protection^d; which that monarch, knowing him to be a brave man and an able officer, readily granted him, and appointed him and his troops to defend the frontiers of *Portugal*^e, without taking any umbrage at their remaining *Mohammedans*. After he had acquitted himself with great honour for near seven years in the discharge of this trust, *Mahamut* set on foot some intrigues for reconciling himself to *Abderrahman*; suggesting, that, if he would furnish him with a sufficient number of troops, he would infallibly put into his hands the whole province of *Galicia*^f. This proposal was too advantageous to be rejected; and the troops being furnished that he desired, *Mahamut* put himself at the head of them as well as his own, and marched directly to the castle of *St. Christina*, which is within a very small distance of *Lugo*, by which all the adjacent country was put under contribution.

Don Alonso relieves Mahamut the Moorish governor of Merida, who betrays him.

A. D. 824.

ON the first news of so extraordinary an event, the king dispatched his orders to the prince *Don Ramiro*^g to throw himself immediately into *Lugo* with all the troops under his command, which he accordingly performed. The king soon after this joined him with a much more considerable body of men; and, immediately after this junction was made, they marched with their whole army against the infidels^h. *Mahamut* was much superior in number, made a fine disposition of his troops, and received the Christians with great firmness and intrepidity; but being slainⁱ in the very beginning of the action, and his head presented on the point of a lance to the king, the infidels soon fell into confusion, so that in the battle, and in the pursuit, they lost fifty thousand men. The castle also was immediately surrendered, in which they found spoils to an immense value. The king was also victorious in some other engagements, which effectually quelled the spirit of the infidels. *Don Alonso*, finding himself weak and infirm through age, and the great fatigues he had endured, summoned an assembly of the states^k, to whom he recommended his cousin *Don Ramiro* for his successor, and, upon his election, resigned to him the administration, when he had reigned, after his last accession to the throne, near forty-four years. He survived, after this, to the year of our Lord eight hundred forty two, and then expired^l, at the age of seventy-seven, universally regretted by his subjects, and with the highest reputation of any monarch of his time.

Vanquishes the Moors, resigns the crown, and soon after dies.

A. D. 829.

^a RODERIC Tolet. Hist. Arab.

^b Chron. var. antiq.

^c RODERIC Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

^d LUC.

Tudensis Chron. VASÆI Hispaniæ Chron.

^e RODERIC SANTI Hist. Hispan. P. iii.

^f Chron.

var. antiq.

^g RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. l. iv.

^h LUC. Tudens. Chron. VASÆI

Chron.

ⁱ RODERIC Tolet. Hist. Arab.

^k LUC. Tudens. Chron.

^l VASÆI Chron.

Don Ramiro succeeds, in spite of an insurrection in favour of Nepotian.

A. D. 843.

At the time of the old monarch's decease, Don *Ramiro* was in the country of *Alava*, which afforded an opportunity to count *Nepotian*, an artful and ambitious nobleman^m, to persuade several persons of high distinction, to whom he made large promises, that, with their assistance, he could maintain himself upon the throne, and thereby defeat the former election of Don *Ramiro*, and the late disposition in his favour by king *Alonso*. They, being seduced by his fair speeches, gave him the title of king, and raised an army with an intention to support his title; but Don *Ramiro*, as soon as he had intelligence of this defection, hastened into *Galicia*, and assembled a good body of forces at *Lugo*, and from thence marched towards the frontiers of the *Asturias*ⁿ. Count *Nepotian*, having, partly by money, partly by violence, drawn together a great number of troops in the neighbourhood of *Oviedo*, began to move very readily, in order to give the king battle, at as great a distance as might be from the capital. When the two armies were in sight, he quickly discerned how much he had deceived himself with respect to his interest in the army; for the troops deserted to Don *Ramiro*^o in such numbers, that, seeing himself on the point of being abandoned, he placed all his hopes of safety in his flight; on which two of the great lords, who had been deepest in his treason, pursued, made him prisoner^p, and brought him in that condition to the king, who ordered that, his eyes being first put out, he should be confined for life in a monastery; and thus, the rebellion being intirely crushed, Don *Ramiro* entered in triumph into *Oviedo*.

The Normans make a descent in the neighbourhood of Corunna, and are repulsed.

844.

Don *Ramiro* found himself obliged to begin his reign^q with some necessary acts of severity; for, on the one hand, the roads were disturbed by robbers, and, on the other, many in the villages, through an excessive superstition, abandoned themselves to sorcery. As to the former, as fast as they could be taken, he condemned them to lose their eyes; and the latter, as they fell into the hands of justice, were committed to the flames. These intestine troubles were succeeded by an unexpected foreign invasion. The *Normans*, who at that time infested all the maritime provinces of *Europe*, made a descent at *Corunna*, and began, according to their usual custom, to waste all the adjacent country with fire and sword. But Don *Ramiro*^r, marching against them with a potent army, took his measures with so much prudence, that he routed these barbarous invaders with a prodigious slaughter, took great numbers of them prisoners, and burnt the best part of their fleet; which reception so frightened these barbarians, that, though they long troubled those parts of *Spain* that were under the dominion of the *Moors*, they never ventured to make any descent on the territories of Don *Ramiro*, which gained him great reputation and respect amongst his neighbours; yet this could not secure him quiet at home, where two great lords^s, honoured with employments of high importance, and who had daily access to the king's person, formed a conspiracy against him, and, upon its being discovered, broke out into an open revolt. However, through the courage and conduct of the king, they were quickly reduced, the former being punished with the loss of his sight, and the latter, with his seven sons, all suffered death, not by the sole will and pleasure of the king, but by the solemn judgment of the states^t.

845.

A glorious victory obtained over the Moors, concerning which there are many fables.

849.

ABDERRAHMAN the second, king of *Cordova*, believing, or pretending to believe, that Don *Ramiro* had excited the *Normans* to those frequent descents on his dominions, having intelligence of the troubles that had broke out in the *Asturias*, invaded the dominions of Don *Ramiro* with his whole force^u. The king, who had just vanquished his rebels, and had a numerous body of forces in the field, would not allow the enemy much time to make conquests, but, marching directly towards them, engaged and defeated them with prodigious effusion of blood. In this glorious action his brother Don *Garcias*, and his son Don *Ordogno*, were present, and distinguished themselves exceedingly, which gave the king an opportunity of recommending the latter^v to the favour of the nobility, who, to reward his courage, and to give the king the highest proof of their affection and esteem, elected that young prince his coadjutor and successor. *Ferreras*^x places the conspiracy of count *Piniolo* after this election, which he supposes to have been his chief motive; and, if this be admitted, it will account for that difference in punishment which this unhappy man and his family sustained, inasmuch as the king's clemency was now quite worn out. It was not long after this that *Abderrahman*^y made another irruption into the territories of Don *Ramiro*, in which war that illustrious monarch gained the most signal victory in his whole reign, and this, as some modern historians^z assert, in the plains of *Clavijo*, with the assistance of St. *James*, the great patron of *Spain*, who not only encouraged the king in a dream before the fight, but was also present on a white horse; and they likewise pretend, that the king made a vow upon this occasion, by which he charged all the lands in *Spain* with an annual tribute to the church of that apostle at *Compostella*; but wiser writers^a of

^m RODER. SANTI Hist. Hispaniæ, P. iii.

ⁿ Luc. Tudens. Chron.

^o Chron. var. antiqu.

^p Luc. Tudens. Chronicon.

^q MARIANA, Historia general de Espana, lib. vii.

^r FERRERAS, Hist. de

Espana, P. iv. MAYERNE TURQUET, Histoire generale d'Espanne, lib. vi.

^s Chron. var. antiqu.

^t Luc. Tudens. Chron.

^u Rod. Tolet. de rebus Hispan. l. iv. VASÆI Chron.

^v RODERIC

Toletan. Historia Arabum.

^w Luc. Tudens. Chron. VASÆI Chron.

^x Historia de Espana.

^y RODERIC Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

^z Luc. Tudensis Chronicon.

^a VASÆI Hispaniæ Chronicon.

a that nation have not scrupled to acknowledge, that all this is mere romance, and that it may be proved so from those very charters and records to which the patrons of this tale refer us for the most authentic proofs of its veracity. The reader will excuse our omitting passages of this sort sometimes; but this was so remarkable, and has occasioned so many and so high disputes, that it would not have been pardonable to have passed it over in silence.

THE king, now far advanced in years, was attentive chiefly to his domestic concerns, establishing ecclesiastical and charitable foundations, conciliating thereby the affections of the clergy, nobility, and people, in order to pave the way for Don *Ordogno's* quiet possession of the kingdom, when, in the midst of these labours, death relieved him from his fatigues^c, on the first of February, in the year of our Lord eight hundred and fifty. His body was interred in the church of Santa Maria in Oviedo, together with those of his queens *Paterna* and *Urraca*, and his brother Don *Garcias*, after having governed with great glory to himself, and no less advantage to his subjects, seven years complete, leaving them in a state of perfect tranquillity, as well as in a condition that left them little or nothing to fear from any of their neighbours. He had therefore just reason to expect, that, in gratitude for these services, as well as out of respect to his son's merit and their own late act, they would admit him to the peaceable enjoyment of the kingdom, though, from what had passed in his own reign, he was fully sensible that there was a very strong party who disliked hereditary succession, though it took place in consequence of an election, and who waited only for a favourable opportunity to set it aside, by placing one of their own faction upon the throne, in hopes such an example might bring in a new regulation.

Don *Ordogno* continued the administration of the regal dignity^d after his father's death, in his own right, and the nobility seemed to be very well satisfied with his accession; some of them, however, excited the *Gascons* in the province of *Alava* to take up arms, and, which was still worse, to call in the *Moors* to their assistance. The king was no sooner informed that they were in motion, than he marched against them^e with a small body of choice troops, and arriving sooner than they expected, easily defeated them. But when he was upon his march back to his capital, he had intelligence that the *Moors*, who had promised them their assistance, had entered the province, and were about to take possession of it; upon which he marched back with so much swiftness and secrecy, that, surprising them in their camp, he cut off great numbers, and forced the remainder to make a precipitate retreat^f. At his return to *Oviedo*, he found that a new civil war was broke out in the kingdom of *Cordova*; and that *Muza*, an officer of great courage and experience, but of still greater ambition, had revolted, and was endeavouring to make himself an independent prince^g. As this war was favourable to his interests, he, as a politician, took care to keep it alive, and sent also a considerable body of troops to the assistance of the people of *Toledo*, who had likewise taken up arms against *Mahamut*, king of *Cordova*, who, by a stratagem, drew them out of their city, and not only beat their forces, but also those sent by Don *Ordogno*, of whom there were eight thousand killed, and twelve thousand of the people of *Toledo*, which enabled the conqueror to raise several pillars of heads, as a triumphant though barbarous manner of celebrating his victory^h; a cruel and indecent custom, practised long before amongst these people, and which in *Africa* is still in use.

THIS misfortune did not hinder Don *Ordogno* from continuing his assistance to the people of *Toledo*, who still persisted in their revolt; and while, by this method, he provided full employment for the *Moors*, he fortified the chief cities in his own dominions. He particularly walled those of *Leon*ⁱ and *Astorga*; and established an episcopal see in each. But while he was thus occupied in these cares, he received information that *Athaulfo*, bishop of *Compostella*, was guilty of a most heinous sin, equally contrary to his nature as a man, and to his duty as a Christian; and, without considering that this was charged on him only by slaves, he suffered his passion to rise so high on that prelate's appearing in his presence, that he turned loose upon him a bull which happened to be then baiting; but the beast, instead of destroying *Athaulfo*, approached him gently, and without doing him any hurt, which the king and the nobility about him looked upon as a certain proof of his innocence^k. The bishop, however, took this imputation so heavily, that he quitted his charge, and spent the remaining part of a long life in a hermitage, as if, after such an escape, he thought it safer to pass his days amongst beasts than men. Soon after the king received intelligence, that *Muza*, whom we have before mentioned, who, though descended from the *Goths*, professed the *Mohammedan* religion, and had chosen *Sargossa* for his capital, had begun to fortify the town of *Albayda*^l, upon the frontiers of king *Ordogno's* territories, with a view to cover himself from any incursions on that side;

^c Chron. var. antiq.

^d MARIANA Historia general de Espana, lib. vii. FERRERAS, Historia de Espana, P. iv. MAYERNE TURQUET. Histoire generale d'Espagne, l. vi.

VASÆI Chron.

^e Chron. var. antiq.

^f LUC. Tudens. Chron.

^g LUC. Tudens. Chron.

Hist. Arabum.

^h LUC. Tudens. Chron. VASÆI Annal.

ⁱ Chron. var. antiq.

^j VASÆI.

Chron.

but the king, who had given him no occasion for this precaution, took it in another light, believing that he meant thereby to have a door open to make inroads at his pleasure into the adjacent country. Don *Ordogno*, therefore, resolved to demolish this new fortress, and marched with a numerous army for that purpose; of which as soon as *Muza* had intelligence, he put himself in motion with all his forces, in order to cover the place^m. This brought on a battle, which was obstinately fought; but in the end the king gained a complete victory, *Garcia*, the son-in-law of *Muza*, with ten thousand men, being killed upon the place, and *Muza* himself, being much wounded, narrowly escaped being made prisoner, to die of those wounds a few days after in *Saragossa*ⁿ. As for the fortress of *Albayda*, it submitted to the king, who dismantled it as he intended; but, for all these advantages, he saw, when it was too late, that the king of *Cordova*, without sharing at all in the danger, had gained more by the defeat of *Muza* than himself, most of the places which that rebel held having submitted to that king upon his death.

Gains several great advantages over the Moors, and acquires various conquests.

MAHAMUT king of *Cordova*, being thus delivered by one enemy from another, raised a formidable army, in order to reduce *Toledo*; and, notwithstanding they received some succours from Don *Ordogno*, yet, in consequence of a long blockade, they were forced to submit upon the best terms they could obtain, after *Abenlope*, who was at the head of the revolt, had deserted the place, with such as followed his fortunes^o. In all probability Don *Ordogno* was hindered from supporting him, as he intended, by the appearance of the *Normans* upon the coasts of his dominions, which obliged him to send most of his forces to Don *Pedro*, who commanded in *Galicia*, and who was thereby enabled to defeat those plunderers, and to burn a part of their fleet^p. Yet such was the resentment of the king of *Cordova* for the share his neighbour had taken in the defence of *Toledo*, that he sent one of his sons with a numerous army to invade his dominions, which however turned more to his prejudice than to that of the Christians, since Don *Ordogno* obliged them to retire with great loss^q. The inhabitants of *Toledo* were no sooner informed of this, than they recalled *Abenlope*, and revolted again, with a settled resolution to shake off the yoke of the *Moors*; and, on the other side, Don *Ordogno* gave them repeated assurances of affording them better assistance than he had done heretofore^r. He likewise intended to have succoured *Merida*, which, after the example of *Toledo*, had revolted against *Mohammed*; but that monarch was too quick for them, and, having reduced the place, built a citadel to restrain the inhabitants within the bounds of their duty in time to come. However, Don *Ordogno* took *Salamanca* and *Coria*, the former by storm, which he demolished, the latter by composition, and then returned into his own dominions with a prodigious booty, and a large number of slaves, which procured him a joyful reception by his subjects of all ranks^s.

A. D. 862.

Takes this opportunity of procuring his son's election, and soon after dies.

THE king took advantage of this disposition in his people, and proposed the association of his son Don *Alonso*^t, who had distinguished himself highly in these wars, and they came into it with a very good grace. It was not long before he had a farther opportunity of raising the prince's credit and his own; for the king of *Cordova* making an effort with the whole force of his dominions for the reduction of *Toledo*, Don *Ordogno* disappointed that design; and when, in revenge of this opposition, he invaded his dominions on the side of *Portugal*, he also defeated the forces of *Mahamut* in several actions, so that this war ended highly to his advantage^u; and though some writers tell us, that a great fleet, equipped by the *Moors*, in order to make a descent upon *Galicia*, was dissipated and destroyed by tempests, yet an ancient chronicle^v, written in those times, asserts, that they were beaten by the Christians; and therefore we have reason to believe that Don *Ordogno* not only extended his dominions upon the continent, but raised a maritime^x power likewise, which never had been attempted by his predecessors. Thus, covered with glory, and somewhat advanced in years, Don *Ordogno*, to the universal regret of his subjects, died of the gout^y, with which he was much afflicted, May the seventeenth, in the year of our Lord eight hundred sixty six, and was buried in the royal sepulchre of the kings of *Oviedo*. With his reign ends the chronicle of his son Don *Alonso*, or, as he is commonly called, Don *Alphonso* the Great, a work which, in point of facts and of dates, we have hitherto chiefly followed, as that which in all respects deserved the greatest credit.

865.

Don Alonso III surnamed the Great, succeeds, and is dethroned by Don Froila.

THE nobility, who had sworn allegiance to the prince Don *Alonso*, at the age of fourteen, received him now in his eighteenth year for their sovereign^z with great alacrity; and the young monarch, who had not the least doubt of their fidelity, gave most of them personal marks of esteem and affection, so that all things seemed to wear the face of the most perfect harmony;

^m Luc. Tudens. Chron. Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. P. iii. ⁿ Chron. var. antiq. Roder. Tolet. Hist. Arabum. ^o Luc. Tudens. Chron. ^p Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. P. iii. ^q Chron. var. antiq. ^r Luc. Tudens. Chron. ^s Vasæi Chron. ^t Roderic Santii, Hist. Hispan. P. iii. ^u Chron. var. antiq. ^v Chronic. Sanct. Milan. ^x Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. P. iii. ^y Luc. Tudens. Chron. Vasæi Chron. ^z Mariana, Historia general de España, l. vii. Ferreras, Historia de España, P. iv. Mayerne Turquet, Histoire generale d'Espagne, l. vii.

a yet on a sudden they had intelligence at *Oviedo* of the march of *Don Froila*, who was at the head of the army in *Galicia*, towards that capital, with an intent to dethrone the king. Some of the lords^a, who were nearest his person, advised him to retire into *Castile*, as he had no troops about him to oppose the usurper, and offered, as an indubitable proof of their loyalty, to share in his disgrace. The young prince yielded to this, and it had a good effect; for the usurper, irritated at the cold reception he met with, began to act the tyrant, and behaved so ill towards those with whom he had been formerly familiar, that, by a conspiracy suddenly formed against him, he was assassinated in his palace, almost as soon as he had seated himself on the throne^b. A. D. 868.

Don *Alonso*, as soon as he received the news of this event, returned with his friends to *Oviedo*, and was received with the general acclamations even of the usurper's army^c. His first care was to put his dominions into a proper state of defence, and, with this view, he built, in the neighbourhood of the city of *Leon*, the castle of *Sublancia*, which is the place now called *Sollanco*, in order to cover the *Asturias* from the irruption of any enemies; at the same time he peopled the town of *Cea*, and built there a very strong citadel with the very same view^d. While he was thus employed, he was informed of the revolt of count *Eylon*, in the province of *Alava*; upon which he marched thither with a numerous army; but, upon his approach, the rebels laid down their arms, threw the fault upon their chief, whom they brought prisoner to the king, who, granting them a general pardon, returned with his forces to *Oviedo*^e; yet he was scarce arrived in his capital, before he received intelligence that they were in arms again; which obliged him to march into that province a second time, where having easily reduced these mutinous people, he was, notwithstanding the natural clemency of his nature, in a manner compelled to make some examples^f, to prevent future disturbances, and that he might have leisure to pursue those important designs he had formed for the benefit of his subjects. He also, at his return to *Oviedo*, made a present of a noble shrine of silver to the cathedral church, for the more convenient holding of their relics, which is still preserved, and, by an inscription thereon, the time of his accession to the throne is clearly asserted^g. 868.

As soon as *Mahamut*, king of *Cordova*, had intelligence of the great assiduity with which Don *Alonso* fortified the chief places on his frontier, and the methods he employed for keeping up a regular militia in every part of his territories, even in the time of peace, he concluded, that, as soon as these designs were achieved, he might be in danger from so active and so potent a neighbour, and therefore he held it policy to begin first, and to endeavour, while part of the country was still open, to make some impression upon the Christians. He had at that time a very numerous army on foot, to which notwithstanding he added some new levies; and, having divided the whole into two bodies^h, gave the command of one to his brother *Abulmundar*, and the other to an officer of great reputation, whose name was *Alcanatel*, with instructions to penetrate into the dominions of Don *Alonso* at the same time, one on the side of *Leon*, and the other thro' *Galicia*ⁱ. The news of this double invasion reached the king's ears while he lay at no great distance from *Leon*, with a small army, but composed chiefly of troops that had served long under his father. He took his measures directly, and, marching with the utmost expedition to *Leon*, he attacked *Abulmundar* unexpectedly, and, after a short though very bloody dispute, defeated his forces^k with great slaughter. He marched next against *Alcanatel*, over whom he obtained a more complete victory, the far greater part of his troops being killed on the field of battle or in the pursuit, his camp taken and plundered, and the poor remains of his army so thoroughly dissipated, that Don *Alonso* ravaged the provinces of *Tierra de Campos*, and the districts of *Simencas*, *Toro*, and *Zamora*, in all which he left not a *Mohammedan*, but carried into slavery all that he found there^l. 869.

The very same year he espoused the celebrated *Ximene*, *Ximena*, or *Chimene*^m, descended from the illustrious house of *Navarre*, and, in consequence of that marriage, entered into a league offensive and defensive against the *Moors*, which, as soon as the rejoicings for the marriage were over, was followed by another campaign, in which he wasted the territories of the infidels through a vast extent, brought away an incredible multitude of slaves, and a booty of immense valueⁿ. The winter he spent in his own territories, and in examining how far the designs which he had proposed for the benefit of his subjects were carried into execution. At the return of the spring he was again in motion: and, having passed the *Duero*, he advanced as far as *Lamego* and *Viseo*, and, finding them still in the same situation they had been left in by his predecessor *Alonso the Catholic*, continued his progress to *Coimbra*, which he took and dismantled. His victorious army having as much plunder as

^a RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispana, P. iii.

VASÆI Chron.

Chron.

Tolet. Hist. Arab.

Tudens. VASÆI Chron.

^d RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. l. iv.

^f Chron. var. antiq.

ⁱ Chron. var. ant.

^m RODERIC Toletan. de reb. Hispan. l. iv.

^b Chron. var. antiq.

^c Luc. Tudens. Chron. VASÆI Chron.

^e Luc. Tudens. Chron. VASÆI Chron.

^h RODERIC SANT. Hist. Hispana, P. iii.

ⁿ Chron. var. antiq.

they

Recovers his dominions, and soon after suppresses two rebellions.

Gains two signal victories over Mahamut, king of Cordova.

Conquers several places from the Moors, and forms a design of keeping those conquests.

A. D. 871. they were able to transport, and as many slaves as it was possible for them to bring away with safety, he returned to *Oviedo*, where he gave audience to the ambassadors of the king of *Cordova*, and granted them a truce^o upon very advantageous terms. His next care was to restore and repopulate the cities of *Aurensa* in *Galicia*, and of *Braga* and *Porto* between the *Duero* and the *Minho*, dividing all the adjacent lands amongst those whom he sent thither. The following year he repaired *Lamego* and *Viseo* in the same manner; and upon this occasion it was that the tomb, in which lay the remains of Don *Roderic*, the last king of the *Goths*, was discovered. He caused likewise *Coimbra*, or *Conimbra*, to be re-edified in the same manner, directing it to be strongly fortified, as intending to make it his frontier on that side^p. By this prudent method he secured the interior of his territory from the ravages of the infidels.

Defeats the Moorish armies employed to prevent his executing this design.

THE king of *Cordova*, as soon as the term for which he had concluded the truce was expired, renewed his hostilities, with an intent to disturb Don *Alonso* in his project of repopulating the flat country which he had subdued. But this was attended with no better success than in his former war, Don *Alonso* being constantly victorious in every action, and carrying his arms as far as the city of *Merida*^q. The king of *Cordova*, having recruited his forces, and obtained some supplies from the most distant parts of his dominions, assembled a much better army than he had the year before, under the command of *Abubalet*, a very gallant officer, and of established reputation; but though it was in the power of this monarch to change his captains, it was not within the reach either of him or them to change the fortune of the war; for, coming to an engagement, on the frontiers, with some of Don *Alonso's* generals, who commanded his army in his absence, the *Moors* were defeated; and *Abubalet*, being taken prisoner, was sent to the king at *Oviedo*, who agreed with him for his ransom, and consented to take one of his sons, two brothers, and a nephew, as hostages for the payment of it^r. This last defeat served only to enrage the king of *Cordova*, who, withdrawing most of the forces he had in *Andalusia*, and having promised great privileges to those districts who had furnished him with men, assembled early in the spring a greater army than he had the year before, which he put under the command of his son *Almundar*, joining, with him one of his oldest generals, whose name was *Ybengamin*, promising them great supplies, which should join them on their march^s. These forces, having advanced into the neighbourhood of *Leon*, began to think it necessary to wait there for the reinforcements that were promised: but Don *Alonso*, having likewise intelligence of the march of those succours by the river *Orbigo*, marched with a strong detachment from his own army, and took possession of an eminence which overlooked the narrow country between the rivers *Orbigo* and *Ezla*, and, as soon as the succours, which consisted of about fourteen thousand men, had passed *Polvoroso*, he attacked them in front and on the flank with such success, that the greatest part of them were killed upon the spot, or drowned in the rivers, and the rest took the best measures they could to reach home in safety^t. The victorious monarch, desiring to add one conquest to another, marched with all possible expedition to attack *Almundar*; but the young prince, having intelligence of his friend's defeat, decamped in the night, and with much speed and silence recovered his father's dominions, from whence he sent a polite message to Don *Alonso* to desire a truce, which, at his request, the king granted for three years^u. At his return from this campaign, he set up a cross of gold, as the monument of his victory, in the cathedral church of *Oviedo*, as, the year before, he had sent a cross of the same metal to the church at *Compostella*, that his piety might not seem inferior to his courage^v.

Supports the revolt of Abenlope Abdalla against the king of Cordova.

882.

WHILE the truce subsisted, *Abenlope Abdalla*, the son of *Muza*, revolted from the king of *Cordova*, and found means to make himself master of *Saragossa*, in which his father had given that monarch so much trouble before, not without the participation of Don *Alonso*, who, as soon as the truce was expired, made an irruption into the territories of *Mahamut*, passed the *Tagus*, and afterwards the river *Ana*, not far from which he defeated the *Moorish* army, and killed, some say five, some say ten, others fifteen thousand men^x. While he was thus employed abroad, the city of *Oviedo*, by his order, was walled and fortified, and a palace built for his reception at home, to which, after his glorious campaign, he returned in triumph. The next year the war continued hot between *Mahamut* and *Abdalla*. The latter had once broke his faith to Don *Alonso*, and attempted to reconcile himself to his old master; from whom he revolted again, and laboured to conclude a new treaty with Don *Alonso*, who was unwilling to trust him any more, and who, notwithstanding the *Moorish* prince *Almundar* had made an incursion into his country, sent *Dulcidius*, a priest, at the request of king *Mahamut*, to *Cordova*, where he negotiated a truce for six years^y, upon terms equally honourable and advantageous for his master.

^o Roderic Toletan. Historia Arabum.

^p Roderic Toletan. Hist. Arabum.

^q Roderic Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

^r Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

^s Chron. var. antiq.

^t Luc. Tudens. Chron.

^u Luc. Tudens. Chron. VASÆI Chron.

^v Luc. Tudens. Chron. VASÆI Chron.

^x Chron. var. antiq.

^y Chron. var.

^z Rod.

^a THE king, now grown in years, was inclined to repose, and to spend the remainder of his days in embellishing and improving his dominions. With this view he sent instructions to Don *Diego*, count of *Castile*, to repair and fortify *Burgos*, which he performed so effectually, that it afterwards became the capital of that country ². The next object of Don *Alonso's* attention was to restore the sees of *Braga*, *Porto*, *Lamego*, *Viseo*, and *Coimbra*, in *Portugal*, and those of *Orensa* and *Mundognedo* in *Galicia*. He was not less provident with respect to the civil government, which he reduced into so good order, and gave the common people such marks of his attention and affection, as highly disoblige some of the nobility, who could by no means digest the limitation of that authority which hitherto they had executed without controul; and this seems to be the most probable cause of those seditions which disturbed and distressed the remaining part of this great monarch's reign, notwithstanding all that he had done, and all that he was willing to do, for the common benefit of his subjects ³.

Makes many salutary alterations in the frame of civil government.
A. D. 884.

^b THE first that broke out were in *Galicia*, where a great lord, whose name was *Ano*, had entered into some dark designs; which being discovered, he was punished by the confiscation of his estate ⁴. Another nobleman, whose name was *Hermegilde*, by the assistance of his wife *Iberia*, a woman of an active and intriguing temper, raised great disturbances in the neighbourhood of *Corunna*; but the king, sending a formidable army into those parts, quickly dispersed them and their adherents; and the chiefs, being soon after taken, were put to death, and part of their estates given to the church of *St. James* ⁵. The king, having now some respite from foreign wars and domestic disorders, completed his pious and charitable foundations, and particularly the pompous church of *Saint James*, which he caused to be consecrated with great solemnity ⁶. Soon after a new rebellion broke out in *Galicia*, under one *Witiza*, more formidable than any of the former; which however was quickly suppressed, and that traitor sent prisoner to the king. This was followed by another, to which an end was put in the same manner; but of these there is no notice to be found in any history of those times; and they would have been totally unknown to posterity, but for the records of the convictions and confiscations that attended them, which records, however, ascertain the facts, and the times in which they happened, and may be of very great use, in case any more of the chronicles in cathedrals or convents should be made public. 886.

^c ALL the seditions and revolts that had hitherto happened in *Galicia*, were but trivial in comparison of that raised by *Froila* and his brethren, *Nugnez*, *Veremond*, and *Odoair*, whom *Mariana* ⁷ will have to be brothers also to the king; which is directly contrary to what is asserted by a contemporary historian ⁸, who assures us, that Don *Alphonso* was the only son of Don *Ordogno*. However, it was quickly suppressed, and *Froila* and his brother fled towards *Castile*, but were overtaken by some of the king's troops, and brought back prisoners to *Oviedo*, where they were condemned to have their eyes put out, and to remain in a dungeon for life ⁹. *Veremond*, however, soon after made his escape, took shelter in *Astorga*, and not only raised all that part of the country in his favour, but obtained also a body of troops from *Abdalla*, the grandson of *Mahamut*, king of *Cordova*. Don *Alphonso* pursued him in person, and invested the city of *Astorga*, which he defended obstinately, in hopes of being succoured by an army that king *Abdalla* sent to his relief; upon the approach of which he boldly marched out to join them, and, in conjunction with the infidels, offered his master battle ¹⁰. Don *Alphonso*, grown old in arms, and followed by troops that had been ever victorious under his command, attacked the rebels and their infidel allies with such vigour in the plain of *Graja de Ribera*, which is watered by the river *Ezla*, that they were quickly routed, and the greatest part of them slain or drowned, the few that remained fled with blind *Veremond* into the dominions of the king of *Cordova*, who soon after sent an embassy to Don *Alonso*, to persuade him to renew the truce, which with some difficulty was granted ¹¹. 897.

Finds more difficulty in subduing a rebellion supported by the Moors.

^d THE public tranquility thus restored, the king returned, as usual, to the cares of domestic government, and more especially to works of piety, and such as might contribute to the glory of his kingdom, and the honour and happiness of his subjects. It was with this view that he summoned a general council of his clergy, and a great assembly of the states at *Oviedo*, with the consent, as the generality of the *Spanish* writers say, of the pope ¹²; but however, their best critics ¹³ allow, that the acts of this assembly, as they are published in the general assembly of the *Spanish* councils by cardinal *Aguirre*, are forgeries: and, if we take our notions of what passed here from the historians nearest the time, we shall find it not to have differed much from the like assemblies in the times of the *Gothic* kings ¹⁴. In a word, the monarch opened to the

Holds a general council at Oviedo, concerning which there are some mistakes.

900.

^a RODER. SANTI, Hist. Hispana, P. iii.

² LUC. Tudens. Chron. VASÆI Chron.

^b RODER.

SANTI Hist. Hispan. P. iii.

^c Chron. var. antiq.

^d LUC. Tudens. Chron. VASÆI Chron.

^e Historia general de Espana, lib. vii.

^f EL. MONGE DE SILOS, FERRERAS. Hist. de Espana, P. iv.

sect. 9.

^g ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. P. iii.

^h ROD. Toletan. Hist. Arab.

ⁱ Chron.

var. antiq.

^j MARIANA, Historia general de Espana, l. vii.

^k FERRERAS, Historia de Espana,

P. iv.

^l LUC. Tudens. Chron. VASÆI Chron.

members of this venerable assembly the motives upon which they had been called together, in a consequence of which they elected the bishop of *Oviedo*^a, as the court bishop, metropolitan, ordered the ancient canons to be strictly observed, and for the greater ease of holding regular synods at *Oviedo*, each of the bishops had certain rents or revenues assigned him there, sufficient to defray his expences, while he attended to discharge the duties of his sacred function^b. This (though many others have been assigned) seems to be the true reason why this was called the city of bishops.

Defeats the Moors, tho' supported by assistance from the Mohammedans in Afric.

As the king saw with pleasure the good effects that had already followed from rebuilding and fortifying such places of consequence as he had recovered from the *Moors*, and was determined to adhere steadily to that salutary maxim, he undertook to preside in person at the reparation of *Zamora*, anciently called *Scientica*, while the care of rebuilding *Toro* was committed to his son Don *Garcias*, and that of restoring *Simencas* and *Duenas* to two great lords of the court, with a view that the river *Duero* might, by the help of these strong places, be rendered an impenetrable barrier against the infidels^c. *Abdalla*, king of *Cordova*, was so much disturbed at the news of these proceedings, foreseeing that these new cities would be all soon peopled at his cost, that he sent over several ministers to solicit the princes of his religion in *Africa* for succours, representing the interests of the *Mohammedans* in *Spain* to be in danger from the designs of Don *Alonso*; by which he obtained such large supplies, as enabled him to march a numerous army directly towards *Zamora*, and, with the general who commanded it, he sent *Alcaman*, a plausible enthusiast, who endeavoured to raise the courage of the soldiers by his vehement harangues. But Don *Alonso*, who covered the works he was about with a considerable army, did not suffer them to approach near enough to disturb him; but, having made a proper choice of the ground, advanced, attacked, and defeated them, with prodigious loss, and amongst the slain was their preacher, who had promised them such mighty things in the name of his prophet^d. This blow kept the infidels quiet for two years. Then Don *Alonso*, having intelligence that they began to be in motion, marched with a numerous army into the kingdom of *Toledo*, and, fetching a compass under the mountains that divide the two kingdoms of *Castile*, burnt and demolished some of the best towns, and having taken and dismantled a fortress which the *Moors* had built to cover their territories, he returned in triumph to his own with immense riches. It was at the end of this campaign that a new conspiracy was detected, into which one *Adalphin* and his sons had entered, for which they were justly punished with death^e.

Oppressed by disturbances in his own family, he resigns the crown to his son Don *Garcias*.

908.

THE next year, after gaining so much fame abroad, and being delivered from such danger at home, the good old monarch found himself in a situation so much the more unfortunate, as it was both unnatural and unexpected. His son Don *Garcias*, who had married the daughter of *Nugnez Fernandez*, one of the greatest noblemen in his dominions, formed the cruel design of deposing his father^f, and seating himself upon the throne; which however could not be carried so secretly, but that it came to the old king's ears, who, marching with a strong detachment of forces to *Zamora*, seized upon his son's person, and sent him prisoner to the castle of *Gecuzon*^g. How just, how necessary soever this step might be, Don *Alonso* found that it gave great offence to those to whom it ought only to have given sorrow. In short, the queen *Chimene*, who was excessively fond of her son, forgetting the cause of his confinement, spoke of it as an act of excessive severity, and solicited the king for his release, which he in plain terms refused; then the father-in-law of the young prince became first importunate, and then undutiful^h. However, Don *Alonso* was not to be moved either by persuasions or threats; at length, in the third year of the prince's confinement, his brother Don *Ordogno*, governor of *Galicia*, joining with the queen and *Nugnez Fernandez*, began to dispose the minds of the people every-where to revolt, alleging, that while the king gave them fair words, and promised to consider their petitions, the prince was growing old in a prison. The wise and brave old king perceiving that a civil war was on the point of breaking out, summoned an assembly of the states, which was held in the year of our Lord nine hundred and ten, in which the majority endeavoured to engage the king to set his son at liberty, as a step necessary to his own safety, and which would be highly obliging to his subjectsⁱ. The king thereupon summoned all the grandees to his country palace at *Bordes*, now called *Bedes*, in *Asturias*, and, having produced both his sons before them, he made a short speech, in which he observed, that having studied through a long life, and a long reign, to do always what might be best for his people, he would not alter his conduct at the end of it; and was therefore content to gratify their wishes, by resigning the crown to Don *Garcias*^j, and the province of *Galicia* to Don *Ordogno*. The two princes, who were far from expecting such a resolution, threw themselves on their knees at their father's feet, and intreated his pardon for what was

^a RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. P. iii. reb. Hispan. lib. iv.

^b LUC. Tudens. Chron.

^c RODERIC Toletan de

^d Chron. var. antiq. ROD. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

^e VASÆI Chron.

^f RODER. SANTII Hist. Hispan. P. iii.

^g LUC. Tudens. Chron. VASÆI Chron.

^h RODERIC

Toletan. de reb. Hispan. lib. iv. Chron.

ⁱ Chron. var. antiq.

^j LUC. Tudens. Chron. VASÆI

^a past, which he readily granted; and immediately after, by the consent of the states, Don *Garcias* was declared king ^y (G). This transaction, as far as can be collected from the best historians happened in the month of *December*, in the year before mentioned.

THE new king was solicitous to begin his administration with certain actions that might appear both popular and praiseworthy; and accordingly he first founded and endowed a monastery, and then assembled a numerous army, in order to march against the *Moors*, who had been free from incursions during the last three years. The king of *Cordova*, having intelligence of his motions, made the best provision he could for his reception, and put at the head of his forces *Ayola*, an officer of great repute for conduct as well as courage. He seems, however, to have acted this campaign upon the defensive, and to have aimed only at preventing Don *Garcias* from penetrating into *Castile*; but the king, who was eager and active, as well as personally brave, forced the *Moors* to a battle, in which he not only gained a complete victory ², but also took their general *Ayola* prisoner, who, in the return of the army into *Asturias*, had the good fortune to make his escape. This victory, and the vast riches which the soldiers obtained, raised the character of Don *Garcias* extremely with his subjects. Don *Garcias* opens his reign with an expedition against the *Moors*. A. D. 911.

AT his return from this expedition, his father ^a met him at *Astorga*, where they conferred together on the operations of the next year; and Don *Alonso* took a great deal of pains to shew him, that incursions and conquests signified little, if they were made with no other view than to enrich the soldiers, and to gain applause. He therefore advised him to assemble a numerous army the next year, of which he would himself take the command ^b, at least of the vanguard; and that in the mean time due care should be taken to repair and repeople the places that yet lay open and in ruins along the river *Duero*, particularly *Rueda*, *Osma*, *Corunna*, and *Cocca*. Don *Garcias* thanked his father for his advice, and promised to follow it exactly. Accordingly, having charged two of his principal nobility with the care of restoring the places before-mentioned, he assembled his army in the spring, of which Don *Alonso* taking the command, swept all the country beyond the *Duero*; and, having made a glorious campaign, with very little resistance on the part of the *Moors*, he returned, with his army laden with spoils, in the winter, to *Zamora* ^c. The old king, with the consent of his son, makes the next campaign with much reputation. 912.

IN a short time after he came to that city, he found himself much indisposed, and, perceiving that his end drew on, he sent for his old friend the bishop of *Astorga* to assist him in his last moments. Having bestowed all the money he had, which *Ferreras* ^d says amounted to about five hundred pistoles, on the church of *St. James*, he breathed his last, *December* the twentieth, in the year of our Lord nine hundred and twelve, two year after his abdication, forty-nine years from the time of his being associated in the government with his father, and when he was about the age of sixty-three ^e. In recording the principal events of his reign we have sufficiently drawn the character of this excellent prince, than whom none of those who bore it better deserved the title of Great. He was not only unaffectedly pious, and a great patron of learning, but, for the times in which he lived, a prince of great learning himself; for, having been intreated by *Sebastian*, bishop of *Orensa*, who had been either his chaplain or his preceptor, to consider of some means for preserving the memorials of times past, of which, from the reign of king *Wamba*, there were scarce any records worth reading, he undertook

^y *MARIANA*, *Historia general de Espana*, lib. vii. *FERRERAS*, *Historia de Espana*, P. iv. *MAYERNE* *TURQUET*, *Histoire generale d'Espagne*, lib. vi. ² *RODERIC Toletan*, *Hist. Arabum*. ^a *LUC*. *Tudens. Chron.* *VASÆI Chron.* ^b *RODERIC SANTI* *Historia Hispan.* P. iii. ^c *Chron. var. antiq.* ^d *Historia de Espana*, P. iv. ^e *LUC*. *Tudens. Chron.* *VASÆI Chron.*

(G) We have some circumstances, relating to the abdication of Don *Alonso the Great*, from *Mariana*, that deserve the reader's notice. He assures us, that, in order to execute his projected scheme of adorning the chief places in his dominions with public structures, rebuilding decayed towns, and fortifying his frontiers, he found himself under a necessity of imposing new taxes upon his subjects, which, as he observes, is always to be avoided as much as possible, because it never fails, unless the necessity be very glaring, to make those who are to pay them uneasy. In the present case, it seems, it had that effect to a great degree, notwithstanding the many glorious actions this monarch had performed; and though it was evident, that what he took from his subjects was expended for their service, and not in the gratification of any passion of his, unless his zeal for their welfare could be so called. The same historian adds farther, that queen *Ximena* began to grow weary of a husband old and infirm, and therefore suggested to the prince Don *Garcias*, that it was time for him to reign, and that he ought to take advantage of the popular discontent. But, as great a

mistress as she thought herself in politics, it seems she had not considered the affection of the army, which interposed, and prevented the revolution which would otherwise have happened. But, after her son's imprisonment, she consulted with the count of *Castile* the means of repairing this mistake, and encouraged him to raise a civil war, which lasted two years: it was this circumstance that determined the old king to a resignation. He abhorred, or rather he disdained, reigning by force; he could not bear to see the effusion of Christian blood in such a quarrel; and, above all, he was unwilling to have that great scheme of government he had formed, defeated and subverted by this unlucky dispute. He chose, therefore, to place the crown upon his son's head; and having, by that means, regained his affections, he soon made him comprehend so clearly the nature and importance of his plan, that Don *Garcias* heartily embraced it; and, if Providence had spared him a longer life, would in all probability have shewn, that, except the short interval in which he was misled by feminine and factious counsels, he was not the unworthy son of one of the best and wisest princes.

and

and composed that chronicle ^f which has been mentioned more than once, beginning at the death of king *Recesuinto*, and ending with that of *Don Ordogno*, his own father, which, after having been long covered with dust and oblivion, was published to the world under the name of the bishop at whose request it was composed; but the most learned and judicious of the *Spanish* critics ^g have long ago declared themselves satisfied that it belonged to the king himself; and indeed this is evident from the performance, though very incorrectly published by *Sandoval*, and not so perfect as could be wished in the later editions.

His son survives him but for a small time, and then dies very little regretted.

THE same year, but some months before *Don Alonso*, died another *Spanish* monarch, viz. *Abdallah* ^h, king of *Cordova*, and was succeeded by *Abderrahman* III. the son of king *Mohammed*, against whom *Don Garcias* prepared to act vigorously; but this expedition was retarded by some sinister designs that he formed against his brother *Don Ordogno*, as being not at all well pleased that he should hold in his own right so considerable a province as that of *Galicia*, of which therefore he was inclined to deprive him ⁱ; but as his brother was a very brave prince, much beloved by his soldiers, and who prepared to meet him with a gallant army, *Don Garcias* was content to admit of the interposition of the queen his mother, and some of the nobility, by whose endeavours their quarrel was composed, and they acted jointly, and with great cordiality, in their expedition against the *Moors*, which was begun and ended with all the success they could desire ^k. While they were in the field, *Donna Ximena*, or *Chimene* ^l, ended her days, and, according to her desire, was interred at *Astorga* by her husband. At the close of the campaign, *Don Garcias* repaired to *Leon*, in order to enjoy some repose after his fatigue, and to confer with his nobility: and, before the winter was ended, he fell into a disease that proved fatal to him, when he had worn the crown, which he took from his father's head, somewhat less than three years ^m, the less regretted by his subjects, upon account of a certain sternness in his disposition, so much the more remarkable, as it was the very reverse of the affability of *Don Alonso*, and of the open and chearful temper of his brother, who was generally beloved and esteemed.

Don Ordogno II. his brother, succeeds, and gains the battle of Talavera against the Moors.

Don Ordogno was in his own province at the time of his brother's decease; of which however he was no sooner informed, than he repaired with all the expedition possible to *Leon*, from whence the body of his brother had been transported to *Oviedo*, where it was interred in the tomb with his predecessors. The bishops and nobles made no scruple of admitting him to the throne, and, in consequence of their election, he was declared king in the month of *February* nine hundred and fourteen ⁿ. His first care was to imitate his predecessors, in making an expedition against the infidels. Having accordingly made an incursion into the territories of the king of *Cordova*, he found his progress stopped by the town of *Talavera de la Reyna*, the governor of which, contrary to his expectations, absolutely refused to surrender, upon which he invested the place ^o, and made several vigorous attacks: but it was so well fortified, and the *Moor* who commanded therein defended himself with such spirit and resolution, that, notwithstanding the bravery of his troops, and his own presence, he made but a slow progress in the siege. While he was thus employed, *Abderrahman*, who was very desirous of giving a check to this martial monarch at the beginning of his reign, sent a good corps of troops, under the command of one of his most renowned officers, to the relief of the place ^p. *Don Ordogno* was no sooner informed of this, than, leaving a small corps before *Talavera*, he marched with the rest of his army, and gave battle to the enemy, who defended themselves gallantly till their general was killed, and then fled ^q. After this victory, he took *Talavera* by storm, put the garrison to the sword, and, having dismantled the place, returned in triumph to *Leon*. There he found the bishop of *Astorga*, who had been prevented by the late king from paying *Don Alonso*'s legacy, who informed him, that he was then going with it to *Compostella*. It seems that, at these times, was so considerable a sum, as to be worthy even of a monarch's notice; and therefore *Don Ordogno* proposed to the bishop of *Astorga*, and to the bishop of *Compostella*, that they should give him the money; instead of which, he offered to grant to the church of *St. James* the town of *Cornelina*, on the river *Lima*; which was accepted, and it is from this concession, which is still preserved, that the date of this monarch's accession is put out of all doubt ^r.

Carries on the war vigorously, and with amazing success.

THE very next spring we find *Don Ordogno* again in the field, and again victorious over the infidels, whom he routed with great slaughter near the castle of *Albanges*, which place he took by storm, and put the garrison to the sword; which induced many of the neighbouring towns to surrender, and others to ransom themselves at the expence of very large sums, so

^f Marques de MONDEJAR Advertencias, p. 9.

MONDEJAR. Don GREGORIO MAYANS Y SCISCAR.

Tudens. Chron.

var. antiq.

MAYERNE TURQUET, Histoire generale d'Espagne, l. vi.

var. antiq.

^g Chron. var. antiq.

^h RODER. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. v.

ⁱ MARIANA, Historia general de Espana, l. vii.

^j RODER. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

^k RODERIC SANTI Hist. Hispan. P. iii.

^l FERRERAS, Historia de Espana, P. iv.

^m RODER. Toletan. Hist. Arabum.

ⁿ VASÆI Chron.

^o FERRERAS, Historia de Espana, P. iv.

^p RODER. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

^q LUC. Tudens. Chron. VASÆI Chron.

a that this campaign was equally glorious and gainful to the Christians^c. But these losses sunk so deep into the breast of the king of *Cordova*, that he had again recourse to the princes in *Africa* of his own religion. He represented the distress he was in, and the ambitious views of Don *Ordogno* in so strong a light, that they cheerfully contributed, according to the respective force of their dominions, to send him a great supply; and *Mohammed Almotaraf*, then lord of *Ceuta*, went in person to his assistance^d. *Abderrahman* assembled also as good an army as he was able, and received succours likewise from the *Moorish* prince of *Saragossa*, under the command of *Ablapaz*. This united army of the infidels amounted in the whole to eighty thousand men, and, marching directly towards the frontier of Don *Ordogno's* territories, began to make dispositions for passing the river *Duero*, being already arrived within sight of *St. Stephen de Gormaz*. There Don *Ordogno* stopped their career, and, though his army was inferior in number, he made no scruple of engaging the enemy, and, after a most obstinate and bloody action, defeated them, their generals *Ablapaz* and *Mohammed* being both killed upon the spot^e. After this glorious victory, he returned with prodigious spoils to *Leon*, where he built a noble cathedral, as a monument of his piety and gratitude for the divine favour; and having thus made it a bishop's see, he next, in regard to the beauty and convenient situation of the place, made choice of it for the capital of his dominions, and, as his predecessors had been stiled first kings of *Asturias*, then of *Oviedo*, so himself and his successors took from this time the title of kings of *Leon*^f. A D. 917.

THE war was still carried on between the *Moors* and Christians with equal eagerness and obstinacy on both sides, but with less inequality than before; for, in the next engagement, Don *Ordogno* was glad to continue the battle till it was dark, and then to make a retreat without boasting of victory^g; soon after which he concluded a truce with the king of *Cordova*, who still meditated revenge against the Christians. In order to effect this, he, not without great difficulty, assembled a more numerous army than he had hitherto brought into the field, composed in a great measure of new supplies from *Africa*, which he sent under the command of one of his generals into the territories of the king of *Navarre*^h. Don *Sanchez*, who then governed that country, demanded the assistance of his nephew Don *Ordogno*, who, with a body of choice troops, marched to his relief. Having joined his army under the command of prince *Garcias*, the allied army engaged the *Moors* in the valley of *Junquera*, where, after a long and bloody dispute, they were beatenⁱ, and Don *Ordogno* returned with the remainder of his forces, not without some difficulty, to *Leon*. The *Moors*, elevated with this victory, and the conquest that attended it, committed an unaccountable act of indiscretion, and, instead of prosecuting their advantages as they might have done, made an irruption into *France*, where they were able to do nothing. In the mean time Don *Ordogno*, having recovered his spirits, and recruited his army, made several successful incursions into the dominions of the king of *Cordova*^j. Marches to the relief of the king of Navarre, and loses the battle of Junquera. 921.

AT his return from this campaign, the king received the news of the death of his queen Donna *Elvira*, whose body he caused to be interred in the royal sepulchre at *Oviedo*^k, and the year following espoused *Argonta*, who was descended from one of the principal families in *Galicia*; but soon after, moved by some wicked calumny, or ill-grounded suspicion, he repudiated his new queen, who retired to a monastery, and there spent the remainder of her days in devotion^l; and the king too, being convinced of his fault, is said to have become sincerely penitent. At this juncture, having some suspicion of the fidelity of the counts of *Castile*, he went thither slenderly attended, and summoned them to meet him, which they neglecting, he returned without seeming to take any offence, and, having raised a very powerful army, went once more into *Castile*, and summoned them a second time, when, through fear of his destroying their country, they appeared; upon which the king seized and carried them to *Leon*, where some time after he caused them to be strangled in prison^m. We find this act represented by most historians as a piece of injustice and cruelty; whereas others affirm, that these lords had been in rebellion, and suffered no more than they deserved; but this is an event which we shall be obliged to mention more than once in the course of the history (H). 922.

THE

^c RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hisp. l. iv. Arabum.

² VASÆI Chron. Chronicon.

var. antiq.

^x LUC. Tudens. Chron. VASÆI Chron.

^a ROD. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

^c RODERIC SANTI Hist. Hispan. P. iii.

^u LUC. Tudens. Chron.

^w ROD. Tolet. Hist.

^y RODERIC SANTI Hist. Hispan. P. iii.

^b LUC. Tudens. Chronicon. VASÆI Hispaniæ

^d LUC. Tudens. Chron.

^e Chron.

(H) We have no distinct account of the reasons, or rather of the calumnies, which induced the king Don *Ordogno* to part with his second wife, who survived him many years. *Mariana* observes, that till this time there was nothing in his reign that deserved censure; but he condemns with great vehemence his behaviour to-

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wards the counts of *Castile*, which he stiles a perfidious cruelty. We have hinted in the text, that *Sampiro*, bishop of *Astorga*, who must have been very well acquainted with these transactions, is far from thinking in the same manner; for this prelate, not in the least complaisant to the errors of Don *Ordogno*, blames the re-

His death, which did not much afflict his subjects, who set aside his children.

A. D. 923.

THE king of *Navarre* and his son *Don Garcias* having demanded the assistance of *Don a* *Ordogno*, in order to recover some places that were yet in the hands of the *Moors*, he marched accordingly into their dominions with his forces, did for them what they desired, and, at the close of the expedition, married *Donna Santiva*, the daughter of *Don Garcias*, and the granddaughter of the king, with whom he returned into his own territories, where he died ^f very soon after, and was buried in the cathedral of *Leon*, leaving by his first queen, two sons, *Don Alonso* and *Don Ramiro*, after he had reigned seventeen years and some months, and was not exceedingly regretted by his subjects. As for his new-married queen, she returned again into *Navarre*. The princes his sons, being too young to form any pretensions to the crown in an elective monarchy, his brother *Don Froila* repaired immediately to *Leon*, and, by the consent of the bishops and great lords, was without difficulty received as his successor in the b throne ^g.

Don Froila II. his brother, raised to the throne, and dies after a short uneasy reign.

924.

Don Froila the second, king of *Oviedo* and *Leon*, is represented as a prince of great fierceness and cruelty. He understood that the sons of one *Olmund*, a great lord, had endeavoured to hinder his election; and the crown was hardly placed upon his head before he put them to death ^h; his brother *Fronimo*, bishop of *Leon*, having intimated, that, notwithstanding his youth, *Don Alphonso*, the eldest son of the deceased king, might be enabled to govern with the assistance of a regency, he caused him to be banished ⁱ; which alarmed his subjects to the highest degree; and in all probability his reign would have been attended with continual troubles, as it opened so unhappily, if, in the judgment of the writers of those times, Providence had not interposed; a thing indeed not rashly to be credited. However, in this they all c agree, that, being struck with a leprosy, he in the space of a few months was brought with much sorrow and pain to his grave, when he had borne the title of king ^k only a year and one month. His body was interred in the cathedral church of *Leon*, near that of his brother *Don Ordogno* the second ^l. It has been generally believed, that the people of *Castile*, provoked by *Don Ordogno's* cutting off their counts, and being apprehensive of still worse usage from a prince of *Don Froila* the second's temper, revolted in his time from their obedience to the crown of *Leon*; and appointed two judges, one of whom they intrusted with the administration of the civil government, and the other was to have the command of their forces. But this, as will be shewn in another place, seems to be very uncertain at least, and improbable, if not altogether groundless. However, it must be acknowledged, that in so short a space as twenty d years, from the resignation of *Don Alonso the Great*, his dominions had very much altered their aspect, and his subjects had just reason to regret their impatience and ingratitude to that wise and prudent monarch, who, they now plainly saw, was much better acquainted with the disposition of his children than those who were so desirous to raise them to the throne in his life-time; the nobility also, remembering the proposition that had been made by the bishop of *Leon*, upon the last vacancy of the throne, resolved to embrace his scheme, and rather trust the public affairs in the hands of a young prince, of a mild temper, and virtuous disposition, than run the hazard of placing upon the throne a prince of the same disposition with him they had lately lost, or rather from whom they were so happily delivered.

Don Alonso IV. succeeds his uncle, and finds himself incapable of governing.

Don Alonso, or *Don Alphonso*, the son of *Don Ordogno* the second ^m, succeeded his uncle e upon the principles before mentioned, and, immediately after his accession, recalled *Fronimo*, bishop of *Leon*, by whose advice he was chiefly directed during the short time he sat upon the throne. He was, as we observed before, a prince of a sweet and moderate temper, which, it must however be acknowledged, did not so well qualify him for a throne; and, therefore, on the demise of his queen *Donna Urraca*, he formed a resolution of abdicating in favour of his brother *Don Ramiro*, who at that time commanded on the frontiers of *Portugal*, and was a

^f LUC. Tudens. Chron. VASÆI Chron. ^g MARIANA, Historia general de Espana, l. vii. FERR. Historia de Espana, P. iv. MAYERNE TURQUET, Histor. generale d'Espagne, l. vii. ^h LUC. Tudens. Chron. VASÆI Chron. ⁱ ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispana, P. iii. ^k Chron. var. antiq. ^l LUC. Tudens. Chron. VASÆI Chron. ^m MARIANA, Historia general de Espana, lib. vii. FERRERAS, Hist. de Espana, P. iv. MAYERNE TURQUET, Histoire generale d'Espagne, lib. vii.

pudiation of his wife as an act of scandalous injustice; and yet, with respect to the counts of *Castile*, he vindicates him clearly, and says, they were punished as rebels. We shall have occasion in another place to mention this matter again; but it may not be amiss to observe here, that though *Mariana* takes this opportunity of entering into the history of *Castile*, that he may the better apprise the reader of the true nature of this transaction, yet his deduction does not by any means agree with his conclusion; for he makes it plainly appear, that the counts of *Castile* were feudatories to the kings of *Leon*, and certainly owed their power and greatness to the protection of those princes; and therefore, till such time as they were released from this ho-

mage, they were bound to fulfil the obligations they were under from it. It is not consequently a thing so evident as he would make it, that these noblemen were unjustly put to death; and the only circumstance favourable to his censure is, that no mention is made of their being condemned by the states; which however they might be, for any thing we know to the contrary, since no good account can be otherwise given why the king brought them to *Leon*, and kept them prisoners there for some time, since, if he had been such a tyrant as *Mariana* makes him, and had put them to death only from reasons of state, he might have done that with a better grace when he first seized them.

young

- a young prince of great spirit and capacity; which resolution has been thought the more extraordinary in Don *Alonso*, as he had a son living by his beloved queen, whose name was *Ordogno*^a. However, he was either so much inclined to a private life, or so sensible of his want of talents for the right administration of civil and military affairs, that, persisting in his resolution, he sent for his brother from *Viseo* to *Zamora*, where he then was, and, in the presence of the principal nobility, having made a full and sensible oration on the qualities requisite in a great and good king, and freely acknowledging that some of these were wanting to him from nature, he voluntarily resigned his crown^b, and advised them to place it on the head of his brother. This happened, according to the chronology of *Ferreras*^c, in the year of our Lord nine hundred twenty-seven, though some historians place it four years later.
- b Don *Ramiro* the second was no sooner placed upon the throne^d, than he resolved to signalize his courage by an expedition against the *Moors*^e, which was what his brother seemed last to have intended, and to have appointed with that view the nobility to have met him at *Zamora*, upon the frontiers. But while he was busy in his military preparations, he was strangely alarmed with the news that his brother Don *Alphonso* had quitted his monastery, returned to the city of *Leon*, and resumed the state and functions of a king^f, to which it seems he was excited by those who were better pleased with a king who left the government to them, than with him by whom they saw plainly they must be governed. The nobility, however, that were about Don *Ramiro*, having given him positive assurances of their fidelity, he marched immediately with the army that should have been employed against the *Moors* to invest the city of *Leon*, and being unwilling to have recourse to extremities, laboured to engage his brother, and those who adhered to him, in a negotiation; but Don *Alphonso* refused to listen to any terms, and shewed, now he was in the wrong, and when it was to no purpose, a degree of spirit and prudence, that, if it had been exerted in time, might have prevented those calamities which his unsteady and fluctuating temper had brought upon his people as well as himself^g.

Upon his brother's resignation, Don *Ramiro* II. is declared king.

A. D. 928.

- But while Don *Ramiro* was engaged in the siege of *Leon*, and in reduction of some places that had declared for his brother, he had intelligence that Don *Alphonso*, Don *Ramiro*, and Don *Ordogno*, the sons of king *Froila*, had taken up arms in *Asturias*, and that the eldest had assumed the title of king^h. This put it out of his power to proceed in the slow manner he had hitherto done; and yet, being unwilling to reduce the capital of his dominions by storm, he turned the siege into a close blockade; and the inhabitants of *Leon*, soon finding themselves pressed by famine, signified to Don *Alphonso*, that they were unable to support him any longer; and that therefore he must endeavour to accommodate matters with his brother as well as he could. In this situation he resolved, having indeed no other measure to take, to throw himselfⁱ on the clemency of Don *Ramiro*; and, upon his going out and submitting himself, that monarch entered the city of *Leon*, and granted a general pardon to all who had hitherto taken part with his brother; by which this political schism was extinguished, and Don *Ramiro* left at liberty to pursue the measures necessary for the reduction of the *Asturias*. But the people of this country, as soon as they were acquainted with the issue of the siege of *Leon*, sent to inform Don *Ramiro*, that, if he would come thither with a small train, they would deliver up the sons^j of the late king *Froila*, and acknowledge him for their sovereign, to prevent the continuance of a civil war, and the effusion of Christian blood; a proposition plausible in itself, but not acceptable to the king, who suspected their sincerity.

Don *Alonso* endeavours to recover the crown, and another *Alonso* likewise.

930.

- He chose therefore to march towards the *Asturias* with his victorious army, as the best argument of his right to subjects that were in arms; and yet, halting on the frontiers, he sent them a message, that he expected they should perform their promise. This had the desired effect; and, whatever their first intention might be, they found themselves obliged to act as if it had been sincere; and accordingly, having seized the three princes before-mentioned, they delivered them up to the king, who sent them and his brother to a place of strength, where they were kept close prisoners, and deprived of their eyesight^k; but the king being some time after informed, that those who were about these unhappy princes treated them with great indignity, he caused them to be removed to the monastery of *St. Julian de Ruiforco*, which he had lately built, where, by his express direction, they were used with all possible lenity, as well as with all the respect due to their high birth^l. About this time died queen *Urraca*, the consort of Don *Ramiro*, and by whom he had a son Don *Ordogno*, which it becomes necessary to mark, that the reader may not confound them with the queen and

Both insurrections are suppressed by the prudence and courage of Don *Ramiro*.

931.

^a RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispaniæ, P. iii. ^b Chron. var. antiq. ^c Historia de Espana, P. iv.
^d MARIANA, Historia general de Espana, lib. vii. ^e FERR. Historia de Espana, P. iv. ^f MAYERNE TURQUET, Histoire generale d'Espanne, l. vii. ^g RODERIC Toletan. Hist. Arabum. ^h LUC. Tudens. Chron.
ⁱ VASÆI Chron. ^j Chron. var. antiq. ^k RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. P. iii. ^l LUC. Tudens. Chronicon. ^m RODERIC Toletan. de rebus Hispan. lib. iv. ⁿ VASÆI Chron. ^o ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispana, P. iii. ^p LUC. Tudens. Chron. ^q VASÆI Chron.

of his brother, who were both of the same names; and because the epitaph of this princess, a remaining on her tomb in the royal chapel of *Oviedo*, fixes that chronology which we have followed, and indeed puts it beyond all dispute ^a (I).

Who makes
two successful
incursions upon
the Moors.

A. D. 932.

As soon as Don *Ramiro* found himself in peaceable possession of his dominions, he executed with great spirit and vigour that expedition which he had so long meditated against the *Moors*, penetrated as far as *Madrid*, which was then fortified, and, after taking it by storm, proceeded to insult *Toledo*, one of the strongest and greatest cities in the hands of the *Moors*; after which he returned in triumph with his army loaded with spoils, and bringing with them a multitude of slaves ^b. At his return, he found his brother Don *Alphonso* the fourth, surnamed, from his misfortunes, *the Monk* and *the Blind*, dead in the monastery of *St. Julian*, to whose remains he caused all those honours to be paid that were due to his dignity ^c. The king, however, had very little leisure to repose; for *Abderrahman*, king of *Cordova*, incensed at the incursion he had made into his dominions, raised forces in every province of his kingdom, and sent to *Aben Abaya*, who governed in *Saragossa*, but was his vassal, to march with all the forces that he could raise, and to take the command. These preparations being known to Don *Ferdinand Gonzalez*, count of *Castile*, he gave immediate notice of them to the king, who kept his army together in the neighbourhood of *Leon*, and, as the season of the year advanced, caused them to be reinforced with several corps of fresh troops, and, as soon as he had intelligence that the enemy were in motion, marched directly towards his frontiers. He found the *Moors* encamped in good order within sight of *Osma*, on a spacious plain, which gave them an opportunity of ranging themselves to the best advantage. Don *Ramiro*, tho' inferior in numbers, charged them with great vigour and resolution, and, notwithstanding they behaved with great courage, and rallied several times, yet in the end they were totally defeated with a prodigious slaughter ^d. At his return from this victory, the king was welcomed by the universal acclamations of all his subjects, and, as a mark of his piety, confirmed the privileges and donations granted by his predecessors to the church of *St. James* of *Compostella* ^e (K).

Reduces Aben
Ahaya, prince
of Arragon,
to become his
vassal.

In the beginning of the next year, the king held an assembly of his estates at *Astorga*, at which time the bishop of that see demanded that certain places should be annexed to his diocese, that had been conquered from the *Moors*, because they made a part of it before they came into *Spain*; of which due proof being made, the bishop's demand was complied with; d which we mention as a proof that the king retained in part the ecclesiastical supremacy that

^a Chron. var. antiq.
Chron.

^b RODERIC Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

^c Luc. Tudens. Chron. VASÆI

^d Rod. Toletan. Hist. Arab.

^e Chron. var. antiq.

(I) There are several circumstances, relating to this prince and his family, that, as far as our authorities will permit, ought to be explained. *Mariana* informs us, that the learned bishop of *Tuy* makes this king to be the son of his predecessor *Froila*; yet whoever consults that author will find that *Mariana* was mistaken. Several *Spanish* historians, however, have been of that opinion; but what clearly refutes it is, that, amongst the children of that prince, whose eyes were put out by Don *Ramiro*, one of them was named *Alonso* or *Alphonso*, so that the mistake arose partly from Don *Froila*'s having a son of the same name, and partly from his children taking the side of Don *Alonso* the fourth. In the next place, many writers call the consort of Don *Alonso* the fourth *Ximena*; but *Ferreras* assures us, that her name was *Urraca*, and that it was grief for her death which induced Don *Alonso* to think of abdicating. It was by her that he had his son Don *Ordogno*, surnamed *the Wicked*. As for the queen of Don *Ramiro*, her name was likewise Donna *Urraca*; and she died, as appears by her epitaph, printed at large by *Morales*, June the 24th, *Anno Domini* nine hundred thirty-one, and was buried at *Oviedo*, in the chapel of Don *Alonso the Clafte*, by whom he had his son and successor Don *Ordogno* the third, and the princess Donna *Elvira*, who became a nun. It may not be amiss to add here, that both these *Ordognos* married a princess named *Urraca*, indeed the same woman; for, as the reader will see in the text, she was the daughter of the count of *Castile*, married Don *Ordogno*, the son of Don *Ramiro*, in the life-time of his father, by whom, after his accession to the throne, she was repudiated, and, after his decease, espoused Don *Ordogno the Wicked*, when he usurped the kingdom of *Leon* from her first husband's brother, Don *Sanchez the Grays*.

(K) It is very strange that *Mariana* should conceive, that, upon the score of the assistance given him by the king of *Leon*, Don *Ferdinand Gonzalez*, count of *Castile*, paid him extraordinary submissions, who but a little before had triumphed over and killed in battle Don *Sanchez Abarta*, king of *Navarre*; and it is still more strange that Father *Charenton*, who translated his book into *French*, should think of correcting his author, by saying, that very probably the counts of *Castile*, from this time, became feudatories to the kings of *Leon*; all which is apparently false, and irreconcilable to true history. As for *Mariana*'s tale of the grandeur of Don *Ferdinand* at this time, it is a mere dream, as we shall shew in its proper place. With respect to his translator's remarks, Don *Ferdinand Gonzalez* was indeed feudatory to the king of *Leon* in virtue of the lands he held in *Castile*; but he was so far from being the first of those counts who became so, that he was in reality the last who continued so. He projected and attempted a revolt in the reign of this very monarch, who humbled and made him prisoner. He took up arms against king *Ordogno*, the son of this king, though he had married his own daughter; but was reduced to a state of penitence and humility, which lasted only till he had an opportunity of breaking out again, and completing his project, under the reign of Don *Sanchez*, though not without incurring much danger and disgrace before it could be effected. It was after this glorious victory at *Osma* that Don *Ramiro* confirmed the privileges granted by his predecessors to the church of *Saint James* at *Compostella*; and, from this time, it is said that he manifested a particular respect and devotion to this holy apostle.

a had been in his predecessors ^f. At the rising of this assembly, the king formed a considerable army, with which he made an irruption into *Aragon*, in order to punish *Aben Abaya* for the share he had in the last campaign, and, by the rapid progress he made in the conquest of that country, alarmed him to such a degree, that he offered to become his feudatory also, and to pay him the same tribute that he did to *Abderrabman*, which he readily accepted; and some strong places having revolted, in resentment of this submission, he reduced them, and, together with those he had before conquered, restored to his new vassal ^g. Before his return from this expedition, he concluded a marriage with *Donna Theresa*, sister to *Don Garcia* king of *Navarre*, and returning into his own dominions, passed the next year with his new queen in quiet ^h. The year following, *Aben Abaya* sent deputies to *Abderrabman*, king of *Cordova*,
b to inform him that he had submitted to the Christians only through fear; and that if he would assemble a new army, sufficient to deliver him from any future apprehensions of *Don Ramiro*, he would join it with all his forces; to which the king of *Cordova* readily assented; and having drawn together a sufficient body of troops, made an irruption on the territories of *Leon*, and reduced the town of *Sotocuvvas*, supposed to be that now called *Covarrubias*, where he made a great slaughter of the Christians ⁱ; but whether this was in consequence of any victory gained does not appear, though, from what follows, it may seem more than probable, since we hear nothing of *Don Ramiro's* being in the field; and yet we can hardly suppose that he was a tame spectator of his subjects sufferings.

A. D. 934

THE king of *Cordova* was very far from being satisfied with this small advantage; but,
c having made use of all the reputation it gave him, increased the number of his forces, and having procured considerable supplies from *Africa*, and given *Aben Abaya* notice to join him likewise with all that he could raise, he drew together an army of 150,000 men ^k. *Don Ramiro*, perceiving that his enemy had no less in view than the conquest of the kingdoms of *Leon* and *Oviedo*, and driving him back to the *Asturias*, assembled all the forces that he could collect in his own dominions, or procure from his allies; but as this required time, and the *Moors* were in the field in the month of *May*, they had time to reduce all the country beyond the *Duero*, since it was the beginning of *August* before the Christian army was in a condition to look them in the face. At length the king, having first made a vow at the altar of *St. James* of *Compostella* ^l, put himself at the head of his forces, and marched directly against the
d enemy, whom he found encamped in the plains of *Simancas*, at the confluence of the *Pisuerga* and the *Duero*. In this situation he attacked them on the 6th of *August*, notwithstanding they received him with great courage, and made a most obstinate resistance, yet they were defeated early in the afternoon, and the king continued the pursuit with vast slaughter, till it was quite dark, and, as all the historians agree, the infidels lost in this defeat no fewer than fourscore thousand men ^m. After this glorious victory, by which his army was prodigiously enriched, the king was on the point of returning to his own dominions, when he was informed that *Abderrabman* had begun to collect the remains of his broken army, and had established his head quarters a little beyond *Salamanca*; upon which he marched with great celerity, and attacked the *Moors* so unexpectedly, that he gained another victory as complete as the former,
e and at a much cheaper rate ⁿ. At his return to *Leon*, he caused the traitor *Aben Abaya*, who had been taken in the first battle, to be shut up in a tower, and threatened to punish him as a rebel; and, as soon as he had refreshed his troops, disposed them into quarters in the country beyond the *Duero*, having taken a resolution to extend his dominions as far as that chain of mountains which divides the two *Castiles*, intending to form a double frontier, one along the territories still possessed by the *Moors*, and the other of the great towns situated upon the *Duero* ^o.

Obtains two glorious victories against the whole force of the Moors.

938.

THE principal source of that constant prosperity which hitherto had attended these monarchs was, in a great measure, derived from their great abilities, as well in the cabinet as in the field, and their steady pursuit of the true interests of their subjects. But notwithstanding
f this was rewarded with repeated victories, and in a manner attended with perpetual success, yet the indefatigable disposition of these princes, and that vigilance and activity with which they acted in times of peace as well as war, as the motives of their conduct were not explained, proved by no means agreeable to many of their subjects. Thus when the king, in order to form the interior barrier before-mentioned, sent his orders ^p to some of the principal nobility, such as count *Nuno Nunez*, to repair *Osma*, count *Ferdinand Gonzales* to restore *Sepulveda*, *Don Gonzales Fernandez* to put *Clunia*, now *Corognaim*, in a state of defence, as also *St. Stephen de Gormaz* and *Riaza*, all of which seem to have been ruined by *Abderrabman*, perhaps in the beginning of the last campaign, they performed these orders

Causes two very potent lords of Castile to be sent prisoners to Gordon and Luna.

939.

^f Rod. Toletan. de Rebus Hispan. lib. iv.

^g Chron. var. antiq.

^h Luc. Tudens. Chron.

VASÆI Chron.

ⁱ Rod. Toletan. Hist. Arabum.

^k Chron. var. antiq. Rod. Toletan. ubi

supra.

^l Luc. Tudens. Chron. VASÆI Chron.

^m Rod. Toletan. Hist. Arabum.

ⁿ Chron.

var. antiq.

^o Rod. SANTI Hist. Hispan. P. iii.

^p Luc. Tudens. Chron. VAS. Hispaniæ

Chron.

indeed, but they did it with regret. When, therefore, fresh orders came from that monarch ^a to these lords to raise their respective forces, and to be ready to take the field with him against the *Moors*, they declined that service ^q; by which, for the present, the king's intentions were defeated; which he took so ill, that, with the army he had assembled to act against the common enemy, he fell upon them, and, having easily subdued, brought count *Ferdinand Gonfalez* and count *Diego Nunez* prisoners to *Leon*, and from thence sent the former to the castle of *Cordon*, and the other to that of *Luna* ^r.

The true motives of this monarch's conduct in peace and in war.

It appears very evidently from hence, that however potent these counts might be, yet they were not hitherto independent of the crown of *Leon*, and served with Don *Ramiro* in his expedition as allies, and not as subjects ^s, as *Mariana*, and most of the *Spanish* historians, would persuade us; but, at the same time, it must be confessed, that from hence it is no less ^b apparent they were inclined so to be. We cannot omit observing in this place, in order to the reader's forming a true notion of the policy of Don *Ramiro*, and of other princes of his spirit, that, exclusive of their notions of piety in making war upon the infidels, or of their ambition to extend their dominions, they had very just motives to act as they did; which is the reason that we commend their behaviour, and condemn the conduct of those who opposed them. For if we consider attentively the situation they were in, and the great power of the *Moors*, we cannot help perceiving, that, notwithstanding all their victories, and in spite of all their success, the possession of their dominions remained still precarious, and it was simply impossible for them to render their subjects secure by any other methods than those they employed. As they were now masters of a flat and fruitful country, those maxims that were ^c highly reasonable, and very conducive to their interests, while their subjects were confined to a mountainous and inaccessible country, were intirely superseded, and walling and fortifying the great towns they had recovered was become as necessary, and to the full as requisite, as, in respect to the hamlets and villages in the *Asturias*, it would have been needless. On the other hand, there was no trusting to a peace with the *Moors*, which was what the king of *Cordova* sought, and to which those counts of *Castile* before-mentioned were inclined; for that, as experience shewed, was only giving them time to compose their differences, to form alliances, to procure succours from *Africa*, and to put the very being of the Christian principalities, that were now established, to the risk of a single battle, whenever they were in a condition to break, as they never failed to do when they were in a condition, these insidious ^d truces, and to march with such prodigious armies, as, by these methods, they had time given them to collect, in order, by one decisive blow, to bring the Christians in *Spain* into the same wretched state in which they found themselves after the defeat of Don *Roderic*. Whereas, by employing part of their subjects in fortifying their frontiers, while the king was at the head of an army in the enemy's country, these mischiefs were evidently avoided; and however tiresome and fatiguing this plan of power might be, it was sensible, it was prudent, because it was the only method practicable for their preservation against the common enemy.

He sets the two counts at liberty, and marries his son to one of their daughters.

THE reader, it is very likely, will consider this as a long digression from the proper business of this history; and yet it is highly probable that it is, in fact, the prosecution of it; ^e for though the succinct chronicles of these times leave no traces of such discourses, yet nothing can have more the appearance of truth than supposing that, during their confinement, the king caused remonstrances of this sort to be made to these noblemen; and, upon their acquiescing in his reasons, and promising obedience for the future to his commands, set them at liberty, and, which is more, restored them to his favour. That he did this is very certain, from a general concurrence of great authorities ^f, and very soon after married his son Don *Ordogno* to Donna *Urraca* ^u, the daughter of count *Ferdinand Gonfalez* by Donna *Sancho* infanta of *Navarre*; than which there could not be a more convincing testimony that all former disputes were absolutely buried in oblivion. It is also probable that the king consented to a truce ^v with the *Moors* for seven years, during which time he caused several monasteries to be erected, repaired the fortifications of most of the great towns in his dominions, and held a general council ^x of the clergy at *Astorga*, for reforming disorders that were crept into the discipline of the church, which was opened on the first of *September*, in year of our Lord 946; at which he assisted in person; but the acts of which are long since lost.

Invades the territories of the Moors, gains a great victory, and then dies.

As soon as the truce was expired, the king, with the concurrence, in all probability, of his nobility, immediately entered the dominions of the *Moors*, and, having passed the mountains of *Avila*, advanced as far as *Talavera*, near which he met with a numerous army sent against him by the king of *Cordova*; upon which a very warm action ensued, and the king, though not without some difficulty, at length obtained a complete victory, 12,000

^q Rod. Tolet. ubi supra.

^r Chronic. var. antiq.

^s Historia general de Espana, lib. viii.

^t Chron. var. antiq.

^u Rod. SANTI Hist. Hispan. P. iii.

^v Vas. xi. Chron. Rod. Tolet.

Hist. Arab.

^x Luc. Tudens. Vas. xi. Chron.

a *Moors* being killed upon the spot, and 7000 taken prisoners, with whom, and a vast booty, he returned with his army to *Leon*^a. There he reposed himself for some days, and then went to *Oviedo*, where, finding himself indisposed, he returned presently to *Leon*, and there, perceiving that his end approached, he resigned his crown^a, and soon after expired^b, universally regretted, *January* the 5th, in the year of our Lord 950, after he had reigned 19 years and very near three months, leaving by his first queen the prince Don *Ordogno*, and the princess Donna *Elvira*, and, by his second, the prince Don *Sanchez*. His body was interred in a monastery of his own foundation, and where the princess *Elvira* was a nun.

Don *Ordogno* III. succeeded his father^c by the unanimous consent of the nobility, and appears to have been, in every respect, a prince of great fortitude of mind, and of consummate prudence, which, as they displayed themselves in the first acts of his reign, so they were equally conspicuous in the last actions of his life. He was no sooner seated on the throne than his brother Don *Sanchez* made a very unreasonable request^d. He pretended that they were joint heirs of their father, and that therefore he ought to have some part of his dominions assigned him: to which Don *Ordogno* would not agree; concluding that, as the consent of the nobility was necessary to his election, he could have no right to divide dominions that were confided to him entire for the common benefit of his subjects. Don *Sanchez*, however, was supported by the king of *Navarre*, his uncle, who had a desire to set a crown upon his head; and, which was very extraordinary, by count *Ferdinand Gonzales*, whose daughter the king had married, and who, notwithstanding, desired to see his power lessened, that he might be more on a level with him, and in less danger upon a revolt. Don *Ordogno* having no regard either to plausible arguments or to menaces, Don *Sanchez* retired to his uncle; and his protectors having levied a great army^e, resolved to execute the scheme they had formed by force; but, upon approaching the territories of Don *Ordogno*, they found his frontiers so well secured, and his forces so judiciously disposed, that, being unwilling to risk their own countries by an unsuccessful attempt, they very wisely thought proper to retire^f, without committing any hostilities at all; and thus the excellence of his father's maxims, and the rectitude of his own conduct in pursuing them, appeared to his new subjects in their true light. Yet, as the very best kings are still but men, this success was followed by an action that spoke more resentment than one could have expected should reside in the breast of so wife and so magnanimous a prince.

The confederates had no sooner withdrawn their troops from the frontiers of his dominions, and, as some writers^g say, in consequence of their inglorious campaign, fallen out amongst themselves, than king *Ordogno*^h repudiated his wife Donna *Urraca*, the daughter of count *Ferdinand Gonzales*, and sent her back to him; adding another circumstance to this affront, still more provoking, which was, that he immediately marriedⁱ Donna *Elvira*, the daughter of some man of great quality in *Galicia*, by whom, the year following, he became the father of a prince whom he called Don *Bermudo*^k. As his divorce was the sequel of a foreign, so his new marriage was the cause of a civil war; the relations of the new queen presuming so much upon that honour, as to behave in such a manner to their neighbours, that it produced an insurrection. Don *Ordogno* laboured all he could to pacify his revolted subjects by fair means; but finding these endeavours unsuccessful, he^l advanced to the frontiers of *Galicia* with a considerable body of troops; but, before he proceeded to action, proclaimed a free pardon, and promised to redress all their grievances: upon which, those who were in arms, immediately marched towards him in order of battle, and their chiefs having first waited upon the king, who received them very graciously, ranged themselves under the royal standard, and entering the territories of the *Moors*, penetrated as far as *Lisbon*, which they took and demolished, and then returned with immense riches, and a prodigious multitude of slaves^m.

At the very time that Don *Ordogno* threw himself into the enemy's country, count *Ferdinand Gonzales*, with the forces of *Castile*, made a like irruption into the kingdom of *Cordova* on the other side, which, with respect to the event of the war, had the same effect as if he had done it by the king's commandⁿ. However, on his return into his own dominions, Don *Ordogno*, at the head of his victorious forces, marched towards the frontiers of *Castile*; but count *Ferdinand Gonzales* prevented things from coming to extremities, by presenting himself before the king, intreating his pardon^o for what was past, insisting upon his late service, and assuring Don *Ordogno* that the *Moors* were preparing to invade *Castile*. The king was so well satisfied with this submission, that he not only laid aside all his rancour against that noble-

Don Ordogno III. succeeds his father, and gives early testimony of his virtues.

A. D. 951.

Sends back the count of Castile's daughter, and suppresses an insurrection in Galicia. 953.

Invades the Moors, and obliges the count of Castile to submit as formerly.

^a Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

^a Chron. var. antiq.

^b Rod. Tolet. de Rebus Hispan. lib.

iv. ^c Mariana, Hist. general d'Espagne, lib. vii.

^d Rod. SANTI Hist. Hispan. P. iii.

^e Luc. Tudens. Chron. VASCI Hispanie Chronicon.

^f Chron. var. antiq.

^g Rod. SANTI

Hist. Hispan. FERRERAS, Hist. de Hispana, P. iv.

^h Rod. Tolet. de Rebus Hispan. i. iv.

ⁱ Vas.

Chron.

^k ROBERTO SANTI, ubi supra.

^l Chron. var. antiq.

^m Rod. Tolet. Historia

Arabum.

ⁿ Luc. Tudens. Chron. VASCI Chron.

^o Rod. SANTI, ubi supra. Chron. var.

antiq.

man, but likewise promised him supplies, in case the king of *Cordova* persisted in his intentions; and it was with their assistance that count *Ferdinand Gonfalez* acquired soon after a glorious victory ^p over the common enemy. About the middle of the summer, the king making a journey from *Leon* to *Zamora*, found himself very much indisposed, and shortly after died ^q, about the middle of the year 955, when he had discharged the regal function with universal applause for five years and near a half. Upon his demise, the queen ^r and her young son retired to some of her relations in *Galicia*, being sensible that she had no interest amongst the nobility capable of raising her infant to the throne.

Dies.

Don Sanchez succeeds his brother, and by the intrigues of the count of Castile, is expelled.

DON *Sanchez*, quitting his retreat at the court of *Navarre*, hastened immediately to *Leon*, on the news of his brother's death; and notwithstanding his long absence, and the circumstances that attended it, the nobility foreseeing less inconvenience from that than from any other step they could take, proclaimed him king ^s. He is commonly called *Sanchez the Gros* by some, and by others, though very improperly, *Sanchez the Fat*; this surname being given him on the score of a dropsy. He was a prince of no great parts, and of less activity; however, he might probably have ruled quietly enough, if some sinister methods had not been taken to disturb the peace of his government, which were intirely owing to the artifices of count *Ferdinand Gonfalez*, who, still aiming at independency, took his measures so secretly and so effectually for inflaming the disputes between the king and his subjects, that at length he raised them so high, as frightened Don *Sanchez* into a second retreat to the court of his uncle the king of *Navarre*, by which the kingdom of *Leon* was left in a kind of anarchy, and consequently count *Ferdinand Gonfalez* without a master, which, in some measure, answered his purpose. But, however, this did not satisfy his ambition; for, not content with being released from vassalage, he now aimed at nothing less than becoming protector of the kingdom of *Leon*, by substituting a new king in the room of Don *Sanchez*.

A. D. 956.

The count of Castile sets up Don Ordogno, and makes his daughter queen of Leon.

957.

THE prince upon whom he fixed his eyes was Don *Ordogno* ^t, the son of Don *Alphonso IV.* surnamed the *Monk*, or the *Blind*; and, as the price of promoting his election, he obliged him to marry Donna *Urraca* his daughter, who, by this means, had a second time the title of queen of *Leon* ^v. The nobility were by no means willing to venture upon a measure, the ill consequences of which were so apparent; and though by his interest it was at last accomplished, yet it was not with a good grace; and the new king began in a little time to act in a manner so inconsistent with his dignity, that they fixed upon him the surname of Don *Ordogno the Wicked* ^z. As for Don *Sanchez*, finding himself grow worse and worse with the dropsy, he resolved, by the advice of his uncle the king of *Navarre*, to go to *Cordova*, in hopes of receiving that relief from the *Moorish* physicians, which the most skilful in the court of *Navarre* were unable to afford. Thither accordingly he went. *Abderrahman*, proud as he well might be of seeing a king of *Leon* take shelter under his protection, received him with great kindness, and the *Mohammedan* doctors, whether by skill or by lucky chance, freed him from his malady intirely ^a. As instances of good or ill fortune seldom come alone, so he was scarce recovered from his disease, before it was insinuated to him by some emissaries from *Leon*, that his subjects were heartily tired of the tyranny of Don *Ordogno*; and that if he could appear with but a small force on the frontier, he might be assured he would meet with no resistance. Don *Sanchez*, relying on the generosity of his protector, communicated this news to *Abderrahman* ^b, who very kindly offered him his assistance, but at the same time advised him to demand that likewise of his uncle the king of *Navarre*; and this he no sooner did than it was promised him whenever he should have occasion for it ^c.

Don Sanchez restored by the assistance of the kings of Navarre and Cordova.

THE proper measures being concerted between the two courts, the *Moorish* army, under the command of Don *Sanchez*, marched towards the frontiers of *Leon*, at the same time that the king of *Navarre*, with the whole force of his dominions, approached those of *Castile*. As for Don *Ordogno*, finding himself forsaken by all his subjects, who reviled him for his cruelties, he fled into the remotest parts of the *Asturias* ^d, so that Don *Sanchez* was restored ^e without any difficulty; and, having gratified the chief officers of the *Moorish* army, dismissed them perfectly satisfied. On the other hand, Don *Garcia*, king of *Navarre*, having defeated count *Ferdinand Gonfalez*, and made him prisoner, carried him with him into his own dominions. *Ordogno*, understanding that the people of *Asturias* intended to seize and deliver him up, fled from thence to *Burgos* with his queen, where that princess was received with all imaginable respect, but they would have nothing to do with *Ordogno*; who thereupon retired to the *Moors* in *Arragon*, where, despised by the infidels, and hated

^p Rod. Toletan. Hist. Arabum.^q Chron. var. antiq.^r Luc. Tudenf. Chron.^s MAR.

Historia general de Espana, lib. viii. FERRERAS Historia de Espana, P. iv. MAYERNE TURQUET, Histoire general d'Espagne. lib. vii.

^t MARIANA, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET, ubi supra.^v Luc.

Tudenf. Chron. VASÆI Chron.

^z ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispania.^a Luc. Tudenf. VASÆI

Chron.

^b Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.^c Luc. Tudenf. Chron.^d Chron. var. antiq.^e MARIANA, FERRER, MAYERNE TURQUET, ubi sup.

- a by the Christians, he soon after died in a miserable manner ^f. Don *Sanchez*, thus delivered from apprehensions, as well as enemies, thought proper to marry, and very wisely made choice of Donna *Teresa* ^g, the daughter of one of the most considerable of his own nobility, which gave his subjects in general great satisfaction. The rejoicings for this marriage were hardly over, when the king received some mortifying intelligence from *Galicia*, where the *Normans* had landed unexpectedly, ravaged the country, and carried many of the inhabitants into slavery (L). This gave a pretence to *Sisenand*, bishop of *Compostella*, to desire leave to wall and fortify that city, for the security of the cathedral, which, for those times, was already become exceedingly rich; and this permission, which was readily granted, he quickly abused, by levying large sums upon the people for the expence of these works, and various other acts of oppression and extortion, of which complaint was made to the king ^h.

Descent of the Normans.
A. D. 961?

- ALL things being now in a tolerable state of quiet, the king of *Navarre* released count *Ferdinand Gonzalez*, at the intreaty of his wife, who was that monarch's sister ⁱ. About this time also died *Abderrahman* king of *Cordova*, and was succeeded by his son *Albacan*, to whom Don *Sanchez* immediately sent ambassadors, to congratulate him upon his succession, and to renew the treaties of peace subsisting between the two kingdoms ^k. He then made a tour into *Galicia*, to inquire into the conduct of bishop *Sisenand*, which came in very good time; for that prelate, offended with a message that the king had sent him, was meditating a rebellion; but upon the approach of Don *Sanchez*, the people every where rose to execute the royal commands; so that the bishop being made prisoner, the king deposed him, and placed one *Rosemundo* at the head of that church, who, when the *Normans* made another descent in that neighbourhood, put himself at the head of his people, and, falling upon these pirates sword in hand, made such a slaughter, that they visited the coasts of *Galicia* no more in his time. This prelate, for his virtue and his valour, has been since his death revered as a saint ^l. Count *Gonzalez*, who was nearly related to bishop *Sisenand*, being intrusted with the government of the frontiers, basely betrayed his trust, and revolted against his sovereign; upon which, Don *Sanchez* marched towards him with an army, and the rebel, finding himself abandoned, came and threw himself at his feet; upon which the king pardoned him, and the traitor soon after took an opportunity to poison him, of which he died the third day after ^m, extremely regretted by the better part of his subjects for his mildness, moderation, and clemency (M).

The king subduces and pardons a rebel, who poisons him in return.
964.

^f Luc. Tudens. VASÆI Hispan Chron. VASÆI Chron. Tolet. Historia Arabum. Hispan.

^g Rod. Tolet. de Rebus Hispan.

ⁱ RODERIC SANTII, ubi supra.
^j Chron var. antiq.

^h Luc. Tudens.

^k Chron. var. antiq. RODERIC

^m Luc. Tudensis. RODERIC SANTII Hist.

(L) The whole of this reign of Don *Sanchez* is related but very confusedly in *Mariana*. It is true he complains of want of lights; but it is also true that he has not made the best use he might have done of those that were in his power. Don *Ferdinand Gonzalez* was his hero, and he finds nothing but what is commendable in his behaviour towards Don *Sanchez*. It falls out in consequence of this, that he ascribes to him the taking away of Donna *Urracca* from Don *Ordogns the Wicked*, and obliging him to take shelter among the *Moors*, at the same time that he says not a single word of the king of *Navarre's* assisting his nephew in the recovery of their dominions, of his defeating the count of *Castile*, or of his carrying him prisoner to *Pampeluna*, which was the true reason that the *Castilians* would not receive the tyrant of *Leon*, but obliged him to seek a retreat among the infidels. He gives us the strange story of the horse and the hawk, by which Don *Ferdinand* bought off the homage of *Castile* from Don *Sanchez*; which is indeed to be found in some antient writers, and is steadily adhered to by most of the moderns, though there can be nothing more impertinent, more incredible, or more absurd. It is, however, a proof that the count of *Castile*, after a long and hard struggle, carried the great point of his independency in this reign, which was the only reason we mentioned it here. As to the manner in which it was obtained, we shall have occasion to give the reader some farther account of it in another place.

(M) In these early ages very great regard was paid to the appearance and behaviour, as well as to the

temper and administration of princes. As Don *Sanchez* had the misfortune to be dropsical, it made him, in the former part of his reign, indolent and inactive, which induced his subjects in general to conceive a mean opinion of him; insomuch that they derided his person, and despised his understanding. But finding the prince who supplanted him active only in mischief, and making no other use of his power than to torment those who were subject to it, they rejoiced at Don *Sanchez's* return, who, though now free from the dropsy, and in a condition to take the field whenever occasion required, was still the same humane, affable, debonnaire prince, which rendered him infinitely beloved. Yet, from a foible incident to all men of that character, he was too easy to be reconciled, and wanted that degree of suspicion, which is useful to every man, and which is necessary to princes. *Gonzalez* had been his favourite, and, out of a personal esteem, he raised him to the government of *Portugal*. Provoked at this rebellion, he marched with an army to reduce him; but he no sooner saw him at his feet than he forgave him, which was great, but he restored him likewise to his former familiarity, which was not becoming a wise prince. It was this that gave that perfidious man an opportunity of presenting him some fine fruit, amongst which was a poisoned apple, which the king, who thought gratitude must be the effects of mercy, eat without fear, and paid for it with his life: having probably never heard that wise observation, that, though religion enjoins us to forgive our enemies, it does not require us to trust them.

Don Ramiro
III. succeeds
his father,
tho' but five
years old.

THE nobility were no sooner informed of the king's death, than they assembled in order ^a to a new election, and, after mature deliberation, they declared his son Don *Ramiro* III. ^a king, though but five years old, and appointed his mother the queen dowager, and his aunt *Donna Elvira*, regents ^o, who immediately dispatched instructions to the ambassador then resident at the court of *Cordova*, to renew the treaty of peace with *Albacan*, in which he met with no difficulty ^p. *Sisenand*, the deposed bishop of *Compostella*, finding means to make his escape out of the tower in which he was confined, returned to that city, and, by force of arms, reinstated himself in the bishoprick; *Rosenindo*, who had fought so bravely against the *Normans*, declining any resistance in his own cause. But not long after, those barbarous invaders, having intelligence on the coast of what had happened, landed in great numbers, and marched directly to *Compostella*. *Sisenand*, confiding in the numbers that he ^b had about him, and desirous of equalling his predecessor in reputation, drew out the inhabitants to give them battle ^q; but, being killed in the beginning of the action, his people were so dispirited, that they were quickly routed, and cut to pieces. The *Normans*, elated by their victory, ravaged all the country as far as the mountains of *Castile*; and having by this means amassed immense wealth, began to retire towards their fleet; but, in their passage, were met by Don *Gonsalez Sanchez*, whom the regents had sent with a considerable body of troops to repel these bold invaders. The dispute was very obstinate and bloody, but at length Don *Gonsalez* gained a complete victory ^r; upon which the people rose every where in the neighbourhood, and killed or made slaves of all that were left, while Don *Gonsalez*, by a stratagem, burnt their fleet.

A. D. 970.

Upon his marriage becomes odious to his subjects.

WHEN Don *Ramiro* entered his 17th year, he married ^s, with the consent of the regents, a lady of a great family, whose name was *Donna Urraca*, and soon after assumed the reins of government. This young prince, in a short time, became so uxorious, that, slighting the advice of his mother and his aunt, he confided entirely in the relations of his new queen, which highly disoblighed the nobility, and particularly those of *Galicia*; who, lying farthest from the seat of government, were, in all probability, the worst treated. The consequence was, that, on conferring amongst themselves, and observing that the prince Don *Bermudo*, son to king *Ordogno* III. who had been bred up amongst them, had all the qualities requisite to form a great and good prince, they unanimously declared him king ^t. This was so well received by the people in general, that they found no difficulty in raising an army numerous ^d enough to support their choice; neither did they shew themselves dispirited at all upon the approach of Don *Ramiro*, who came with a great army to reduce them. Their forces met upon the frontiers, and the dispute was so obstinate and bloody, that more were lost in this battle ^u than in any against the *Moors*; and yet they were parted by the night; so that neither side claimed the victory. However, Don *Ramiro* thought it best to return to *Leon*, in order to recruit his forces; and, while he was thus employed, he died ^v suddenly, in the latter end of the year 982, in the 15th year of his reign, and when he was about twenty years of age. He was buried near his grandfather Don *Ramiro* II. From whence, by the command of Don *Ferdinand* II. he was removed to *Astorga*.

Don Bermudo II. on his victory, is acknowledged king of Oviedo and Leon.

DON *Bermudo* II. was immediately acknowledged ^x upon the decease of his competitor, and began his reign with very favourable circumstances. He observed that all ranks and degrees of his subjects were extremely degenerated; that the nobility were luxurious, haughty, and oppressive; that the common people copied their betters; and that the clergy, instead of reproofing the vices of the laity, were become equally vicious themselves. He began his reformation with them, because he found that several of the bishops were men of strict morals, and wanted only to be supported by authority in correcting their inferiors, and because he saw that this was acceptable to the people, as the laity, however vicious, have an abhorrence for all excesses among the clergy; and besides he made no doubt that a thorough reformation in the church would have a great effect upon the morals of the people in general. But while he was thus occupied, the *Moors*, who considered themselves as disengaged from all treaties by the death of Don *Ramiro*, under the command of *Mohammed Almanzor*, *Albagib*, or prime minister, to *Hissam* king of *Cordova*, made an irruption into his dominions, and formed the siege of *Simencas*, a place well fortified; the inhabitants of which made a gallant defence, which might have preserved it, if the king had been in any condition to relieve them; but so many had fallen in the fatal battle at his accession, that he found it absolutely impossible to bring

^a MARIANA, Historia General de Espana, lib. viii. FERRERAS Hist. de Espana, P. iv. MAYERNE TURQUET, Histoire Generale d'Espagne, l. viii. ^o ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. P. iii. ^p Chron.

var. antiq. ROD. Toletan. Hist. Arab.

^q LUC. Tudens. Chron. VASÆI Chron.

^r RODERIC

SANTI Hist. Hispan. VAS. Chron.

^s Chron. var. antiq.

^t MARIANA, Hist. General de

Espana, lib. viii. FERRERAS Hist. de Espana, P. iv. MAYERNE TURQUET Hist. General d'Espagne, lib. vii.

^u ROD. Tolet. de Rebus Hispan. lib. iv. Chron. var. antiq.

^v LUC. Tudens. Chron.

VASÆI Chron.

^x MAR. FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQ. ubi supra.

a an army into the field; so that, after a long siege, the *Moors* became masters of *Simencas* ^r, and carried all the people who were left therein into slavery, and acquired also a prodigious booty.

THERE is no doubt but the king must have been grievously afflicted with the consideration of a disgrace beyond any that had happened to his predecessors; but as the *Moors* turned their arms against other Christian principalities, without prosecuting the war against him, he contented himself with the pursuit of his former measures, labouring as much as in him lay to make his subjects comprehend the necessity of resuming the frugal and industrious manner of life for which their ancestors had been distinguished. He took care likewise to second his exhortations by his example, and was always more indulgent to the meaner than the better sort of people. Don *Pelayo*, who was of the same faction with Don *Sisenand*, and who succeeded him in the bishoprick of *Compostella*, having slighted the king's admonitions to relinquish his vices, and to behave with more moderation to the people, Don *Bermudo* went thither in person, and deposed ² him; upon which that false prelate, with many of his adherents, retired to the *Moors*, who had a little before taken the city of *Zamora* ^a, and treated the inhabitants with as little mercy as they had done those of *Simencas*. If the king had not been a prince of true piety, and of the most steady resolution, these misfortunes must have induced an alteration in his conduct; for the *Moors* were continually victorious, himself in no condition to oppose them, and the numbers of his subjects, who preferred ease and a dissolute life to all considerations of honour and religion, daily deserted him, and sought protection from the infidels.

c MOHAMMED ALMANZOR, perceiving that the frontiers of *Leon* lay now open, assembled a very numerous army, took the field early, with a settled intention to penetrate into the heart of the country. Don *Bermudo* foresaw this, and had prepared in the best manner he was able for his reception. His army, however, was much inferior to that of the infidels; but the king confiding in providence and the courage of his troops, ventured to give them battle on the banks of the river *Ezla*, and, after a brisk dispute, put them to flight ^b. But Mohammed Almanzor, when he saw his army in confusion, dismounted from his horse, sat himself down in the field, threw his turban upon the ground, and, laying his arms across his breast, declared he would remain there, since he was abandoned by his troops. This had the effect he expected; his forces returned to their charge, and the Christians, being disordered in their pursuit, were in their turn beat ^c. But the victory, if it was one, cost the *Moors* so dear, that it put it out of their power to do any thing more that campaign; so that Mohammed Almanzor satisfied himself with swearing, that, the next year, he would not fail to come and plunder *Leon*. The king, knowing the temper of the man, and the superiority of his forces, ordered whatever was valuable either in the city or in the churches to be removed. He likewise caused the bodies of the kings to be transported into *Asturias*; and having repaired the fortifications, and placed a strong garrison in *Leon*, he retired with his family, and most of the prelates and nobility, into the same country ^d.

e MOHAMMED ALMANZOR, in the beginning of the spring, invested *Leon* with a more numerous army than the *Moors* had ever brought into the field; and, having carried on the siege in form till a large breach was made, he caused it to be attacked and carried by assault; after which, he demolished it so effectually, that, except a tower which he left to mark the place where it stood, there did not remain one stone upon another ^e. He proceeded next to *Astorga*, which immediately capitulated. Supposing he should have the same good fortune where-ever he came, he entered the *Asturias*, and attacked the castles of *Gordon* and *Luna*; but as they were well fortified, and had good garrisons, he was repulsed with loss; upon which he returned to *Cordova* ^f. The next year he entered *Portugal*, made himself master of *Coimbra*, *Viseo*, and *Lamego*; into which he put good garrisons, and from thence proceeded to *Braga*, which, making some resistance, he demolished, after it fell into his hands, and sent the people into slavery. He pushed this torrent of success so far as to ravage *Galicia* also; and, by the assistance of that perfidious prelate Don *Pelayo*, and his father count *Roderiques Velasquez*, he entered into *Compostella* ^g, which he likewise destroyed; and would have proceeded still farther, if the flux had not prevailed among his troops, which obliged him to retreat. The king Don *Bermudo* ordered his generals to follow him, who made a dreadful slaughter amongst his people, which provoked him to such a degree ^h, that, with dreadful blasphemies and imprecations, he threatened to come the next year, and complete the ruin of *Galicia* (N). In order to

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^r Roder. Tolet. Hist. Arab. Tudenf. Chron. VASÆI Chron. ^e Roderic Tolet. Hist. Arab. ubi supra.

² Chron. var. antiq.

^c Chron. var. antiq.

^f Luc. Tudenf. Chron. VASÆI Chron.

^h Chron. var. antiq.

^a Roderic Tolet. Hist. Arab.

^b Luc.

^d Rod. SANTI Hist. Hispan. P. iii.

^g Roderic Tolet.

(N) According to Mariana's manner of relating this history, the several irruptions into the territories of the Christians by Mohammed Almanzor happened in the life of Don Ramiro, and while Don Bermudo was possessed

to this, he not only drew together the whole forces of his master's kingdom, but procured likewise great supplies from *Africa*; and as all this could not be done without the knowledge of the Christians, so the very terror that he took so much pains to spread, was that which turned most to their advantage; for Don *Bermudo*, coming in person into *Galicia*, laboured all he could to revive the spirits of his subjects, at the same time that he sent some of the most venerable prelates in his kingdom to solicit Don *Garcias* king of *Navarre*, and the *Castilians*, notwithstanding they had thrown off all allegiance to the crown of *Leon*, not to desert the common cause of the Christian faith, at a time when it was in such apparent danger; and these negotiations were happily conducted with as much success as he could wish, and very probably with more than he expected ¹.

Don Bermudo, assisted by the king of Navarre and count of Castile, gains the battle of Osma.

THIS triple alliance ² thus concluded, all the princes used their utmost efforts to render their troops as complete as possible, and resolved, as the only effectual means to make any resistance against so formidable an enemy, to unite and bring but one army into the field, and this upon the frontiers of *Castile*, where the count Don *Garcias Fernandez* encamped first with his troops, and was speedily joined by the king Don *Bermudo*, though he was so infirm that he was carried into the field in a chair. Don *Garcias*, king of *Navarre*, brought a considerable army to the assistance of his allies ³; and their troops were scarce united, before the *Moors*, under *Mohammed Almanzor*, advanced towards them, and took post in the neighbourhood of *Osma* ⁴. The confederate princes reviewed their troops, and, after putting up solemn prayers to God, made no scruple of acquainting them with the true situation of things, and that the being of their respective governments, the freedom of the Christians in *Spain*, and, in short, all that was dear to them, either in regard to honour or to their faith, depended on their valour. The reason of this declaration was to discern the temper of the troops, and from thence to determine on the measures that were to be taken. After a short silence, the army unanimously demanded to be led to battle; and the princes, who had made the necessary dispositions, instantly began their march ⁵. They encamped within sight of the enemy, and *Mohammed Almanzor*, presenting himself next day in order of battle, the Christians gallantly received, and vigorously returned the charge. The dispute lasted the whole day with such resolution, that both armies seemed invincible; but, as night came on, the *Moors* retired to their camp ⁶; but the confederates remained in the field in the midst of dead and dying men, their princes using their utmost endeavours to collect and dispose the remains of their troops (for they were, in comparison of what they had been, but very few), in the best order possible; and then recommending themselves to Providence, and beseeching God either to render them his instruments in the protection of the Christian faith, or to grant them mercy for the sake of their endeavours ⁷. As the day began to break, they were amazed to see nothing of the *Moors*; and, having ordered some squadrons to reconnoitre their camp, they were still more amazed that all things were as silent there. After remaining some time in suspense, they advanced in good order, and found it totally abandoned; for, upon his

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¹ Luc. Tudens. Chron. Vas. Chron. Rod. SANTI Hist. Hispan. P. iii. Tudens. Chron. Vas. Chron. Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum. Chron. Rod. Toletan Hist. Arabum. P Chron. var. antiq.

² Chron. var. antiq. ³ Luc. Tudens. Chron. Vas. Rod. SANTI Hist.

possessed only of the kingdom of *Galicia*; and, which is still more extraordinary, he places also within this period the devastation of *Compostella*; and, to complete all, not only ascribes to the apostle St. *James* the fluxes and other distempers with which the *Moorish* army was afflicted after the spoiling of the church dedicated to his memory, but likewise the death of that famous infidel the general himself. He therefore believes, or at least would make his readers believe, that *Mohammed*, who afterwards commanded the army of *Cordova*, and who took his defeat so heavily, that he died of hunger, rage, and despair, at *Medina Celi*, was not *Mohammed Almanzor*, but another *Mohammed*, who succeeded him in the post of *Alhagib* at *Cordova*. Where or how he collected this, is difficult to know; for here he plainly deserts his old guide archbishop *Roderic*, who states these matters briefly, but pretty much in the same manner that we do; and this variation is made for no other reason, that we can discern, than purely to ascribe the death of that fatal and implacable enemy of the Christian name in a special manner to the indignation of St. *James*; which, how consistent it is with common sense, with the principles of the Christian religion, or the rest and peace ascribed to the saints, who have departed this life, is left to the decision of the reader. But certainly the clearness and consistency of the whole current

of events, as they are stated in the text from the authority of several antient writers, and the concurring judgment of *Ferreras*, makes it probable that they are digested in their right order, since it is the nature of truth to be easy, perspicuous, and uniform, as, upon a close inspection, our dates will be found; whereas they lie in such a manner in the history of *Mariana*, that the year in which any particular fact happened cannot be certainly distinguished; which seems to imply that this great man himself was not satisfied as to the manner in which he ranged these important events; and as he does not cite the authorities upon the credit of which he related them in the manner he has done, we are constrained, though unwillingly, to lay the blame wholly upon himself; and this the rather, because he seems to have been convinced of his own mistake, and, to cover it, introduces a second destruction of *Compostella* by the *Moors*, under the command of this other *Mohammed*, of whom he gives a very high character, and, among other circumstances, mentions this, that he governed the kingdom of *Cordova* for twenty-five years. If so, how could *Mohammed Almanzor* have the supreme command in the same kingdom at the same time? or, rather, how is it possible to doubt that this very character belongs to *Mohammed Almanzor*?

retreat,

^a retreat, *Almanzor* found his loss so great, that he ordered those who were left to shift for themselves, and, retiring himself to *Medina Celi*, obstinately refused food, and died for want of sustenance¹; which, considering his implacable enmity to the Christians, was a consequence as favourable as the victory.

THIS victory, however, was as glorious as it was decisive. It is affirmed, how incredible soever it may appear, that the infidels lost an hundred thousand men² upon the spot; the plunder of their camp enriched all the christian armies; and, separating soon after, they returned to their respective counties³. Don *Bermudo* being in a very precarious state of health, a great nobleman in the *Asturias*, flattering himself with vain hopes, endeavoured to murder the infant Don *Alphonso*, this monarch's only son; for which he was punished as he deserved, and his estate given to the church of *Oviedo*; which grant⁴ is the sole memorial of this extraordinary fact. A very short time after, Don *Bermudo*, who, from his being grievously afflicted with that distemper, was surnamed *the Gouty*, departed this life⁵, in the year of our Lord 999, in *Galicia*, and was buried at a place called *Valbuena*. Don *Pelayo*, bishop of *Oviedo*, who flourished in the twelfth century, and wrote a history of his reign, has extremely blackened his character, with what view it is impossible to discover; but that this is the fact, appears by the comparison of his writings with those authors who were contemporaries with this monarch, as well as from certain circumstances he relates, and which cannot possibly be true; and yet from this chronicle many things have been inadvertently borrowed by other historians.

^b THE nobility assembled soon after the king's death, and elected the infant Don *Alphonso*⁶, though a child, appointing his mother Donna *Elvira* regent⁷, and continuing the care of his person to Don *Melendo Gonsales*, with whom the king had hitherto intrusted him. *Abdalmelech*, who succeeded his father *Mohammed Almanzor*, as *Albagib*, or prime minister, to the king of *Cordova*, took the field with a considerable army, in order to lay waste the kingdom of *Leon*; but the queen dowager demanding the assistance of *Garcias* count of *Castile*, to whom she likewise sent a body of troops, he fell upon the *Moors*⁸, and defeated them. The disputes and civil wars, that afterwards broke out in the kingdom of *Cordova*, proved very favourable to this minority; during which the regency not only governed wisely at home, but negotiated the restitution of the little country of *Alava*, which the count of *Castile* had taken from the family of *La Vela*⁹, who, by sheltering themselves, with their adherents, in the territories of *Cordova*, had been the chief promoters of these wars, and had furnished *Mohammed Almanzor* with several Christian corps, from whom he had received great service. But, upon this restitution of their patrimony, they quitted the infidels, and, returning home, quickly drew after them their adherents, which proved of great advantage to the Christian cause.

^c THERE have been few instances of a regency better conducted than this, during the minority of Don *Alphonso V.* of *Leon*, who was educated with such care, that he became one of the wisest and best princes of his time; and, as a proof of his gratitude to Don *Melendo Gonsales*, his governor, he married, with the consent of the queen his mother, and of the principal nobility, his daughter Donna *Elvira*¹⁰, a princess whose great virtues, and more especially her humility, made her universally beloved. Upon her son's marriage, the queen dowager retired, with her two daughters, into the monastery of *St. Pelayo*, at *Oviedo*; and *Ferreras*¹¹ has very clearly proved, that the strange story told by *Pelagius* bishop of *Oviedo*, whom we have before mentioned, of Don *Alphonso's* forcing his sister Donna *Theresa* to espouse, against her will, a *Moorish* prince of *Toledo*, is an absolute falshood, notwithstanding the credit given to it by many eminent writers. From the time of his marriage the king governed his dominions without assistance, and gave such encouragement for rebuilding the towns that had been destroyed, and repeopling the country that had been abandoned, as had all the effect he could desire, at the same time that it prompted the nobility to follow his example, and procured him the esteem and affection of all his subjects. It is true, that the civil wars amongst the *Moors* afforded him the leisure to do all this; and the flight of the Christians out of their dominions, who, in such times of confusion, were plundered by all parties, furnished him with the means (Z).

AT

¹ RÖD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. P. iii. antiq.

² RÖD. Tol. de Rebus Hispan. lib. iv. Historia General de Espana, lib. viii.

³ FERRERAS Historia de Espana P. v. MAYERNE TURQUET, Histoire General d'Espanne, lib. vii.

⁴ RÖDERIC SANTI Hist. Hispan, lib. iv. P. v.

⁵ Luc. Tud. Chron. Vas. Chron.

⁶ Chron. var. antiq.

⁷ Chron. var.

⁸ MARIANA,

⁹ LUC. TUDENS. Chron. Vas. Chron.

¹⁰ Chron. var. antiq.

¹¹ Historia de Espana,

(Z) We find in *Mariana* the story mentioned in the text, of Don *Alphonso's* forcing his sister the Infanta Donna *Teresa* to marry *Abdalla* the *Moorish* king of *Toledo*, with the

pathetic speech made by that princess at the time that *Abdalla* would have consummated his marriage, in which she exhorted him to become a Christian, and threatened

Rebuilds the
city of Leon,
invades the
territories of
the Moors,
and is killed
at a siege.
1016.
1020.

At length his dominions having, in a great measure, changed their appearance, the king solicited his nobility^b to assist him in the rebuilding of *Leon*, which they readily promised, and as cheerfully accomplished, the king in person presiding over that important work. When it was in some measure finished, the king summoned an assembly of the statesⁱ, which was opened on the first of *August* 1020; at which time the cathedral church was consecrated, and many new regulations made for restoring the discipline of the church, and for promoting industry and frugality among the people. Four years afterwards he caused the city of *Zamora*^k to be repaired; to which he also gave particular attention, on account of his design to render it the strongest place on his frontiers; and when he once saw it in a state of defence, he thought it time to accustom his subjects to make incursions into the territories of the infidels. The next year he passed the *Duero* with a considerable army, and marched to *Viseo*, where, the *Moors* having a good garrison, the place made some defence; so that he was constrained to besiege it in form. The weather being very hot, the king rode without his cuirass, in order to determine the place where a breach should be made, and, by this imprudence, he was mortally wounded by an arrow from the walls, and died^l in his tent, *May* the 5th, 1027, in the 28th year of his reign, and the 34th of his life. His body being removed to *Leon*, was interred in the church of *St. John the Baptist*, sincerely regretted by his subjects, by whom, for his piety, liberality, and courage, he was universally beloved. He left by his queen two children, the prince *Don Bermudo*, and the infanta *Donna Sancha*.

Don Bermudo
III. succeeds
his father un-
der a regency.

THE nobility made no scruple of declaring *Don Bermudo* king^m, in the room of his father; and the disturbances continuing, and even increasing, among the *Moors*, afforded the queen dowager, and the principal lords intrusted with the regency, time to establish the tranquility of the kingdom, not a little disturbed by the unexpected death of the late monarch. The king of *Navarre*ⁿ, who had the principal care of *Don Garcias* count of *Castile*, gave the clearest assurances to the young king of *Leon* of his esteem and respect, as well as of his resolution to perform punctually the engagement into which he had entered with the king his father; all which gave great satisfaction to the nobility, who likewise saw with pleasure a sedateness and an activity in their young monarch, not to be expected at his years. *Don Sanchez* king of *Navarre*, conceiving it high time to marry his ward, applied himself to the court of *Leon*, and represented the great advantages that would result to the common cause of the Christians in *Spain*, and to the kingdom of *Leon* in particular, by the marriage of the young count *Don Garcias* of *Castile* with the infanta *Donna Sancha*; which being indeed apparent, the king, the queen-mother, and the nobility, were equally ready in embracing the proposal^o. A little before the time prefixed for this marriage, some affairs of importance obliged *Don Bermudo* to repair into the *Asturias*; but he promised to return to *Leon* against the day appointed for their marriage.

In the king's
absence Don
Garcias San-
chez, count
of Castile,
assassinated at
Leon.
1023.

At this juncture, *Roderic*, *Diego*, and *Inigo*, the sons of the count *de la Vela*, were meditating, from a principle of revenge, the death of the innocent *Don Garcias* count of *Castile*; and, concluding that the absence of *Don Bermudo* might facilitate this, they resolved to put their wicked design in execution at *Leon*. Accordingly having conveyed themselves into that city, the very night that *Don Garcias* arrived, they took an opportunity, as he went next day to church, to stab him^p in the street; and though they were immediately attacked by the nobility of *Castile* and *Leon*, who were about him, yet, being well attended and well provided with arms, they carried their point in making their escape^q. They found means afterwards to surprise the town of *Moncon*, in the neighbourhood of *Palentia*, where they doubted not but to be able to defend themselves till they could be relieved by the *Moors*. But in this they

^b ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. P. iii.
de Rebus Hispan. l. iv.
Historia Espana, P. v.
Hist. Hispan. P. iii.
Tolet. de Rebus Hispan. l. iv.

ⁱ LUC. Tudens. Chron. Vas. Chron.
^l Chron. var. antiq.
^m MAR. Histoire Gen. de Espana, l. viii. FERR.
Histoire General d'Espagne, l. vii.
^o LUC. Tudens. Chron. Vas. Chronicon.

^k ROD. Tolet.
ⁿ ROD. SANTI
^p Chron. var. antiq.
^q ROD.

threatened him with the divine vengeance, in case he persisted in his design of gratifying his passion. But whereas *Don Pelayo* asserts, that this monarch violated the princess by force, and fell soon after into a mortal disease, upon which he sent back the infanta with prodigious rich presents, who retired immediately into a monastery, where she past the remainder of her days; *Mariana* suggests that he recovered, because he found that this *Abdalla*, king of *Toledo*, was taken prisoner, and put to death, by *Hissam* king of *Cordova*. However, a little attention to the facts mentioned in the paragraph above, will put it beyond all doubt, that this story is not true in any particular circumstance, but in

the whole a groundless fiction, because *Abdalla* was taken and killed, *Anno Domini* one thousand and thirteen; whereas *don Alphonso* did not assume the government of his dominions till the year after. There is the more reason to correct this error, because, as *Mariana* followed the bishop of *Oviedo* in his strange tale, so a celebrated French writer has made no scruple of following *Mariana*; so that, unless it be prevented by the timely exposition of so base and injurious a falsehood, it may, out of deference to such authorities, be transcribed and propagated through other nations, as has been the case of other fabulous narrations.

a were mistaken; for Don Sanchez, king of Navarre, followed them with such expedition, and prosecuted the siege with such vigour, that the place was very quickly taken by storm, and all the garrison put to the sword, except the three assassins, who, by order of the king, were deservedly burnt alive.

THIS monarch was become now exceeding powerful, as having added many fair provinces to his hereditary kingdom of Navarre, to which he now annexed the county of Castile. Don Bermudo therefore applied himself to this great king, in order to obtain the daughter of count Sanchez of Castile, whose name was Donna Urraca Theresa. That monarch, desirous of uniting him to his interests, yielded very readily to his request, and the marriage was solemnized towards the close of the year with great splendor and magnificence. The next year there happened some stir in Galicia; and the queen was delivered of a son, baptized by the name of Alonso, who did not live many days. The commotions in Galicia being again renewed, and the malecontents under another chief, having broke out into open rebellion, Don Bermudo, who was a prince of great vivacity, marched thither so speedily with a body of forces, that these plunderers abandoned their country, to prevent falling into the king's hands, who confiscated their estates, and gave them to the church of St. James at Compostella. About the same time, he deposed and imprisoned the bishop of that see for his bad behaviour and immoral life; a clear proof, not only of the virtue and spirit of this young prince, but likewise of his preserving that prerogative which had been exercised by his predecessors the antient kings of the Goths; for, notwithstanding the popes before this time had begun to extend their authority over the clergy in Spain, yet it is plain they had not begun to question the royal power in reforming ecclesiastical as well as temporal abuses, because, in all probability, they had not hitherto a fair opportunity.

Don Sanchez king of Navarre, having given orders for repairing the cathedral and city of Palentia, which he considered as a place belonging to his country of Castile, Don Bermudo expressed great resentment thereat, asserting that it belonged to his kingdom of Leon; and, notwithstanding all the reasons that could be offered to dissuade him from it, declared war against him; upon which Don Sanchez, at the head of a numerous army, made an irruption into his dominions, and in a short time became master of all the countries between the rivers of Pisuerga and Cea, and, before the close of the campaign, besieged and took the city of Astorga. Don Bermudo saw this with grief and resentment, as not having an army sufficient to hinder it; and therefore retiring into Galicia, he spent the winter in recruiting his forces, and, in the spring, marched with a numerous army to recover what he had lost. But Don Sanchez, being determined to preserve his conquest, had likewise assembled the forces of Castile, and attended them both. These represented the consequences of this dispute in so strong a light, that a peace was at length concluded; by which Don Bermudo made a cession of the country between the two rivers, as the portion of his sister Donna Sancha, and the king of Navarre gave Castile to his second son Don Ferdinand, who, it was agreed, upon espousing the infanta, should assume the title of king. This marriage was accordingly celebrated at the time pre-fixed at Leon; and Don Bermudo, to shew the sincerity of this reconciliation, or rather to dis-
 semble the insincerity of it, put himself to such an expence as in those days amazed all the beholders, and in that respect very probably answered his purpose.

THIS conjunction of interests was equally acceptable to the people of Navarre, Castile, and Leon, who saw themselves from thence protected against all apprehensions of the Moors, who were at this juncture involved in numberless quarrels among themselves, and split into so many principalities, that they were far less terrible to the Christians than in times past. One would have imagined that, having this example before his eyes, and being, as he really was, a very wise and penetrating, as well as great and good king, Don Sanchez would not have been guilty of the same error, or have taken, at the end of his days, a resolution of putting, as far as was in his power, the Christians on a level with the Moors in this respect; but his paternal affection for his four sons overcame all other considerations; so that, at his decease, which happened in the succeeding year, that is, in 1035, he divided his extensive dominions amongst them, and so made them all kings. Don Garcias had Navarre, Biscay, and the province of Rioja; Don Ferdinand kept the kingdom of Castile, which had been bestowed upon him in his father's life-time; Don Gonfales had the counties of Sobrarva and Ribargorze, with the title of king;

* Luc. Tudens. Chron. Vas. Chron.

* Rod. SANTI Hist. Hispan. P. iii.

* Rod. Toletan. de rebus Hispan. l. iv.

CARTHAGENA Reg. Hisp. Anacephalæosis.

Hispan. P. iii.

* FRAN. TARAPHÆ de Reg. Hispan.

Toletan. de rebus Hispan. lib. iv.

* Luc. Tudens. Chronicon.

* Rod. Toletan. ubi supra.

* Luc. Tudens. Chron.

* Chron. var. antiq.

* Rod. SANTI Hist. Hispan.

* Chron. var. antiq.

* ALPHONSI A

* Rod. SANTI Hist.

* Chron. var. antiq.

* Rod.

* Rod. SANTI ubi supra.

and Don *Ramiro*, *Arragon*¹. This power, which had been so formidable in the hands of a one, became far less so by this division; and as at first sight the consequence might be apprehended by reason, so it was immediately afterwards justified from experience, in many instances, of which we shall have occasion to speak in their turns; but at present our business lies only with the first, the consequences of which were very considerable.

Don Bermudo
invades Ca-
stile, and re-
covers all he
had formerly
yielded.

Don *Bermudo* had yielded very unwillingly a considerable district, for the sake of peace, and because he found his subjects were not inclined to support him in a war against the king of *Navarre*; and though at last he seemed to come into this with a good grace, by that magnificence with which he celebrated his sister's wedding, yet he retained the resentment of this disgrace, and the desire of wiping it away, whenever a favourable opportunity offered; so that we need not at all wonder that he took the advantage of Don *Sanchez*'s death, and the division he had made of his territories, to recover the country he had lost. It is certain that he used but little ceremony on this occasion; for marching immediately with a considerable body of troops into the territories of his brother-in-law, he besieged and took the city of *Palentia*, which had given rise to the first dispute. As the inhabitants of the adjacent places were willing to return to their old master, and as Don *Ferdinand* did not think fit to take the field in their defence, the king of *Leon* did his business in a single campaign, and then returned in triumph to his capital^k, without attempting any thing farther; and it might be with an opinion that a negotiation might secure what by force of arms had been acquired; yet in this, as it often happens to princes of greater experience than Don *Bermudo*, he found himself absolutely mistaken, and that the measures which he had ascribed to timidity, or a sense of former injustice, were in reality the effects of policy and a superior understanding (A).

Is slain at the
battle of Car-
rion, through
his own rash-
ness and indis-
cretion.

Don *Ferdinand* had raised a considerable force, in order to cover his country, if the king of *Leon* had attempted to push his conquests any farther; but, instead of sending to intreat a peace, as was expected, he applied himself to his brother Don *Garcias*, and demanded supplies from him, upon a presumption that Don *Bermudo* meant to annex his kingdom to his own. Don *Garcias*, either out of fraternal affection, or from a just apprehension that Don *Bermudo* would become too formidable a neighbour if he should re-annex *Castile* to *Leon*, marched with a strong body of his father's veteran troops to join those of Don *Ferdinand* that were encamped in the neighbourhood of *Burgos*¹. The king of *Leon* had no sooner intelligence of the motions of the two brothers, than he drew together the force of his three kingdoms, *Asturias*, *Leon*, and *Galicia*, and, with an army far superior to that of the kings of *Navarre* and *Castile*, entered into the last-mentioned kingdom, and advanced as far as the valley of *Tamara*, near *Fromista*^m. The two brothers, seeing that nothing was to be expected but from force, put their troops likewise in motion, which brought on a decisive battle near

¹ Rod. Toletan. Historia Arabum.
Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

^k ALFONSI A CARTHAGENA Reg. Hisp. Anacephalæosis.
^m Luc. Tudens. Chron.

¹ Rod.

(A) We find in *Mariana* a great disposition to represent this last monarch of *Oviedo* and *Leon* as a prince of a very mild and pacific disposition; one whom the misfortunes of his father, killed at a siege, made extremely cautious, and who was therefore oppressed and ill-treated by Don *Sanchez the Great*, through the invasion of his country unexpectedly, and without cause. This, however, from a comparison of what is said by our old historians, seems a little remote from the real temper of that young prince, and from the nature of the facts. Don *Bermudo* was very far from being either a weak or a tame prince: he knew very well when his just rights were invaded, and had spirit enough to resent such an injury. But Don *Sanchez* believed, or pretended to believe, that *Palentia* belonged to *Castile*, and consequently devolved to him with the rest of that country. He apprehended that his great interest with the clergy would be of high use to him upon this occasion; and he judged that a district of country would be to the full as useful as the possession of the city he was now about to rebuild. Don *Bermudo* seems to have understood this perfectly well, and to have acted with all the spirit and caution that so critical a conjuncture demanded. But when he came to act, the clergy, who had also a great influence over the nobility, restrained him from going to extremities, and projected a peace upon very plausible, if not very equal terms. For tho' king *Bermudo* did not recover what he judged to be taken from him, yet his right seems to have been acknowledged by its being accepted as the portion of his sister. We may also, without difficulty, perceive, that

such as invented this expedient might very possibly have a good intention, and believe that they did none of these princes wrong. As for Don *Sanchez*, he was an old threwd politician, and a very potent king; so that it might be esteemed a point of right policy rather to gratify his ambition for the present, than to divert the infidels with so sad a spectacle as Christians destroying Christians, in a quarrel about little or nothing, if compared with the consequences resulting from such a war. In the next place, it restored the equality of these princes, and, in that light, might serve to take away the apprehensions that Don *Bermudo* might be under from the rapid growth of his neighbour's power; and, lastly, it was well contrived to unite the three crowns against the common enemy. Upon these principles the prelates and nobility acted a part consistent with their characters, inasmuch as they seemed to prefer the general interest to the personal quarrels of princes. We may add to all this, that, according to their constitution of government, if they were disposed to make such a cession for the sake of peace, the king had no right to oppose it; and it is very far from being improbable that he submitted to these reasons, though there is nothing clearer than that he submitted against his will, and with a view only to gain time; which is another mark that he was by no means of so gentle and compliant a temper as *Mariana* represents him: but whether this detracts from or raises his character, we shall not decide; all we aim at is to give the reader a thorough and complete view of a transaction, upon which it is indisputable that the fate of this king and kingdom depended.

Carriou.

a *Carriou.* The great impetuosity of *Bermudo's* temper engaged him to charge with the cavalry that were about his person into the very centre of the enemy's troops, where, while he looked about for either of the two kings, he was thrust into the breast by a spear, and immediately sunk down from his horseⁿ. Such as attended him, believing he was wounded, fought desperately on all sides, that they might have room to remount and carry him off; but when they came to take him up, they perceived that he was dead; and this sunk their spirits so much that they became an easy prey to the enemy^o.

THE knowlege of this event was no sooner spread through the army than every thing fell into confusion, and that martial spirit, for which they had been so long famous, deserted them at once; so that, in all probability, a dreadful carnage had been made amongst people so astonished, that they wanted presence of mind to defend themselves; but Don *Ferdinand*, who was a prince of deep penetration and magnanimity, interposed, and, with some peril to himself, put an end to the dispute^p. He then ordered the body of the king his brother-in-law to be taken up, and sent back to *Leon*, with orders that it should be interred with all imaginable marks of esteem and deference^q, which had a good effect upon the minds of the people, and disposed them to afford him a quiet, if not a cheerful reception. For, as soon as that melancholy solemnity was over, Don *Ferdinand* made his public entry into *Leon*; and representing to the nobility, that the male line of *Reccared the Catholic*, by Don *Pedro* duke of *Cantabria*, was extinct in their late sovereign, and putting them in mind that he had married his sister, they readily acknowledged him for their king^r, and he was accordingly crowned on the 22d day of *June* 1037, in the cathedral, by the then bishop of *Leon*. The subjects of that monarchy in general acquiesced under this revolution, the *Galicians* only excepted, who began to take up arms in maintenance of their liberty; upon which Don *Ferdinand* marched with his forces to the frontiers of that province, and partly by persuasion, partly by menaces, prevailed upon them to be quiet; only some who, from their old hatred to the *Castilians*, were determined never to submit to him, retired under Don *Sisenand*, a powerful and high-spirited nobleman, into the territories of a *Moorish* king, whose capital was *Seville*, and put themselves under his protection^s.

THUS this monarchy, after it had subsisted almost 320 years, under twenty-three princes, from Don *Pelayo* and his race, came at length, partly by marriage, and partly by conquest, to be united to that of *Castile*; yet not so thoroughly but that it was afterwards disjoined and governed by its particular princes, but all of the house of this Don *Ferdinand*, till by degrees, and after repeated convulsions, these states were so thoroughly moulded and incorporated with each other, as not to admit of any future separation. But before we proceed to the detail of these events, it will be necessary, for the sake of perspicuity, and a steady adherence to the method which we have hitherto pursued, to give the reader a succinct account of the princes of *Castile*, from the time of its being recovered out of the hands of the *Moors*, to its conjunction with the kingdom of *Oviedo* and *Leon*.

ⁿ FRAN. TARAPHÆ de Reg. Hispan. Hispan. P. iii.
de Espana, l. viii.

^o Chron. var. antiq.
^q RODERIC Toletan. de reb. Hispan. lib. iv.
^r RODERIC Toletan. Hist. Arabum.

^p RODERIC SANTII Hist.
^r MARIANA, Historia general
de Espana, l. viii.

S E C T. V.

The history of Castile, from the time of its being recovered out of the hands of the Moors, to the time of its being erected into a kingdom, in favour of Don Ferdinand, the son of Don Sanchez, king of Navarre, and who married Donna Sancha, sister and heiress of Don Bermudo, the third king of Leon.

e THE history of this country, and those who governed it within this period, is exceedingly embarrassed and perplexed, through the want of authentic records; the liberties that have been taken to supply these by fables and forgeries, and the unwillingness that some great men have shewn to have these coverings, bad as they are, taken away, and the naked and undisguised truth brought to light. In order, however, to make things as easy and as evident to our readers as possible, to decline intricate or trivial disputes as much as may be, and not to affect criticism to such a degree of severity as to hide from their knowlege those marvellous traditions, which in early ages passed for undoubted truths, we will relate as briefly as may be both the false and the true, the fictitious and the real history of the old counts of *Castile*; after delivering something previously, and that too as succinctly as we can, of the

What is proposed in order to the satisfying the reader's expectation on this subject.

etymology of the name and of the situation of this country ; without the knowlege of which, a what is to follow would be but imperfectly comprehended ; in the discussing of which point, if we shall appear to leave things somewhat loose and undetermined, it must not be attributed to a want of diligence in our enquiries, or of a desire to come at certainty, if it had been possible, but to that obscurity, which, in spite of the endeavours of many learned men, still hangs over this period, and hinders us from seeing so clearly as we could wish : a circumstance which, how little credit soever it may bring us to confess, we nevertheless hold it our duty not to dissemble.

Opinions concerning the origin of the name of this country and people.

To begin then with the name of this country and people. Some have asserted, that it is to be referred to a certain old *Spanish* tribe, or nation, called by the *Romans* *Castellani*, who are supposed to have inhabited here as well as in *Catalonia* ^a ; but, perhaps, evidence would not be easily found to establish this point, if it should be controverted. There were, indeed, a people called *Callaici* in *Catalonia* ^b ; but if the best critics in antient geography are to be relied upon, the principal if not the only nation in this part of *Spain*, were the *Vaccæi* ^c ; and it will surely be no easy matter to derive any thing for our purpose from among them. Others imagine that the origin of this name is to be sought no higher than the recovery of this country out of the hands of the *Moors* ; at which time, say they, there was a strong castle built for the defence of the frontier, in which the count, or great officer of the province, resided, from whence it took its name and its arms ^d. There is something plausible at least, if not probable, in this, only the latter part of the argument seems to be a little defective, if we may rely on the best judges of heraldry, as to the antiquity of such kind of bearings. c However, as we are not like to meet with a better account than this, we may, perhaps, reconcile nicer critics to this notion, by observing, that if the name of the province was really derived from some such castle, this may well be supposed to have been supported by tradition, as low as the times in which arms were assumed ; and then it will very well account for the assuming a castle, by way of allusion to that antient fortress ^e. But perhaps we may have still a better account of this matter from what we are going to relate, concerning the means by which this country was rescued out of the hands of the infidels, and annexed to that monarchy, which the Christians had formed in *Asturias*. For in such enquiries, one passage throws light upon another ; and if, taking all things together, they appear to have an easy and natural connection, it is the best proof that can be had that they are consistent d with truth, or at least but a little removed from it ; which, in such cases, is as much as can well be desired, and more than can often be met with.

Situation of this province, and the manner of its being recovered from the Moors.

We come next to describe the province of *Old Castile*, so called, because it was recovered from the *Moors* long before that which is stiled the *New*. As it stood in the times of which we are writing, it was separated from the kingdom of *Leon* by the following little rivers, *Carriou*, *Puifergo*, *Heva*, and *Regamon* ; and, on the other side, it was bounded by the *Asturias*, *Biscay*, and the little province of *Rioja* ; towards the south it had for its limits the mountains of *Segovia* and *Avila*, lying in the middle between the Christian kingdom of *Oviedo* and *Leon*, and the *Moorish* sovereignty of *Cordova* ^f. As this country was extremely fertile in corn and wine, abounded with excellent pasture, and was consequently e well stocked with cattle, and the best watered of any province in *Spain*, we need not wonder that both nations were desirous of being its masters. We are told by an eminent and elegant historian, that, even while it remained under the dominion of the *Moors*, there were several great lords who maintained themselves in the possession of certain districts, and who, by degrees, increasing in wealth and power, at length shook off the yoke of the infidels, and put themselves, as it was very natural for them to do, under the protection of the kings of *Oviedo* ^g. If this account be true, as at least there is no authority to prove it otherwise, we may very well believe, that these lords had each of them a well fortified mansion, or castle ; whence, at the emancipation of this province from the yoke of the *Moors*, it might well receive that name by which it has been ever since known. The same historian tells us, that f these lords, supported by their new protector, were not only able to defend their frontier, but to extend their little territories by their excursions against the *Moors*, as often as any favourable opportunity presented itself ; and that from hence they assumed the title of counts ; and, being regarded as feudatories of the monarchs before-mentioned, were summoned in time of war to repair with their vassals to attend the king's standard, and in time of peace were called to the assemblies of the estates ^h (A).

At

^a HEYLIN'S *Cosmography*, lib. i.

CELLARI.

^d HEYLIN'S *Cosmography*, lib. i.

Historia general de Espana, lib. viii. cap. iii.

general de Espana, lib. viii. cap. ii.

^b CELLARI *Geographi antiqui*, lib. ii. cap. i.

^c GUILLIM'S *Heraldry*, p. 391.

^e RÓDERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. iv.

^f LUCÆ Tudens. Chron. MORALES MARIANA.

^g CLUVER.

^h MARIANA

(A) We find counts distinguished by the antient *Spanish* title and dignity in virtue of their offices about the person of the king, and counts who were appointed to have

- a DON *Rodriguez* is the first of these counts mentioned by name in the *Spanish* histories; and he flourished in the reign of Don *Alonso el Casto*, or the Chaste, whom he assisted in his wars against the infidels. Some antient writers say, that he was the father of Don *Diego Porcellos*, who is thought to be the same that, as we have already shewn, received the king of *Oviedo's* orders to rebuild and fortify *Burgos*. There is, indeed, another account of this matter, which is, that one *Nugno Belchides*, a German lord, making a pilgrimage into Spain to the tomb of St. *James*, being kindly entertained by this count, resolved to remain with him, and to assist in defending the country against the infidels. Don *Diego* was so charmed with the generosity of this stranger, that he gave him in marriage his only daughter Donna *Sulla Bella*, and, by his advice, collecting the people together out of the straggling villages, b he brought them to live in a town, which he surrounded with walls, and gave it the name of *Burgos*, from the German word *Burgh*ⁱ. It must be admitted, that this has so much the air of a fable as not to deserve any credit; but then to infer from hence, that the counts in *Castile* were not hereditary, seems to be carrying the matter too far; since, rejecting the fable, we may retain the history, and allow Don *Diego*, the son of Don *Rodriguez*, to have built the city of *Burgos*, not by the advice of this son-in-law, but by the order of Don *Alonso* the Great^k. What seems to render this probable, and to give some degree of evidence to the before-mentioned account of the origin of these nobles, is our finding that there were many of them at the same time; such as the count Don *Fernand Ansules*, Don *Almondar el Blanco*, or the white, and Don *Nugno Fernandez*; which plainly intimates, that they did not receive c either their authority or titles from the kings of *Oviedo*, but were indebted to them only for their protection^l (B).

ⁱ LUCÆ Tudenfis Chron. MARIANA. Historia general de Espana, lib. viii.

^k FERRERAS Historia de Espana, lib. iv.

^l MARIANA

have the government of certain provinces (1). The privileges or prerogatives of both sorts of counts were precisely the same; that is to say, they had a vote in the election of kings, a seat in the assembly of the states, and were not liable to any inferior jurisdiction. On the other hand, these counts were bound to perform their offices in the palace, to raise the forces of their provinces at the king's command, and to repair to the assembly of the states, when and wherever it was summoned (2). We may easily collect from hence, that if a nobleman associated with, and submitted himself to, a prince to whom he was not born a subject, he must take upon him the duties of such an officer at the same time that he acquired the prerogatives; so that, except the hereditary possession of estate, and it may be title, which, as the king did not give, he could have no right to take away, this associated count stood in just the same point of light with all other counts; that is, did the like homage to the king, and owed the same service to the crown. It must be acknowledged, that the case would be very hard, if we were obliged to make out every circumstance here advanced by indisputable authorities; and yet this does not in the least destroy either the force or the credit of what is advanced, because, while it is in our power to shew the general form of this government, it concludes clearly as to all that has been offered concerning this dignity. The kings of *Oviedo* and *Leon* were elective and limited in their power, and therefore so must their companions be; in which sense, according to the natural meaning of the Latin word *Comes*, the best *Spanish* lawyers have understood the import of this title (3). But as the king was no longer considered in that capacity than while he governed according to the laws, so we may be sure these counts were under the like restrictions; and, though they were the king's companions, they were not his masters, or privileged to disobey these orders, which, in virtue of his dignity, the king, whom themselves had elected, had a right to issue, for the benefit of the state.

(B) We may more clearly apprehend what is ad-

vanced in the text, if we consider the meaning of the *Spanish* word *Castellania*, which is derived from *Castillo*, or, as it was antiently wrote, *Castil*, which we find thus asserted in the dictionary of the royal academy: A separate territory, in the manner of a province, independent of any other; in which its particular laws are observed, and which has a jurisdiction over all the places dependent on its capital (4). This clearly points out what kind of authority these lords had; who, upon the general wreck of the *Gothic* monarchy, seized upon whatever they were able to keep and to defend against the common enemy. It is, therefore, very probable, that, as they were independent of each other before they joined themselves to the kingdom of *Leon*, they remained so for some time afterwards; and that it was not long before Don *Ferdinand Gonzalez*, who threw off this yoke of homage, as he esteemed it, that any single person assumed the title of count of *Castile*, but at the same time his ancestors first became eminent. It is at least not repugnant to probability to suppose, that they might be intrusted with a superiority of power by the kings of *Leon*, which, setting them above those who were as good as themselves at home, made way for their notion, that there could be none better abroad; and thus pride might easily suggest the desire of receiving, in their own right, the respect paid them as representatives of their master (5). As to the city of *Burgos*, it was raised out of the ruins of the antient town of *Auca*, or *Occa*, from whence the adjacent ridge of mountains is stiled *Sieras de Occa* (6). The air of this capital is very sharp; the inhabitants of that, and of all the fifty towns, hamlets, and villages, under its jurisdiction, are hardy, industrious, and robust (7); and it is universally allowed, that the *Spanish* language, or, as called by themselves, *Lengua Castellana*, is spoken with greater purity here than in any other part of his catholic majesty's dominions (8). It contests with *Toledo*, the capital of *New Castile*, the precedence in the states, and upon all public occasions; and it is thought the dispute will not be speedily ended.

(1) Las Partidas del rey Don Alonso I. tit. i. lib. ii.

demus regie Gothorum commentarius, tit. Comes.

cionario de la lengua Castellana, tom. ii. p. 221.

Vayrac etat present de l'Espagne, liv. i. p. 467.

vol. i. p. 157.

cap. lv.

(2) Petri Pantini de dignitatibus & officiis regni ac

(3) Bobad. Polit. lib. ii. cap. 16. n. m. 23.

(5) Mayerne Turquet Histoire general d'Espagne.

(7) Les Delices de l'Espagne, par de Juan Alvarez de Colmenar,

(8) A Tour through Spain and Portugal, by Udalap Relys, p. 40. Ludovici Nonii Hispania,

How, amongst
the great lords,
one came to be
styled the count
of Castile.

IN order to form a clearer idea of this, we are to consider, that the counts, to whom the ^a grandees have succeeded, were appointed by the king; and, in process of time, such as held the government of certain districts, disposed things in such a manner as their sons succeeded them, yet always with the consent of the crown ^m. But, with respect to the counts of *Castile*, we find no traces of their being appointed by the kings of *Oviedo* or *Leon*; and if they had, there would probably have been but one count; and whenever that dignity became hereditary, it would have been in his family; whereas we have as much certainty as can be had of any thing in these times, that it was not so; but that, from the time of their becoming a province to the kingdom of *Oviedo*, there were several great lords, though it is not at all improbable that one of these might have the precedency in virtue of the king's appointment for the better government of the province; and also, that Don *Diego* might hold that dig- ^b nity, when, by the command of Don *Alonso*, he built and fortified *Burgos*, which became afterwards the capital of the province, and the place where the king's count or governor resided ⁿ.

The king of
Leon impris-
ons, and puts
to death some of
these lords as
rebels.

IF we consider things in this light, it seems highly probable, that *Nugno Fernandez* was the principal count and chief governor of *Castile*, at the time that Don *Alonso* the Great con- ^c sented to a match between his eldest son, the prince Don *Garcias*, and the count's daughter, which, as we have already shewn, was attended with unhappy circumstances; since that prince aspired to the crown in the life-time of his father, by which he drew upon himself the king's displeasure, and a long imprisonment ^o. In these family quarrels the count of *Castile* not only countenanced his son-in-law, but also supported the queen *Ximena* and the prince Don *Ordogno*, governor of *Galicia*, and the younger brother of Don *Garcias*: so that at length, by their cabals, the good old king found it requisite to resign his crown to Don *Garcias*, who behaved more dutifully afterwards than he had done before; and it seems highly pro- ^d bable, that when, after the death of that prince, Don *Ordogno* came to be seated on the throne, he disapproved his brother's conduct and his own towards their father; and, on this account, retained a dislike to Don *Nugno Fernandez*, to whom he might impute those coun- ^e cils by which they were misled ^p. However that may be, it is certain that, having summoned that nobleman and the rest of the nobles at *Castile* to meet him at *Burgos*, in which they failed, he resolved to chastise them; but dissembling his intentions, and directing them once ^d more to meet him at a little town called *Regular*, he caused them all to be arrested, and carried prisoners to *Leon*, and there put to death. This Don *Roderic*, bishop of *Toledo*, represents as an act of tyranny, and a very foul stain on the administration of that king, who was otherwise a prince of great virtues ^q. Don *Lucas*, bishop of *Tuy*, barely relates the fact without any censure; and yet *Mariana*, and most of the modern historians, have followed the archbishop, and treated the king as a tyrant for this very act ^r; but *Sampiro*, bishop of *Astorga*, who had much better opportunities of knowing the truth, is directly on the other side, justifies king *Ordogno's* severity, and speaks of these nobles as rebels ^s. But how just soever his motives might be, the manner of his getting these great men into his hands can never be defended; and therefore we need not wonder that the people of *Castile* were gene- ^e rally disobliged, or that heats and heart-burnings were hereby kindled between the two nations.

Upon which,
as is commonly
believed, the
Castilians re-
volt, and set up
judges.

ACCORDING to the general current of history, the sense which the *Castilians* had of this act of severity, joined to some new hardships they sustained under the reign of Don *Froila*, who compelled them to resort to *Leon* for the decision of all disputes, provoked them to withdraw their allegiance from such tyrannical matters, and to set up a new form of govern- ^f ment amongst themselves. This consisted in chusing two persons of quality, who were styled judges, and in whom the supreme power was vested. The two first, they say, were Don *Nugno Rasura* and Don *Layn Calvo*: the former of these was the son of Don *Nugno Belchides*, a man in years, of great experience, and of a mild and equitable temper: the latter younger, married to *Nuna Bella*, the daughter of his colleague, very brave and active. Don *Nugno*, therefore, was the legislator, and Don *Layn* the general of this new commonwealth ^t. They generally rendered justice together, seated on the same tribunal; and, as a proof of this, they shew the remains of what they call the judgment-seat at the village of *Bijudico*, two leagues from *Medina de Pomar*, as a decisive evidence of the matter of fact, asserting, that it was built for their use ^u. We are also told, that the laws by which their sentences were regulated made the contents of an antient volume, intitled, *El Fuero de Castilla*, which continued in force to the reign of Don *Alphonso* the Wise, by whom these laws were abo- ^v lished, and a new code introduced ^w. It is, however, admitted, that nothing farther is known of the transactions of these magistrates; how long they remained so, or who were

^m MORALES, MARIANA.

^p FERRERAS Historia de Espana, p. iv.

MARIANA, FERRERAS.

p. iii.

ⁿ Chron. var. antiq.

^o De reb. Hispan. lib. iv.

^s SAMPIR. Annal. reg. Hispan.

^u Chron. var. antiq.

^q RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. li.

^r Luc. Tudens. Chron.

^t RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan.

^v LUCE Tudensis Chronicon. VASMI Hispania Chronicon.

^a their immediate successors. The truth seems to be, that the name of the village, and the ruins of something like a tribunal, together with the darkness of these times, inspired some fertile imagination with this history, that the birth of him who was really the founder of an independent sovereignty in *Castile*, might appear sufficiently noble: and to leave the reader in as little doubt as may be upon this head, let us intreat his patience for so much more of this story as will bring us down to this illustrious person, and we shall then dismiss these fabulous relations, which, however, he will find have passed for very good history with some very great men, as indeed what would not pass under an easy natural dress, which *Mariana* * gives to every story he tells.

^b Don Gonzalez Nugno was the son of Don Nugno Rasura, and some say that he also be-
^c came one of the judges: but be that as it will, he is reported to have been a person of most extraordinary natural endowments, improved by more learning than in that age laymen usually acquired. He married Donna Ximena, the daughter of the count Nugno Fernandez, who was put to death by Don Ordogno, and who was also a lady of exemplary virtue; and a most consummate understanding. These excellent persons, having nothing so much at heart as the good of their country and the glory of the *Castilian* nation, bred up most of the young nobles of *Castile* in their own family; by which they acquired, as no doubt they well deserved, the universal esteem and affection of all ranks and degrees of people. This illustrious couple were the parents of that great hero we mentioned, Don Ferdinand Gonzalez, of whom we are now to speak, as of the real and indubitable founder of this principality, and whose actions were in themselves too great, and his character in all respects too noble, to stand in need of any assistance of this kind; which, as it ever does, only obscures what it should illustrate, and renders that doubtful and suspected that would be otherwise sufficiently conspicuous in its natural and proper point of light (C).

For, after all, it is morally certain, that no credit is to be given to this genealogy, but that it is infinitely more probable this great man was the son of Don Fernandez Gonzalez, lord of *Lara* in *Castile*, and who, from authentic records, appears to have been the founder of the monastery of *St. Peter de Alanca* ¹, from whom his title and estate descended to this son; who, by his excursions against the *Moors*, by his hospitable and generous way of living, by his courage in war, and conduct in peace, raised himself to such an extent of power, and to so high a reputation, that he married the infant Donna Sancha of *Navarre* ², and governed *Castile* in the same absolute manner almost as if he had been the legal master of it; but, notwithstanding this, he took care to preserve measures with the king of *Leon*, upon whom himself, as well as his predecessors, depended; though it is highly probable, that, as they increased in power, they endeavoured to make that yoke as light as they could; as on the other hand the great service they did, sometimes by making diversions, at others by joining their forces to the armies of *Leon*, made those monarchs less inclined to differ with them than otherwise they would have been. At the famous battle of *Simencas* ³ he was in the army of Don Ramiro, the second king of *Leon*, and had a large share in obtaining that glorious victory, notwithstanding that *Mariana* ^b and other writers affirm, he did not bring up his troops till after the battle was over, and that then pursuing the enemy with his forces fresh and unfatigued, he did prodigious execution. But it is sufficient to destroy the credit of all that laboured relation, that he makes him found the monastery of *St. Peter de Alanca* in consequence of this victory, and of a vow that he made before it; which monastery, as we remarked, was certainly founded many years before; and, as there is just reason to believe, by his father. However, by him, if any credit be due to the charters and privileges by them produced, it could never be founded.

^d In the following year he thought fit to disobey that monarch's orders, with respect to fortifying the frontier; and, as some writers say, entered into a confederacy against him with the *Mohammedans*; which is not at all probable, since we find that the count Ferdinand Gonzalez and the count Diego Nunez, were the next year reduced and brought to *Leon*, from whence the king sent them to two separate castles, and kept them some time in captivity; but at length, by the interposition of the nobility, and very probably of the king of *Navarre*, whose sister Don Ferdinand had married, he was set at liberty, reconciled to the king,

* Historia general de Espana, lib. viii. cap. ii.
 letan de reb. Hispan. lib. iv.
 Espana, lib. v.ii.

^y MORALES, FERRERAS.
^a RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. P. iii.

^z RODERIC TO-
^b Historia general de

(C) When we attribute these stories in a very particular manner to *Mariana* (4), it is by no means to be understood, that he is chargeable with the mention of them, but that the honour he did them, by affording

them a place in his history, has intitled them to a credit with modern historians; at which, without his assistance, they could never have arrived.

(4) Historia general de Espana, lib. viii. cap. 2.

and the prince Don *Ordogno* married to his daughter ^a. At this time there is nothing clearer, than that Don *Ferdinand* and Don *Diego* both were feudatories to the king of *Leon*; for had it been otherwise, no doubt but the king of *Navarre* would have sent them assistance, and prevented his brother-in-law's disgrace; but he was too great and too wise a prince to protect him from the just resentment of his sovereign, otherwise than by an interposition of good offices in his favour, which we see had the desired effect, and produced a reconciliation, at least for the present ^d.

Marries his daughter to the prince Don Ordogno, with whom he differed after his accession, which occasions his parting with his queen.

BUT, without all question, Don *Ferdinand* was inclined to render himself independent; and there is nothing more probable, than that the king, by marrying his son to Donna *Urraca*, the count's daughter, meant to divert him from that design, and to fix his and his successor's fidelity to princes that were of their own blood. Count *Ferdinand Gonzalez*, however, ^b was too great a politician to be governed by such a consideration; and therefore the king was no sooner dead, than he joined with his brother-in-law of *Navarre* to prescribe terms to Don *Ordogno*, who had married his daughter, and this with a view of making his brother Don *Sanchez* king of *Galicia*, by which the power of that monarchy being divided, he might, with safety, have set up for himself ^c. Yet when he saw that this scheme, though well contrived, was not easy to be executed, he did not care to run the hazard of a battle, though joined with the forces of *Navarre*; and this made a coldness between him and Don *Sanchez*, in whose favour he took or pretended at least to take up arms ^f. He bore also the insult offered him, by the sending back the queen of *Leon*, with great seeming patience, which was purely the effects of his policy, since it afterwards sufficiently appeared that he was sensible enough of the affront ^g. His interest governed him then, and indeed upon every other occasion: the great point he had in view was to render himself independent; and this he pursued indefatigably, till at last he attained it, as we shall shew in its proper place. But this character of him, founded on facts, renders some stories of him by *Mariana* altogether incredible (D).

A. D. 951.

Don Ferdinand procures the deposition of Don Sanchez, king of Leon, and marries his daughter to Don Ordogno the Wicked, who supplanted him.

HE pushed his dissimulation still farther; and, upon Don *Ordogno*'s making an irruption against the *Moors*, he likewise took a share in the war, and made a seeming diversion in the king's favour; though at the same time it answered a great purpose of his own; for the infidels had built a strong fort at *Corazo*, on the frontiers of his country, which was a great thorn in his sides, and which he took this opportunity to remove ^h. Some writers say; that ^d he gained at the same time a great victory over the infidels; but that seems not a little doubtful, or rather it is confounded with another victory, of which we shall speak hereafter. It is, however, certain, that he took and demolished the fortress of *Corazo*; and though by this he so apparently served his own turn, yet when, the year following, Don *Ordogno*, at the head of his numerous and victorious army, was on the point of entering *Castile*, he went boldly to that prince, pleaded the service he had done in the preceding campaign, and, by promising a steady adherence to his duty for the future, diverted that storm by which he must have been otherwise overwhelmed ⁱ: and when the *Moors*, in revenge of that action, invaded his territories, he demanded and received such assistance from Don *Ordogno*, as enabled him to gain a victory at *St. Stephen de Gormez* which intirely broke the force of the infidels, ^e and left him nothing to fear on that side for many years to come ^k. The king of *Leon*, he so much dreaded, dying soon after, he set on foot those intrigues against his brother and successor Don *Sanchez*, whose ally he had formerly been, as forced him to quit the throne,

A. D. 954.

^a LUCÆ Tudensis Chronicon. VASÆI Chronicon.

^e Chron. var. antiq.

VASÆI Chronicon.

^k LUCÆ Tudensis Chron. RODERIC Toletan Histor. Arabum.

^d RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. lib. iv.

^f RODERIC SANTI Hist. Hispan. P. iii.

^g LUCÆ Tudensis Chronicon.

ⁱ RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. lib. iv.

^h Chron. var. antiq.

(D) Instead of troubling the reader with those strange and improbable exploits which are attributed by *Mariana* (1), and those who have copied him, to this great man, we will content ourselves with transcribing a very judicious remark from *Ferreras*, which will give him more light than without his assistance we could have pretended to afford. The valiant actions of this brave man, says he (2), are so interlarded with fables and impostures, that it is very difficult to distinguish between the true and the false, as is acknowledged by *Sandoval*, with whom, in this point, all the critics agree. *Gonzales Arredondo* has written a history of this hero, which some persons, for want of judgment, have considered as containing a detail of facts; whereas all that he in-

tended was to afford proper instruction to a prince, under colour of writing the life of *Ferdinand Gonzalez*, which induced him to take the liberty of inserting therein whatever appeared requisite to inspire a monarch with heroic sentiments, in the same manner that *Xenophon* long ago composed his work of the education of *Cyrus*, as is well known to the learned. For this reason, continued he, I omit whatever is mentioned in that book that is not supported by such authorities as manifest the truth of the history. We now see the true source of many of those strange things that have been already related, and, it is also hoped, sufficient reason for our declining to insert any more, as we would willingly inform without fatiguing our readers (3).

(1) Roderic Toletan de rebus Hispanis, lib. v. c. 2. Mariana Historia general de España, lib. viii.

Ferreras Historia de España, p. iv. sect. x.

(2) Mendizábal, Noticias, y Juicio de los mas principales Hist. de España.

- a and retire for shelter into the territories of the king of *Navarre*¹. Yet not satisfied with this, he took part with Don *Ordogno* the Wicked, son to Don *Alphonso* the Blind, advanced him to the throne of *Leon*, and by that means restored his daughter to the title of queen^m. In the quarrel of this prince, the worst that ever sat upon the throne, he broke with his brother-in-law Don *Garcias* king of *Navarre*; and, being defeated and taken prisoner by him in the battle of *Aronia*, was carried by him to *Pampeluna*, where, it is highly probable, that monarch, in order to engage him to be quiet, prevailed upon his nephew Don *Sanchez*, king of *Leon*, to release him from the homage due to him in that quality; and having, by this means, provided in the best manner possible for the security and good correspondence of all the Christian powers, he, at the request of the counts of *Castile*, his sister, set the count Don *Ferdinand* at liberty, and sent him homeⁿ. A. D. 960.

- b ABOUT four years after he involved himself in a new war with the infidels, by fortifying *Sepulveda*; which so provoked *Albacan*, king of *Cordova*, that he sent *Mohammed*, his Alhagib, or vizir, who afterwards acquired the name of *Almanzor*, with a powerful army to demolish it^o. The count Don *Ferdinand*, knowing the extent of the place, suffered them to invest it, by which their army occupied so great a space of ground, that, by making a quick march, he fell upon them with an inferior body of troops with such impetuosity, that he forced the posts he attacked, divided one part of the army from the other, which made way for a total defeat, wherein they lost fifteen thousand men, and all their baggage^p. A. D. 965.
- c It is observed by *Ferreras*^q, as a circumstance subject to some doubt, that at this time the infidels were at peace with Don *Sanchez*, king of *Leon*, who notwithstanding took no umbrage at their invasion of *Castile*: from whence we may collect with certainty of what has been before advanced, that Don *Sanchez* had relinquished the sovereignty, and no longer considered count *Ferdinand Gonzalez* as his vassal; which is a much better reason for his conduct than that which, in most of the general histories of *Spain*, is very gravely asserted^r.

- d WE draw now towards the conclusion of this great man's life, who, as we have observed more than once, ought to be regarded as the true author and founder of this principality; and though it cannot be denied, that, as well in point of courage and military conduct as that kind of court-craft and cunning which too often obtains the name of policy, he was one of the most distinguished persons in his time, yet many of his actions were such as nothing but ambition could suggest; so nothing but a conscience rendered callous by a frequent repetition of crimes could have borne. As for instance, at the time he projected the deposition of Don *Sanchez*, king of *Leon*, amongst other great lords whom he sought to draw into a confederacy against that unfortunate prince, one was the count *de la Vela*, who seems to have possessed the little fruitful country of *Alava*, on the same terms that Don *Ferdinand Gonzalez* originally held his territories in *Castile*^s (E). The count, however, resisted all

¹ VASÆI Chronicon. Hispan. lib. iv.

^m RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iii.

ⁿ RODERIC Toletan de reb.

^o VASÆI Chron. RODERIC Toletan Histor. Arabum.

Chronicon. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iii.

^p LUCÆ Tudensis

Chronicon. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iii.

^q Historia de Espana, lib. viii.

^r MA-RIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^s RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iii. Chron. var. antiq.

(E) This little province, or county of *Alava*, has on the east the kingdom of *Navarre*, *Old Castile* on the south, and the country of *Biscay* on the north-west. It is in shape a long square, extending one way about 22 miles, and about 18 the other. At different times it has been accounted part of each of the countries before-mentioned; first of *Navarre*, on account of its being conquered from the *Moors* by Don *Sanchez*, with an intent to make it his frontier. As a part of *Biscay*, the kings of *Oviedo* and *Leon* claim to be lords paramount, as descendants from Don *Pedro*, duke of *Cantabria*, to whom the whole country belonged; and lastly, count *Ferdinand Gonzalez* acquired it at this time by conquest (1). The truth seems to be, that, with the assistance of their neighbours, the family of *la Vela* had induced the inhabitants to throw off the yoke of the infidels, and to live sometimes under the protection of the crown of *Navarre*, and sometimes under that of *Leon*. They seem to have been subjects of the last-mentioned power at the time that the old count *de la Vela* and his three sons were expelled by the count of *Castile*, to whom it is not impossible that Don *Ordogno* the Wicked, his son-in-law,

might transfer his right to this country by way of composition for the great assistance that he had given him (2). But be that as it will, there can be nothing clearer than that, under some pretence or other, the count Don *Ferdinand* actually added this rich country to his dominions. *Mariana* insinuates, that it was in resentment of several irruptions made by the family of *Vela* into *Castile* (3); which, if true, must have been in the reign of Don *Ordogno* the third, and by his orders, at the time of his repudiating Donna *Urraca* (4). This old count, taking shelter at *Cordova*, grew there into great intimacy with Don *Sanchez*, king of *Leon*, who was an exile as well as himself; and by the help of these unfortunate princes and their adherents, who were all determined enemies of the count of *Castile*, the infidels received so good intelligence of every thing in that country as rendered them infinitely more able to harass the count *Ferdinand* than they had ever been; in most of which excursions, such is the source of implacable hatred, the counts, at the head of their followers, came in conjunction with their new allies, and were the chief instruments of the mischiefs done by them on all occa-

(1) *Delices del Espagne*, par Don Juan Alvarez de Colmenar, vol. i. p. 93. *Espana*, p. iv. scz. x. lib. v.

(3) *Historia de Espana*, lib. viii.

(2) *Ferreras Historia de Espana*. (4) *Roderic Toletan de rebus Hispan.*

all his solicitations, and remained firm in the interests of Don *Sanchez*, even after he was a constrained to abandon his kingdom and to retire into *Navarre* ¹. The count Don *Ferdinand*, provoked at this, and at the same time perceiving how commodiously the country of *Alava* lay, if he could get it into his hands, resolved, as soon as Don *Ordugno* was placed on the throne of *Leon*, and had married his daughter, to make an expedition with all his forces against that excellent lord, and oblige him to pay for his loyalty no less a price than his whole dominions; in which, not without a great struggle, he prevailed, but could not get the person of the count into his power, who, with all his family, and the best part of his dependents, made their escape, and took refuge in the court of *Abderrabman*, king of *Cordova* ². He was there received and entertained in a manner suitable to his quality; and, at his intercession in succeeding times, most of those dreadful incursions were made that b sometimes reduced both *Leon* and *Castile* within a hair's-breadth of ruin ³. Notwithstanding this, and the repeated intercessions, as well of the kings of *Navarre* as of *Leon*, he never could be prevailed on to do that nobleman justice, but kept the county of *Alava* till the day of his death, which happened in the month of *July*, in the year of our Lord 970 ⁴; when he left his territory free in all respects, very much extended, and the frontier well fortified, and a great corps of intrepid and well disciplined troops, to his son, a prince of great hopes, and highly esteemed by his neighbours.

Don Garcia Fernandez succeeds his father, and is victorious over the Moors.

THE name of this young count was Don *Garcia Fernandez*, who, from the time he became possessed of his father's dominions, turned his thoughts intirely upon the improvement of the country, and to the emolument of its inhabitants; by which he deservedly raised a very c high reputation, and obtained not only the confidence of his own subjects, but of his neighbours ⁵. He seems to have passed the first seven years of his government in peace, owing chiefly to the age and infirmities of one king of *Cordova*, and to the indolent temper of another; but this last having made choice of *Mohammed Abenamir* for his prime minister, who was a man of great abilities, and of an active and martial disposition, he readily listened to the repeated applications of the count *de la Vela*, and set on foot a numerous army, commanded by *Orduan*, one of the most experienced officers in his service, in order to restore him to his dominions, with whom went the count in person and most of his partisans ⁶. As soon as count *Garcias* had intelligence of these formidable preparations, he strenuously solicited the assistance of Don *Ramiro* the third, then king of *Leon*, but without effect; for d that prince, being at peace with the *Moors*, refused to break with them upon his account. But his cousin Don *Sanchez Abarca*, king of *Navarre*, declared frankly in his favour, and began to arm immediately with the same zeal as if it had been in his own quarrel. *Orduan*, general of the *Moors*, entered *Castile* on the side of *Osma* and *St. Stephen Gormez*, wasting the country with fire and sword; but as soon as the troops of *Navarre* had joined Don *Garcia* he attacked them with so much vivacity, that they were quickly routed, and with the loss of a considerable body of men, as well as of their baggage, were constrained to make a precipitate retreat into the territories of *Cordova*, which gained count *Garcia Fernandez* great reputation ⁷.

Baffles the Moors in several invasions with inferior forces.

As the infidels were highly provoked by this defeat, they levied the next year an army e very far superior to that which had been beaten, and *Mohammed Abenamir*, surnamed afterwards *Almanzor*, took the resolution of commanding it in person ⁸. The count of *Castile* solicited, as before, both kings in his favour; but the one granted him none, and the other very small succours, under pretence that the former campaign had been very expensive ⁹. The count Don *Garcia*, therefore, found himself so much inferior to the enemy, that he durst not hazard a battle; yet he seemed often disposed to hazard it, and by marches and counter-marches harrassed the *Moors* so much, that their general was excessively provoked, and at length contented himself with besieging *St. Stephen de Gormez*. This place was so well fortified, and defended by so strong a garrison, that his army suffered exceedingly during the

A. D. 980.

¹ LUC. TUDENS. Chron.

² RODERIC Toletan Hist. Arabum.

³ ROD. Tolet. de reb. Hispan.

lib. iv.

⁴ VASÆI Chron.

⁵ MARIANA Historia general de Espana, l. viii. FERRERAS Historia

de Espana, p. iv. MAYERNE TURQUET Histoire general d'Espagne, lib. vii.

⁶ ROD. Tolet. Hist.

Arabum.

⁷ RODERIC SANTI Hist. Hispan. p. iii.

⁸ LUC. TUDENS. Chron. VASÆI Chron.

⁹ ROD. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. iv.

sions (5). At length years, infirmities, and vexations, absolutely broke the heart of the old count *de Vela*, but not before he had broke that of his enemy. For several historians say, and the fact is not at all improbable, that when, after all his labours, hazards, and victories, the great count of *Castile* saw his barrier destroyed, and his subjects in a manner ruined, by this unnatural con-

junction of Christians and *Moors* which he had brought upon himself, it affected him to such a degree, that he died rather of grief than any other disease (6). A dreadful example of the inconstancy of human prosperity, and the unexpected reverses of fortune, to which even the greatest politicians are always exposed!

(5) Lucæ Tudenfis Chronicon. Joan. Vasæi Hispaniæ Chronicon. Alphons. a Carthagena reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis.
(6) Mariana Historia general de Espana, lib. viii.

a siege; which induced him, when the place was taken, to put the garrison to the sword, the rather, because his forces were so much diminished and fatigued, that he found himself in no condition to undertake any thing farther, and was therefore obliged to defer the bloody vengeance he threatened to take till the next year ^c. The next campaign was, notwithstanding, less favourable to the infidels than the former, though Don *Garcia* had not a better army in the field; but his fortresses were so well provided, and the *Moors* had so little stomach to sieges, that, after moving up and down the open country which they ravaged, they found it expedient to retire; and the next year they either did nothing, or employed their arms elsewhere ^f. A. D. 981.

ABOUT four years after *Almanzor* made a new irruption into *Castile*, took *Sepulveda* after a long siege, and several other places; from whence we may conclude, though there is no mention made of it in the *Spanish* histories, that he gained some advantage over the count Don *Garcia*, who otherwise would not have been a tame spectator of the miseries his people felt ^g. The resolution taken by the *Moors* next year to act with all their forces against the king of *Leon* procured the *Castilians* some recess, which the count employed in repairing his fortresses, and recruiting his troops. Three years after *Almanzor* made a new invasion, and brought with him the sons of the count *de la Vela* ^h. Don *Garcia* was now assisted by the kings of *Leon* and *Navarre*, but not in any proportion to the number of his enemies, who besieged and took *Alienca*; which, however, put an end to their progress for that year ⁱ. The next was rather more unfortunate; for the count having but a very small army in the field, they ravaged and destroyed the country at their pleasure, but without undertaking any siege. The year following *Almanzor* invaded *Castile* again, and, after endeavouring to no purpose to force Don *Garcia* to a battle, he, in the month of *August*, besieged and took *Osma*, after a long resistance ^k. This war was in a good measure suspended for the three following years; during which, however, the count Don *Garcia* was exceedingly perplexed with some disputes that arose between him and his cousin Don *Sanchez*, king of *Navarre*, which ended not but with the death of the latter. A. D. 986. 989. 990. 991.

WHEN the infidels renewed the war, they made a greater impression upon *Castile* than they had ever done, and not only took but garrisoned *Corugna* and *St. Stephen de Gormez*, which they held for several years ^l; and it is highly probable that they might have pushed their conquests much farther, if they had not, at this time, meditated the destruction of *Leon*, which they effected soon after. It was the loss and ruin of that important place that saved the Christians in *Spain* from being undone, by opening their eyes to the necessity of uniting, and produced that league between the kings of *Leon* and *Navarre* and the count of *Castile*. This first gave a check to the arms of the infidels, by the glorious victory ^m obtained over them in the plains of *Osma*, where all the three princes acted in person, and where, after the *Moors* were defeated, the pursuit was committed to the count of *Castile*, who executed it with such vigour, as drew upon him the particular resentment of the infidels. As soon as they were able to gather another army, they resolved to employ it solely against his dominions; but Don *Bermudo*, king of *Leon*, dying in the interim, engaged them to alter their intention, and to make an irruption into that kingdom, where the *Moorish* army, under the command of *Abdilmelech*, was thoroughly and shamefully beaten by the confederates, commanded by Don *Garcia*, count of *Castile* ⁿ. The year following died Don *Garcias*, king of *Navarre*, and was succeeded by Don *Sanchez*, afterwards surnamed the Great; and the same year Don *Garcia*, count of *Castile*, consented that the sons of the count *de la Vela* should be restored to their patrimony, and that a general pardon should be granted to them and all their adherents (F). A. D. 999. 1000.

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^c Chron. var. antiq. ^f Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.
Chron. ^l RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. lib. iv.
var. antiq. ^m LUC. TUDENS. Chron. VASÆI Chron.

^g LUC. TUDENS. Chron. ^h VASÆI
ⁱ ROD. Tolet. Hist. Arabum. ^j Chron.
ⁿ ROD. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

(F) The propensity of the *Spanish* writers to give place in their general histories unto the fictions contrived to raise the lustre of particular families, has diverted them from such enquiries as would have been of infinitely more use: so that it is difficult to say whether they deserve more blame for giving place to feigned history, or for omitting such circumstances as might have illustrated what is true (1). According to *Mariana's* account, there was a kind of war between *Leon* and *Castile* during the best part of Don *Garcia's* administration, which he infers from the *Moors* continuing to infest *Castile*, without any diversion made, or any opposi-

tion given, by the kings of *Leon* (2). This, however, seems to be carrying things too far, and yet there is a ground of truth at bottom: Don *Sanchez*, king of *Leon*, and his son, were under such obligations to the king of *Cordova* as would not permit them to act against the *Moors*, on account of their incursions into *Castile*, which was now become an independent principality, which was a great misfortune to Don *Garcia*. On the other hand, when the *Moors* attacked the kingdom of *Leon*, the people of *Castile* were so enfeebled by the long war which they had sustained, that they were in no condition to yield assistance to their neighbours, which

(1) *Mondéjar Noticia y Juicio de los mas principales Historiadores de Espana. Espana, lib. viii.*

(2) *Historia general de*

His son raises
an insurrection
against him,
but is reduced
and pardoned.
A. D. 1001.

THE young king of *Navarre* being arrived at an age in which it was fit for him to marry, ^a cast his eyes upon Donna *Elvira*, the daughter of Don *Sanchez*, and the grand-daughter of Don *Garcia*, count of *Castile*, whom he soon after demanded in marriage by his embassadors, to whom the young lady being readily delivered, the marriage was soon after solemnized with great splendor at *Pampeluna* ^p. The great joy occasioned by this event, which was indeed very favourable to the Christian cause, was very soon damped by the ill conduct of this young queen's father, who, listening to the advice of count *Garcia Gomez*, and some other flatterers, began to form cabals against his parent and his prince. The count Don *Garcia* laboured all that was in his power to convince his son of the folly of his proceeding, but to no purpose, for the prince was as obstinate as he was undutiful: so that at length the count of *Castile*, who was grown old in fighting against the infidels, was obliged once more to draw his sword, ^b in order to chastise his son ^q. Don *Sanchez* pushed things to extremities, and would not suffer their differences to be any other way terminated than by a battle, in which, it is on all hands agreed, he was thoroughly beaten ^r; and though *Mariana* ^s and some other historians say, that he kept up the contest notwithstanding till his father's death, yet authors ^t, who lived nearer these times, assert, that he was wise enough to submit to ask pardon of Don *Garcia*, and not only to receive it, but by signal marks of repentance, and a sincere return to his duty, effaced the very memory of his crime, which delivered the *Castilians* in time from a civil war, that might otherwise have rendered them an easy prey to the infidels, who, as it was very natural, began their preparations to invade *Castile* on the first news of this dispute.

1003.

At length
taken prisoner
by the Moors,
and dies of his
wounds.

ABDERAMA succeeded his brother *Abdilmelech* in the post of general, or commander in chief of the forces of *Cordova*; and being exceedingly desirous to signalize his entrance on that great office, by revenging his father's death and his brother's disgrace, he assembled a very numerous army, with which he invaded *Castile* ^u; and, as several of the best fortresses had been ruined, and two of them were still in the hands of the *Moors*, there seemed to be nothing more easy, than with superior forces to ruin and destroy the country, if not to make an absolute conquest. The count Don *Garcia* perceiving the enemy's design, and knowing no other way to preserve his country from ruin, assembled as many troops as he could, and with them marched to give the enemy battle. The *Moors*, who looked upon this step as very favourable to their design, did not at all decline an engagement; so that, ^d on the 28th of *July*, an action ensued between the towns of *Alocer* and *Berlanga*, in which the *Castilians* had at first the advantage ^w; but the count Don *Garcia*, penetrating at the head of his cavalry too far, was surrounded by the *Moors* before his infantry could come up, and most of his troops being killed, and himself dangerously wounded, was taken prisoner ^x; after which his army made a precipitate retreat: but by the desperate charge made at the beginning, the infidels found themselves so much weakened, that, except burning some of the places that were nearest them, they did nothing more that campaign. As for the gallant Don *Garcia*, he died, partly of his wounds, and partly of grief, two days after the loss of his liberty and of the battle; that is, on the 30th of *July*, in the year of our Lord 1005, and when he had governed *Castile* thirty-five years complete ^y. The *Moorish* general *Abderama* sent his body in triumph to *Cordova*, from whence, being redeemed for a sum of money, it was brought back into his own dominions, and buried in the monastery of *St. Peter de Cerdagna*, universally regretted by his subjects, and by the Christians in general ^z. ^e

^p RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iii.
^q Historia general de Espana, lib. viii.
^u RODERIC Toletan, Hist. Arabum.
Hist. Hispan. p. iii.

^q LUCÆ Tudensis Chronicon.

^r Chron. var. antiq.

^s VASÆI Chron. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iii.

^w LUCÆ Tudensis Chronicon.

^x RODERIC SANTII

^z RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. p. iv.

brought destruction upon the people of *Leon*; but at length all the Christian princes opened their eyes, and saw, what they might have seen long before, that the distress of one would very quickly become the destruction of all, and they united but just time enough to prevent it (3). All these mischiefs were the effects of Don *Ferdinand Gonzalez's* ambition and false politics; and therefore his son very wisely consented to recal the family of *Vela*, who, during their exile, had sufficiently revenged the injury done them of despoiling them of

their county of *Alava* (4); to which it is doubtful whether they were now restored. But, however, the bringing back them and their partisans from the *Moors* proved of great consequence to all the Christian powers (5), who, from the beginning of the eleventh century, began to recover that superiority which they had lost for many years; and thus we have taken the liberty, by conjectures, to remove, in some measure, that obscurity in which this period is involved (6).

(3) Lucæ Tudensis Chronicon. Roderic Toletan de reb. Hispan. lib. v. p. iv. sec. x. (5) Mariana, Mayerne Turquet, Ferreras. las antiquidades del Reyno de Navarre, lib. ii. c. viii.

(4) Ferreras Historia de Espana. (6) P. Moret investigaciones historicas de

^a DON SANCHEZ GARCIAS succeeded his father^a, the ransom of whose body was the first act of his administration; and, as soon as he had paid his last devours to it, he applied himself with inexpressible diligence to recruit his forces, that he might be in a condition to revenge his death upon the infidels. Several accidents contributed to facilitate his design; his neighbours, the kings of *Leon* and *Navarre*, sent him considerable succours; multitudes of his own people, being afraid to till their lands, betook themselves to arms; and before he could take the field, a civil war broke out in *Cordova*^b. Don Sanchez, finding his army more numerous, and the conjuncture more favourable, than he expected, disposed all things very wisely, in order to make the most of his advantage; for first he blocked up the *Moorish* garrisons in his own country, that they might give his subjects no disturbance in his absence, and then passing ^b the mountains that separate the two *Castiles* with the rest of his troops, he fell into the open country behind them, and having burnt three or four small places, he thereby so terrified the inhabitants of all the great cities and towns, that they immediately sent deputies to his camp, even from places at a great distance, and agreed to deliver him wine, provisions, and money; upon such terms as he thought fit to prescribe. Having thus spread terror throughout all the enemy's dominions, and fully indemnified his subjects for their want of a harvest that year, he repassed the mountains in the middle of autumn with his army, covered with glory and laden with riches^c.

His good fortune did not end here. Those who had revolted at *Cordova* from *Almahadi*, Zuleiman, ^c who then bore the title of king, could not agree amongst themselves whom they should place upon the throne in his stead; and at length dividing in favour of two persons, they came immediately to an action, in order to decide which of these competitors they should assist to ^d throne the reigning prince. The name of him whose adherents were victorious in this action was *Zuleiman*^d, who becoming master of the person of his rival, kept him closely confined; but this success, which freed him from one opponent, rendered him much less able to contend with the other; for, notwithstanding those who revolted at first were strong enough to depose *Almahadi*, if they could have agreed, yet the remains of both parties found themselves manifestly too weak^e. In this situation *Zuleiman* very wisely drew off his forces from the neighbourhood of the capital, that they might be less liable to be debauched; and having seized upon certain places, where for the present they might remain in safety, he sent his ^d ambassadors to count Don Sanchez, to propose a firm and constant alliance between them, promising him great advantages, if, by his assistance, a passage could be opened to the throne of *Cordova*, and accompanied these offers with presents of great value^f.

THE count of *Castile* received these ambassadors kindly; and having maturely weighed what they proposed, accepted the offers that were made him, and assured *Zuleiman*, that he would join him with his troops as soon as the season would permit them to take the field. Accordingly he not only assembled his own forces, but procured auxiliaries from the kings of *Leon* and *Navarre*, who saw with great pleasure so fair an opportunity offer of employing the *Moors* in the service of the Christians, and in weakening themselves. He passed the mountains with as good an army as he had led in his last expedition, and in conjunction with *Zuleiman*, who ^e received him with great joy, advanced directly towards *Cordova*^e. *Almahadi* with the assistance of his Alhagib *Albamer*, had drawn together a very numerous body of troops, with which he proposed to defend the city, which, as it was extremely well fortified, he looked upon as very practicable, even if the enemy had been stronger they were; but, upon the approach of the confederates, *Albamer*, who had the confidence of the troops more than his master, formed a resolution of marching out and giving them battle, in which he persisted, notwithstanding all the reasons *Almahadi* could offer. This design he executed with the same spirit in which it was formed, but had the misfortune, notwithstanding, to be defeated by the confederates, and constrained to retire into another part of the kingdom, while they continued their march and invested *Cordova*, into the suburbs of which the count of *Castile* entered with his forces, ^f whom he enriched with the plunder^f. *Almahadi* found it impossible to defend himself, and therefore made his escape^g; upon which *Zuleiman* was received without opposition, who, rewarding the count of *Castile* and his forces even beyond their expectation, sent them home perfectly satisfied, and recommended to them the reduction of *Albamer*, who had withdrawn himself to the frontiers of *Castile*^h. A. D. 1008.

AT the return of the count Don Sanchez, his consort was delivered of a son^m, who afterwards succeeded his father in his dominions. The next campaign the count made himself master of the fortress of *Alienca*, which was in the hands of *Albamer*. Having dismantled it, he ravaged the rest of that country, and then returned into his own dominions, being perhaps

^a MARIANA, Historia general de Espana, lib. viii.

^b RODERIC Toletan. Hist. Arabum.

^c LUC.

Tudenf. Chron. VASÆI Chron.

^d ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iii.

^e LUCÆ Tudenf.

Chron.

^f ROD. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

^g Chron. var. antiq.

^h VASÆI Chronicon.

ⁱ ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispana, P. iii.

^k RODERIC Toletan. de rebus Hispan. lib. iv.

^l ROD.

Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

^m VASÆI Chron.

which he obtains great advantages.

A. D. 1013.

Assists him in besieging and taking Toledo.

1015.

unwilling to march again to the assistance of *Zuleiman*, because the count of *Barcelona*, and other Christian lords, had engaged themselves on the part of his competitor, and he was unwilling to see Christians destroy each other in fighting the battles of the *Moors*^a. For want of his assistance *Zuleiman* was dethroned and expelled, which constrained him to retire into *Africa*; and this, in process of time, afforded *Hisssem*, the grandson of *Abderrahman*, who was the lawful monarch of *Cordova*, and had been long kept in prison by different usurpers, an opportunity to mount the throne^b. He found, however, very great difficulty to keep possession of it; for *Abdalla*, the son of *Almahadi*, who perished in these troubles, had got possession of *Toledo*, where he assumed the title of king^c. On the other hand *Zuleiman*, returned from *Africa*, and bringing with him considerable reinforcements, created new disturbances, and sent a fresh embassy to the count of *Castile* to demand his assistance once more. But Don *Sanchez*, who made no scruple of assisting one tyrant against another, made a scruple of arming against *Hisssem*, whom he took to be a lawful prince^d. He therefore sent an agent to *Cordova*, to propose to the king, that, if he would order the *Moorish* garrison to evacuate *St. Stephen de Gormez*, *Osma*, *Corugna*, and other places, he would become his firm ally, and assist him with all his troops. Upon mature deliberation *Hisssem* accepted this offer; in consequence of which the count of *Castile* began to levy troops. *Hisssem*, to shew his confidence in the faith of that prince, honestly performed his part of the agreement, and, having given up to him all the places that he demanded, summoned the count of *Castile* to the performance of his promise^e.

DON SANCHEZ, equally ready to do what he had stipulated, marched, at the request of his ally, to *Toledo*, where the troops of *Hisssem* were already arrived; and, as soon as they had notice of the count's approach, invested the place. Don *Sanchez*, perceiving it to be very large and well fortified, and being also informed that it was very populous, advised the *Moors* to blockade it very strictly, as not only the surest but the shortest method of becoming masters of it. They took his advice, and had no reason to repent it; for in a few days the inhabitants, finding themselves oppressed by famine, seized upon the person of him whom they had stiled their prince, and surrendered the place^f. After which the count of *Castile*, having fully made good what he promised, returned again into his own dominions. The civil war still continued between *Hisssem* and *Zuleiman*, but it does not appear that the count of *Castile* took any father share therein on either side, but remained quiet in his own territories, where he governed his subjects with great equity and justice. Yet a body of *Moors*, supposed to belong to the garrison of *Saragossa*, made an irruption into his country, reduced *Cerdagna*, and put the inhabitants there to the sword; upon which Don *Sanchez* put himself in arms; but found they had quitted his dominions, and retired to a place of safety, whither he held it improper to follow them^g (G).

^a RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispaniæ, P. iii. var. antiq.
Chron. VASÆI Chron.

^b LUC. Tudens. Chron.

^c ROD. Toletan. Hist. Arabum.

^d RODERIC Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

^e ROD. Toletan. Hist. Arabum.

^f Chron.

^g LUC. Tudens.

(G) Among other privileges which this famous and fortunate count of *Castile* granted to his nobility, there is one that deserves to be particularly remembered, which is thus represented by *Mariana*; all the lords of that country, small and great, were obliged, as vassals to their count, to march, with such numbers of men as they could raise, whenever he summoned them to attend him in the field, without expecting any other recompence or satisfaction than what they were able to carve out for themselves at the expence of the enemy. This service, it is said, he took away, and engaged for himself and his successors, that they should have a certain consideration, proportionable to the number of men that each of them commanded, and the length of the campaign. Of the truth of this the *French* translator of *Mariana* seems to doubt, and we find not a word of it in *Ferreras*. As the military tenures in all the *Gothic* governments were much the same, it is not easy to conceive either how or why he should attempt to change them; more especially as there is nothing said of any equivalent, or of the method by which he was to raise that pay, which it is said he undertook to give them. Besides, it does not appear that he was ever in any

such circumstances as could render it advisable or expedient for him to do this; or, indeed, that, upon the whole, such a privilege would have been advantageous to his nobility, since they were as much interested as he in the defence of their country, and had therefore no reason to desire, that the only effectual means of defending it should be laid aside. It is therefore highly probable, that the case was no more than this: He made two expeditions out of his own dominions as an auxiliary to *Moorish* princes; and it is very possible, as well as very reasonable, that he might exempt his nobility from attending him in such expeditions at their own expence, and engage to indemnify them out of the recompence or subsidy that he was to receive. It may indeed be said, that, while they were thus employed, they were in the service of their country as well as of their prince; but, at the same time, this was a kind of service to which they were not subjected by their tenures; and therefore it is very likely he would have found it difficult to comply with his engagements to the king of *Cordova*, if he had not by this concession cut off all grounds of dispute, and made these foreign expeditions a common concern (7).

(7) *Jcannis Vasæi Hispaniæ Chronicon. Mariana Historia general de Espana, lib. viii. Petri Paulini de officiis regni Gothorum, tit. Dux & Comes. Ferreras Historia de Espana, p. v. sect. xi.*

a ABOUT this time Don Sanchez found himself under an absolute necessity of doing what he took to be an act of justice. The three sons of the count *de Vela* had, from the time of their return, been treated with great kindness and respect, and the count of *Castile* had pushed this so far, as to make choice of the eldest, whose name was Don Roderic *de Vela*, to be the godfather of his son and heir apparent^u. But whether these lords still retained their old resentment, or whether it proceeded from the natural fierceness of their disposition, so it was, that they behaved in such a manner to the *Castilians*, that the count received perpetual complaints of their excesses, which in the end provoked him to such a degree, that, forgetting how fatal their former exile had been to all the Christians in *Spain*, he drove them a second time out of his dominions^w. Upon this Don *Alonso* the fifth, then king of *Leon*, apprehensive of the ill consequences that might ensue, if they should again take shelter among the infidels, offered them a retreat in his dominions, and actually gave them lands sufficient for their subsistence, at the foot of the mountains, with which for the present they seemed to be well contented^x; but, as the reader hath seen in another place, these were very far from being the real sentiments, as clearly appeared after the death of the count Don Sanchez, when an opportunity offered of glutting their resentment by the murder of his son, and by the extinction of the male heirs of the counts of *Castile*. But at present our business is to continue the thread of our history, by relating the remaining achievements of the count Don Sanchez.

b THE count Don Sanchez, having now an interval of peace, took great pains in correcting whatever errors had crept into his government during those stirring times, when justice is, generally speaking, silent. He repaired those fortresses that were proper to make a part of his frontier, and demolished others, that, either through an irruption of the *Moors*, or insurrections at home, might have proved nuisances of his dominions. He took this opportunity also to regulate with the king of *Navarre* the boundaries of their respective territories, to prevent any disputes in succeeding times between their descendants^y. He likewise facilitated the endeavours of Don *Alonso*, king of *Castile*, in repairing the places ruined by the *Moors*, and more especially in restoring such churches and convents as they had demolished^z. Actions that shew him to have been a wise, active, and magnanimous prince, and therefore not likely to have proceeded with so much rigour, as is reported, against his mother. However, as the fact is related by more than one historian^a, and is represented as having given rise to more than one custom that still remains in general use in this country, it is not fit to hide it from the reader's knowledge, however improbable it may appear, as indeed there is hardly any thing that can wear an aspect more fabulous, or more incredible.

c THE countess dowager of *Castile*, it is said, forgetting her birth, her honour, and her religion, cast her eyes upon a *Moorish* lord, with an inclination to have married him; but being apprehensive that this would have been displeasing to her son, who might have considered such a marriage as deriving discredit on himself, she resolved to remove that obstacle to the gratification of her passion by depriving him of life. With this view she prepared a violent poison, which she put into his drink, and which she afterwards offered him with her own hands; but the count, having received information of this black design, first desired, and then obliged her to drink it herself, and thereby turned the effect of this cruel project upon its author. But, says *Mariana*^b, how criminal soever the countess might be, her death, nevertheless, tarnished the reputation of her son, because gentler means might have been used to escape the intended evil, to punish the countess, and to put it out of her power to make any future attempts of the like kind. Some authors assert, that from hence arose the practice in *Spain* of the ladies drinking first^c. It is also alleged, that the count himself, regretting the severity, built the noble monastery of *Ona* as an expiation of his crime. But, with much greater probability, others assert, that it was erected to gratify the desire of one of his daughters, who was inclined to quit the world, and became the abbess of this new foundation^d.

d As the civil wars amongst the infidels still continued, when the count had adjusted all his domestic concerns, he was willing not to let slip so favourable an opportunity of extending his dominions; and therefore taking the field, with a complete corps of well disciplined troops, he presented himself before *Penafiel*, which, after a short siege, he reduced. After taking *Ma-deruelo* and *Montijo*, he at length invested *Sepulveda*, a place strong by nature, and even then somewhat assisted by art, with a good garrison, which enabled it to make a great resistance; however, being a place of consequence, a mark of triumph in the infidels, a thorn in the sides of his subjects, he pushed it so vigorously, that at length it fell into his hands^e, which enabled him to clear all that neighbourhood of the *Moors*, and to take such precautions as might, for

^u ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. P. iii.^w Chron. var. antiq.^x LUC. Tudensis Chronicon.

VASÆI Chron.

^y RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. P. iii.^z RODERIC Toletan. de Rebus

Hispan. lib. iv.

^a Chron. var. antiq.^b Historia general de Espana, l. viii.^c Chron.

var. antiq.

^d LUCÆ Tudensis Chronicon, VASÆI Chron.^e RODERIC TOLETAN Hist.

Arabum.

the future, put it out of their power to harass his subjects as in times past. He seems to have been thus employed, when he was seized with that distemper which brought him to the grave, to the great regret of his subjects, who loved him as he deserved, since few princes have been either more fortunate or more indulgent. He deceased ^f February the fifth, in the year of our Lord 1022. *Mariana* ^g, and indeed some other writers, place his death six years lower, but without any great appearance of reason, because it is not reconcileable to the current even of their own narrations. His body was interred in the monastery of *Ona* (H) which he founded, and, at the time of his decease, he left behind him four children, Don *Garcias Sanchez* his successor, and three daughters, Donna *Nugna Elvira*, who married Don *Sanchez* king of *Navarre*, Donna *Urraca Theresa*, who became afterwards the consort of the king of *Leon*, and Donna *Frigida*, who was abbess of the monastery before-mentioned ^h.

Don Garcias Sanchez succeeds his father and proves a prince of vast hopes.

Don *Garcias Sanchez* ⁱ succeeded his father under the tuition of Donna *Elvira* his mother, and the protection of Don *Sanchez*, king of *Navarre*, his uncle. There is a general concurrence of the *Spanish* writers ^k to raise this young prince into a kind of miracle, with respect both to his person and his parts, but at the same time they are very much divided about his years, since most of them make him but nine, whereas we, following the other computation, esteem him then to have been about fourteen; the rather, because we find, that, on the 25th of May 1025, his mother died ^l, and recommended him to the care of Don *Sanchez*, king of *Navarre*, who very soon after thought of marrying him. Besides, the person and the parts of a child of nine years old, though they may raise hopes, hardly excite admiration; whereas at fourteen, if he was really of such a superior genius, there is nothing absurd in supposing, that it might be discerned and distinguished even by foreigners as well as his own subjects; and as this was actually the case, it serves greatly to fortify that notion. However, notwithstanding the pregnancy of his parts, and the respect due to his father's memory, there wanted not some among his subjects, who were willing to take the advantage of his youth, and to disturb the peace of his dominions. The chief of these was Don *Ferdinand Gutierrez*, who made himself master of the castle of *Moncon*, and is reported to have had some connection with the infidels ^m.

Is assassinated by the counts Roderic, Diego, and Inigo de la Vela, at Leon.

But Don *Sanchez*, king of *Navarre*, under colour of providing a proper match for his nephew, made a tour into *Castile*, and brought with him, by way of escorte, a considerable number of troops, with which, and the forces about the person of Don *Garcias*, he quickly reduced Don *Ferdinand*, and some other great men, to reason ⁿ. This and some other affairs requiring his presence, Don *Garcias*, who was inclined to shew his passion for the princess Donna *Sancha*, proceeded, with a few *Castilian* noblemen that were about him, to *Leon*, which circumstance is omitted by *Ferreras*, though there is nothing in it improbable, and it seems to account for the absence of Don *Bermudo* from his capital, which could hardly have happened, if his intended brother-in-law had not arrived there before he was expected. This eagerness of his seems also to confirm our opinion as to his age, since it is natural enough in a young man of twenty, but not altogether so probable of a boy of fourteen. Upon his entrance into the kingdom of *Leon*, the three counts of the family of *Vela* made great demon-

^f RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. P. iii.

Tudensis Chronicon, VASÆI Chronicon.

Historia de Espana, P. iv. MAYERNE TURQUET, Histoire generale d'Espagne, lib. vii.

var. antiq. ⁱ ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispana, P. iii.

Tudens. Chron. VASÆI Hispaniæ Chron.

^g Histoire general de Espana, lib. viii.

^h LUC. ⁱ MARIANA, Historia general de Espana, lib. viii. FERR.

^k Chron.

^m ROD. Toletan. Hist. Arabum.

ⁿ LUC.

(H) This monastery of *Ona*, in which Don *Sanchez* and his family are interred, was of his own foundation, at the desire of his daughter Donna *Frigida*, who chose to quit the world and to embrace a monastic life, in the year of our Lord 1011, that is, about seven years after the decease of his father (5). Some historians indeed are very positive that he founded this religious house upon a very different occasion, and with an intention to atone for the putting of his mother to death, a circumstance capable of putting that fact also out of doubt; for, if that monastery was not built till the time before mentioned, and that he had a daughter of age to take the veil, we cannot but believe him near forty years of age, which does not very well agree with the wantonness ascribed to his mother, who, losing all the names by which she was called in other parts of the history, is now said to have no other name than

Ona (6). The tomb of the count is near the high altar; not far from it stands that of his own wife Donna *Urraca*, who died three years after him (7); and, at no great distance, that of his son Don *Garcia*, whom the monumental inscription is said to make no more than thirteen (8); which agrees but very indifferently with the facts mentioned of him in history, and yet is far more reconcileable to them than the computation of a *French* historian, who makes him but nine (9). It must be acknowledged, that even the best historians differ about the year in which Don *Sanchez* died, (1), and about the time that his son survived him; but the chronology of *Ferreras* being probable, free from all absurdity, and at least as well supported as any other, we thought ourselves obliged to follow it for the sake of perspicuity (2).

(5) P. Marca, in Appendice.

Ferreras Historia de Espana, p. v. scilicet xi.

(1) Roder. Tolet. de rebus Hispan. de Espana, p. v. scilicet xi.

(6) Mariana, Historia general de Espana, lib. viii. cap. 11.

(8) Morales, Salazar.

(9) P. Orleans, Revolutions de

(2) Hist.

- a strations of joy ; which had nothing in it strange, if we consider, that the eldest of them was his godfather, and might very well pretend an inclination to be reconciled to make his peace with a prince, whose father he had acknowledged for his sovereign °. This will still be the more probable, if what some historians say be true, that he gained the opportunity of stabbing him, by pretending to kneel to kiss his hand °. The circumstances of the murder we have given before, on account of its being committed at *Leon* ; but we are constrained to mention it here again, as this unfortunate prince was the last count of *Castile* of his race. His corpse was first interred in the church of *St. John* at *Leon*, where a tomb was erected to his memory, but it was afterwards removed to the monastery of *Ona*, where there is both a tomb and an inscription to his honour °.
- b Don *Sanchez*, king of *Navarre*, who had married his elder sister, took possession of *Castile* *Don Sanchez, king of Navarre, inherits Castile, and revenges Don Garcias's death.* in her right ° (1). The reader will perceive, from what has been related, the reason why the assassins of Don *Garcias* made choice of the castle of *Moncon* for their retreat, because it belonged of right to Don *Ferdinand Gutierrez*, who might be inclined, upon the death of the count, to excite new troubles ; and lying near the territories of the *Moors*, might afford them an opportunity of contributing by their assistance to raise new troubles °. In all probability this scheme might have succeeded, if Don *Sanchez* had been in his own kingdom, and the malecontents in *Castile* more at liberty ; but, as it was, the king presently invested the castle, and took it, before either the discontented *Castilians* or the *Moors* had any time to discover their inclinations. However, his vigour in pursuing, and his severity in punishing, the counts of *la Vela* and their adherents, of whom not one escaped, could not but be pleasing to the bulk of the *Castilians*, who retained a just respect for the memory of their young prince and his father, and might very probably contribute to that facility with which he was admitted to the possession of that noble country, in which it does not appear that he met with the least opposition °.
- c Don *Sanchez*, king of *Navarre*, and count of *Castile* in his wife's right, was very justly sur- *Suspected of forming ambitious views soon after upon the kingdom of Leon.* named the great °, since his prudence was at all times and in all respects equal to his fortune. He was advanced in years when he made this great acquisition ; and, that he might govern both countries with equal convenience, he fixed on the pleasant town of *Najara* ° in *Old Castile*, but near the frontiers of *Navarre*, for the place of his residence, and applied himself with diligence to conciliate the love and esteem of his new subjects ; though *Mariana* ° alleges, that his heart was intirely taken up with his ambition, and that, from the moment he had joined *Castile* to *Navarre*, he had in his intention the annexing *Leon*, *Galicia*, and *Asturias*, likewise ; and to this alone he attributes the war between him and Don *Bermudo* III. ; whereas *Ferreras* ° and other writers seem to lay the blame of that affair upon the young king of *Leon*. In all probability the want of proper lights on both sides has occasioned this difference ; though, to say the truth, probability seems rather to be on the side of *Mariana*. The source of that war
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° RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. lib. iv.

° Chron. var. antiq.

° RODERIC SANTII

Hist. Hispan. p. iii.

° ALFONSI CARTHAGENA reg. Hisp.

Anacephalæosis FRANCISCI TARA-

PHÆ de reg. Hispaniæ.

° RODERIC Toletan Hist. Arabum.

° LUC. Tudens. Chronicon.

° Chron. var. antiq.

° RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iii.

° Historia general de Espana,

lib. viii.

° Historia de Espana, P. iv.

(1) As far as any thing can be known with certainty in relation to the antient form of government in those states, that rose out of the ruins of the old Gothic monarchy, the rule in *Castile* was that of succession. The counts were originally equal ; and what were their private estates in the days of king *Roderic*, became so many lordships or principalities, when themselves and their vassals defended them with their swords against the *Moors* (1). It is also clear from their histories, if any thing is so, that these lordships descended to heirs female (2). As to the pre-eminence of this family, not to lay any weight on the fabulous history, it arose plainly from the active ambition of Don *Ferdinand Gonzalez*, who, as count of *Castile*, rendered himself independent ; and the rest of the lords by assisting, or at least acquiescing, under what he did, and which he could not have done without them, from being his equals, became his vassals (3). In his line the succession was without all doubt hereditary ; and in this light the claim of the king of *Navarre*, in right of his wife, the

eldest daughter of Don *Sanchez*, the grand daughter of Don *Ferdinand Gonzalez*, and the sister of the young count *Garcias*, was regular and just (4). It may be, however, that the troops he had brought with him into *Castile* might contribute to prevent any opposition on the part of the nobles, and that signal severity with which he had punished the assassins of their late prince, recommended him highly to the people (5). It is however asserted, that his queen, Donna *Nugna*, insisted that she had a power to dispose of this country which she brought, in favour of which of her sons she pleased (6) ; and it was in virtue of this, that it was given to Don *Ferdinand* ; but as to the motives upon which it was thus bestowed, as derived from the story told in the text, we ought to consider them as false and feigned, and such as were never heard of till above one hundred years after the decease of that great princess, whose memory has been aspersed by them, when, in fact, she was governed in her choice merely by her maternal affection (7).

(1) See the remarks of *Mariana* on this subject at the opening of the eighth book of his history.

(2) Roderic

Toletan, Lucæ Tudensis Chron. Rod. Santii Hist.

(3) Mariana Historia general de Espana, lib. viii.

(4) Hist.

generale d'Espagne, par Mayerne Turquet, lib. v.

(5) Mariana, Ferreras, Vayrac.

(6) Chron.

var. antiq.

(7) Compare Mariana's account with the reasoning of P. Moret.

was the king of *Navarre's* ordering the city of *Valentia* to be rebuilt, on account of a miracle ^a which happened to him near that place; for as he was hunting the wild boar, the beast ran suddenly into the wood, and took shelter in a subterraneous place, to which the king immediately followed: but, as he lifted his arm to strike the boar, he found it without motion, and soon after perceived an altar and the statue of St. *Anthony*; upon which he made a vow, that if, through the intercession of that saint, the use of his arm was restored, he would build a church upon that spot in honour of that saint; and being afterwards informed, that this subterraneous place made part of the ruins of the antient *Palentia*, it made him so much the more eager to perform his vow. But it seems Don *Bermudo* either did not credit the miracle, or did not apprehend the piety of incroaching upon other peoples rights in order to perform a vow; for *Palentia* now is, and it may be presumed was then, esteemed to lie within the dominions of *Leon*. ^b *Mariana* ^a indeed cuts the matter short, and, without taking any notice of Don *Bermudo's* resentment, ascribes the war to the king of *Navarre's* invading *Leon* with a formidable army, and making the conquest of a considerable tract of country, before Don *Bermudo*, who had no suspicion of his design, was in any condition to oppose him. Be that as it will, it seems that the king of *Navarre* had a better interest in the clergy than his antagonist: for it was clearly by their influence over the peoples minds, that Don *Bermudo* was forced to make a peace, and to yield a considerable district by way of dowry to his sister ^b, who married Don *Ferdinand*, the second son of Don *Sanchez*, who thereupon, with the consent of both monarchs, took the title of king ^c, instead of count of *Castile*; and the cession made to him of this country by his father seems to be the only point of the treaty that was in reality acceptable to Don *Bermudo*, as it freed him in some measure from the apprehensions he was under in having a monarch of *Navarre* for his neighbour.

The fabulous account of the motive on which Don Ferdinand was declared king of Castile.

WE may collect, from what has been related, so just an idea of the motives which engaged the king of *Navarre* to bestow *Castile* upon Don *Ferdinand* his second son, that there can be no reason for having recourse to that very strange and incredible story, which, moved by the credit of Don *Roderic*, archbishop of *Toledo*, most of the *Spanish* writers ^d have inserted as truth. The substance of this story is, that while this great monarch was engaged in the war against the *Moors*, his eldest son, Don *Garcias*, piqued at his mother's refusing him a horse, upon Don *Pedro Sessa's* representing to her, that the king would be displeased with it, gave the king an account, that his mother and Don *Pedro* lived together in adultery; upon this ^d Don *Sanchez* returned from his expedition, caused the matter to be examined by the states, who, upon the testimony of Don *Garcias*, condemned the queen to be burned alive. Don *Ferdinand* it seems was passive in this business; but Don *Ramiro*, who was the king's natural son by Donna *Caya*, a lady of the court, undertook the queen's defence, and offered to fight with her son in support of her innocence. But, before the day of trial could be fixed, a certain hermit prevailed upon Don *Garcias* to own the accusation false, and to declare the true grounds of it. The queen being upon this set at liberty, desired that *Castile*, which was her patrimony, might not be given to Don *Garcias*, but to her second son *Ferdinand*; and that *Ramiro*, who had so generously staked his life in her quarrel, might be rewarded with the kingdom of *Arragon*; which requests, say they, were complied with; and Don *Garcias* also made a pilgrimage to *Rome*, ^e in order to obtain absolution from the holy father for becoming the false accuser of his mother. The whole has been so clearly refuted by a great writer ^e, that we should not have mentioned it, but for the sake of giving the reader a hint whence many of these ridiculous fictions arose.

The last acts of Don Sanchez the great, and the manner of his death.

A. D. 1035.

THE truth is, that, after bestowing on his son Don *Ferdinand* the country of *Castile*, the good old king took care to make many regulations that were equally wise and popular, with a view of gaining to his sons the affections of his new subjects; such as directing, that a new road should be made through *Navarre* and *Castile*, for the conveniency of such pilgrims as went to St. *James* at *Compostella*, repairing the principal places on the frontiers, that the *Moors* might not be able to enter, as formerly they had done, with impunity, and contriving to bring the inhabitants into the places that he had either founded or rebuilt ^f; which accounts so well for the time he lived after this transaction, that we have no need of supposing a war with the infidels, of which there is nothing said in the best authors, purely to fill it up. Authors are very far from being agreed, either as to the time or manner of his death. *Ferreras* ^g seems to be in the right as to the former, and therefore we have followed him; but, with regard to the latter, he is silent; however, some writers affirm ^h, that, going in pilgrimage to *Oviedo* with a small retinue, he fell into an ambuscade that was laid for him on the road; and, after so long and

^a RODERIC Tolctan de reb. Hispan. lib. iv. Luc. Tudens. Chronicon. Espagne, lib. viii.

Hispan. lib. iv.

^b RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iii.

^c Chron. var. antiq. MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^d Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. p. iii.

^e Historia de Espana, P. iv.

^f Chron. var. antiq.

^g Historia general de

^h RODERIC Toletan de reb.

ⁱ P. MORET Investi-

a glorious reign, was basely and barbarously murdered; which induced a suspicion, as supposing the fact true it very well might, that some of the neighbouring princes, who were afraid of his power, were concerned in this treacherous act.

If we consider how soon after the death of this monarch, Don *Bermudo* the third, king of *Leon*, entered the country of *Castile* with an army so much superior to that of the king Don *Ferdinand*, that, though he was a prince of great courage and spirit, he judged it not at all for his interest to hazard the whole of his dominions by a battle in the first campaign, we may see some reason to suspect, that he was not ignorant of that detestable design, or at least that he drew the same advantages from it as if he had been in the secret; but if he was, he quickly received the just reward of so black a contrivance, as the reader has seen at the close of the last section; for being, as we have there shewn, killed in battle, Don *Ferdinand* not only recovered the country that he had taken from him, but succeeded likewise to the kingdom of *Leon* in right of his queen Donna *Sancha*, by which he became the most powerful of all the Christian princes in *Spain*¹. It is true that the *Galicians* gave him some trouble when he first entered into possession of that kingdom (K), but this was quickly over; and these people, as well as the inhabitants of *Leon* and *Asturias*, very soon saw that it was their interest to submit to a monarch by whom *Castile* was again united to their crown; and consequently their security as well as their grandeur visibly increased². On the other hand, if they had proceeded to a new election, this must have produced a war, the event of which was uncertain, and a civil war too, of which this country must have been the seat; besides, when they came to consider this, they could find none more fit to wear the crown of *Leon* than the husband of Donna *Sancha*, the sole heiress of that glorious race of kings, who, by their valour and virtue, had preserved the *Goths* from being extirpated, and were at least the principal authors of the progress which the Christians had already made towards the recovery of all *Spain*. We need not wonder therefore that Don *Ferdinand* met with so little resistance, or that those, who were inclined to oppose him, were so slenderly supported.

THE civil dissensions, the violent commotions, and frequent revolutions, in the kingdom of *Cordova*, of which the reader has had an account in its proper place, having shaken that which was by far the most considerable monarchy of the *Moors* to such a degree, that, except an empty title of pre-eminence, it scarce preserved any thing more than the rest; there arose almost as many sovereignties as there remained cities in their dominions; so that, notwithstanding such as held them assumed the title of kings, yet we cannot, with any degree of justice, allow every little district they possessed the stile of a kingdom. Amongst those of which we shall have occasion hereafter to speak, the most considerable was the king of *Seville*, next to him the king of *Toledo*, and in the third rank we may reckon the king of *Huesca*, though perhaps the king of *Saragossa* might be thought to deserve it as well. As for the rest it will be time enough to mention them as occasion requires.

AT this juncture, that is, at the opening of the eleventh century, we may conceive the spacious, rich, and beautiful continent of *Spain*, as divided into two unequal parts, by a strait line drawn from east to west, from the coasts of *Valentia* to a little below the mouth of the river *Duero*; the country north of this line belonging to the Christians; who had the smallest and least valuable share; and all to the south in the possession of the *Moors*. Both parties

¹ RODERIC TOLETAN de reb. Hispan. lib. iv. MARIANA Historia general de Espana, lib. viii. FERRERAS; MAYERNE TURQUET. ² Chronic. var. antiq. MARIANA, FERRERAS, &c.

(K) It will, in all probability, afford the reader some satisfaction, if we enter a little into the reasons which induced the inhabitants of *Galicia* to be so much more untractable upon this occasion, than any of the other provinces of the kingdoms of *Oviedo* and *Leon*. It would appear rather an evasion than an answer, to allege that they were always mutinous, or to appeal to his own observation, that there were more insurrections here than in any other country comprised within those realms (1). The real cause was, that they disliked their situation as a province, and were desirous of becoming a separate state. The source of this desire was, their being richer and in better circumstances; for *Galicia*, though but one hundred and fifty miles in length, has near three hundred miles of coast, being washed by the ocean on the north, and on the west has more, and those too better, ports than any other part of *Spain*; which drew thither a very considerable trade even in those times (2). The country in itself is also fruitful, pleasant, populous, and exceedingly enriched by the

resort of strangers from all parts of *Europe*, by land as well as sea, to the tomb of St. *James* at *Compostella*, the very bishops of which city lived in those days with the splendor, and in their power fell little short of princes. These circumstances rendered this country almost at all times a seat of faction, and inspired its inhabitants with a restless passion for a prince and court of their own; and, in all probability, it was a prospect of arriving at this, whenever a favourable opportunity should offer, with the assistance of the *Moors*, that induced count *Sisenand* to take shelter amongst the infidels, rather than submit himself to a prince, who, independent of all his different claims, had as much personal merit as might have intitled him to dominions even superior to those which he possessed. We shall see, that this wise and prudent prince concluded it, at length, the most effectual way to render these people loyal to his posterity, to gratify them in this favour, which expedient however was not attended with success (3).

(1) Mariana, Mayerne Turquet, Ferreras.

(2) See in the course of this history the fate of Don Garcia, king of Galicia.

(3) Delices de l'Epagne, par D. Juan Alvarez de Colmenar;

were happy in having allies of their own religion and tempers at their back ; but in this the Christians seemed to be more fortunate, as they had no sea between them, but might at any time receive whatever supplies were sent, or whatever auxiliaries were hired within the bounds of France ; whereas the *Moors* had the *Mediterranean* between them and their countrymen in Africa. The dependance of both upon these foreign succours was alike precarious, as being equally unwilling to invite, and equally inclined to grow jealous of such auxiliaries. In point of wealth, and real power by land and sea, the *Moors* were much superior ; but this was more than ballanced by the Christians being better connected. The kings of *Leon*, *Navarre*, *Sobrarva*, and *Aragon*, were all brothers, and the count of *Barcelona* nearly allied to them ; which, though it did not restrain them from quarrels, or even from wars, yet it hindered them from being pursued with rancour, or for any length of time. We may add to this another great advantage, which was the rough mountainous countries in their possession ; such as *Asturias*, *Biscay*, *Navarre*, *Guipuscoa*, and even part of *Old Castile* ; where a sharp clear air, a soil not over fertile, and the continual labour necessary to their subsistence, furnished them with constant supplies of men naturally hardy and robust, and consequently very capable of undergoing the fatigues of war. Whereas the *Moors*, though naturally more industrious, enjoying a warmer climate, provinces abundantly more fertile, and having likewise the benefit of foreign trade, were, generally speaking, rich, luxurious, and vehemently addicted to sensual pleasures ; circumstances that gradually made way for their destruction, and had already brought most of their principalities to decline.

Conclusion.

THESE few general remarks will be of singular use towards understanding the following sections, in which we are to describe the contentions between these people, the ebbs and flows of their respective power, the uses both sides made of their advantages on certain occasions, and their neglect of them on others ; with those accidents that in a course of years made such defects irreparable on one side, as might have been easily corrected if they had been seen in time, and threw so much weight into the scale of the other, as enabled them at last to oppress their antagonists with a superiority of force, that could be only resisted so long as it was by despair, and that spirit of knight-errantry, which made men in love with danger, through an overweening fondness of praise ; and which did not long survive those gallant infidels among whom it was bred and cherished, and of whose vast efforts it was the sole support.

S E C T. VI.

The history of the kingdoms of Leon and Castile, from their first conjunction in the person of Ferdinand the first, to their perpetual union in that of Ferdinand the second.

The character of Ferdinand I. and the first seven years of his government.

A. D. 1037.

ALL the authors of *Spanish* history, antient and modern agree, that few princes have been blessed with greater talents, or the value of these less abated by vices, than him of whom we are going to speak, Don *Ferdinand*^a, the first of *Leon*, and the second of *Castile*. It may perhaps pass for a kind of proof of this, that, for almost seven years after he came into the possession of *Leon*, we find little or nothing undertaken by him, that could be properly the subject of history. He very well knew, that the acquisition of a kingdom was sometimes less difficult than the keeping of it. He perceived that the bulk of his subjects were dissatisfied with the change of masters ; and that though he had been very sparing of blood in the reduction of *Galicia*, yet he held that province rather by conquest than any other title^b, than which nothing could be more disagreeable to a prince of his disposition. He found it requisite therefore to spend a great deal of time in correcting gradually these mistakes, and recovering his subjects from all their prejudices and prepossessions. He spoke always with great clearness of the rights of the queen, and never permitted any claim to be mentioned but that of her descent^c. He visited all the provinces, and indeed almost every great town, caressed the nobility exceedingly, paid a profound respect to the clergy, but made it a part of that respect to see that such were severely punished as were a disgrace to their order. He prosecuted his predecessor's plan of redressing grievances with indefatigable diligence ; and, by enlarging the privileges of the people in *Galicia*, he in a great measure acquired their affection, and lessened the power of their nobility by increasing their number. He took less care of the frontiers of his hereditary crown of *Castile* than his predecessors had done ; but he kept up greater garrisons, and by that means covered his territories in a great measure, and yet not so thoroughly, but

^a MARIANA Historia general de Espana, lib. ix. FERRERAS Historia de Espana, P. v. sect. ix. Histoire general d'Espagne, par MAYERNE TURQUET. ^b RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. LUCÆ Judent. Chron. ^c Chron. var. antiq.

a that the *Moors*^d had sometimes opportunities of making incursions, which they were sure not to neglect, and which did not answer theirs better than it did the king's purpose.

WHEN he saw the interior of his dominions in perfect order, his subjects well united and unanimously well affected to his person and government, he began to applaud the conduct of his father-in-law Don *Alphonso* the fifth, who had rightly distinguished between the having no frontier, and the being obliged to defend one of a large extent; to avoid both which inconveniences, the only method was to follow his plan, and, by recovering the best part of that country now called *Portugal*, to arrive at natural boundaries of mountains and rivers; with plains of small extent between them; where the building two or three great towns, and fortifying them, would cover at once both his old dominions and his new conquests. The resolution of making war being once taken, was immediately carried into execution, and he marched with a very numerous army directly towards *Zamora*. The fortress of *Xena* was the first place of strength that lay in his way, which he caused to be carried by assault, in which the greatest part of the garrison were put to the sword, and the rest made slaves^e. This had the effect he expected from it; all the little places in the neighbourhood surrendered on the first summons; so that he met with no farther opposition till he came to *Viseo*, which was naturally strong, had been fortified with great care, was defended by a numerous garrison, and had in it besides almost all the rich people of the adjacent provinces, who had fled thither with their best effects. Don *Ferdinand* acted with caution; he caused the place to be battered by his engines, that threw stones of a vast weight, for three weeks, and then caused a general assault to be given; by which he carried the town^f, notwithstanding an obstinate defence. Here, amongst other prisoners, a cross-bow man was taken, who discharged the arrow by which Don *Alphonso* the fifth was killed. Don *Ferdinand* ordered his hands to be struck off, and some say his feet also^g. He pushed his conquest this campaign as far as the river *Malna*; and, having put good garrisons into the best places, he returned to *Leon*, and was received with loud acclamations, after such a series of conquests in so small a space^h (A).

THE very next year the king was in the field again. He had cast his eyes upon *Coimbra* or *Conimbra*, and considered it as a place of great consequence to his design of forming a strong barrier; for which reason he resolved to reduce it with as little prejudice to the place as possible. Instead therefore of investing the city with his army, he contented himself with posting his troops in such a manner as hindered them from receiving provisions; and, after some months, drew nearer, and threw up lines round the place. The besieged acted with great courage and constancy, and at length tired the king so much; that he had thoughts of raising the siege; but the monks in a Christian convent at no great distance, prevailed upon him to proceed in his design, furnished him with provisions, and acquainted him with the enemy's distress, by which at last the *Moors* were brought to capitulate, and were allowed to quit the placeⁱ. All the *Spanish* writers, however, antient and modern, take the honour of so important a conquest both from the king and from the monks, to bestow it upon St. *James*^k. It seems that count *Sisenand* had quitted the party of the *Moors* before the war began, reconciled himself to the king, who, in reward of his services, and as a mark of his favour, made

^d RODERIC Toletan *Histoire Arabum*.

^e Tudenf. *Chronicon*.

^f RODERIC Toletan. *Hist. Arabum*.

^g Toletan de rebus Hispan. lib. vi. Luc. Tudenf. *Chron*.

^h ALPHONSI a Carthagina reg. Hisp. Anacephaleosis FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispaniæ.

ⁱ var. antiq.

^e RODERIC SANTII *Historia Hispan*. P. iii. Lucæ

^g *Chron. var. antiq.*

^h Rod.

ⁱ RODERIC Toletan *Hist. Arabum*.

^k *Chron*.

(A) It is absolutely necessary that we should give the reader here some account of the chronology that we follow; because it differs from almost all the writers of *Spanish* history, except *Ferreras*. Some of the best old historians place the war between Don *Ferdinand*, king of *Castile*, and his brother Don *Garcias* king of *Navarre*, before the expeditions of the former against the infidels (1). But that this is contrary to the order of time in which those events happened is evident from authorities more authentic than history. In the first place it is evident, from the canons made in the council of *Coyanca*, that the war with the infidels was then over; and, as these are records, they ought undoubtedly to be decisive as to this point (2). It is no less clear from public monuments, mentioned in particular histories of *Navarre*, that the death of their king Don *Garcia* did not happen till the fourth year after that council (3). *Mariana*, though he was far enough from being exact

in point of chronology, was aware of this, and has accordingly placed the conquests made from the *Moors* before the dispute with the king of *Navarre*; notwithstanding which he has placed those conquests some years before they happened; and this, very probably, because he did not think it probable, that a prince (4) of Don *Ferdinand's* active temper should, in the beginning of his reign, spend so many years in peace; and therefore he places all those salutary regulations, mentioned in the text, some years later than they really happened (5). But we hope the reader sees them here in their natural order, from whence many advantages arise; since, whether chronology is either doubtful or false, the facts related will appear either contradictory or perplexed, though ever so elegantly related; so essential a thing is truth, and so impracticable it is to render history pleasing without it.

(1) Roderic Toletan de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. cap. x. Lucæ Tudenfis *Chronicon*, Francisci Taraphæ de regibus Hispan.

(2) Card. d'Aguires Concil. Hispan. tom. iii. p. 209, 212.

(3) P. Moret *Investigationes historicas de las antiquidades del Reyno de Navarra*, lib. iii. cap. iv. Dionis, Petac. *ration. temp. Succesf.* LXIX.

(4) *Historia general de España*, lib. ix. c. 2.

(5) *Id. ibid.*

him governor of this city; in which office he acquitted himself with great reputation¹. The following year he swept the frontiers of his hereditary kingdom of *Castile*, demolished all the little fortresses the *Moors* had erected, drove them beyond the mountains, and established strong garrisons to cover each of the passes; but adhered to the old policy of Don *Blayo*, erecting no fortresses on this side, that the martial disposition of the *Castilians* might not be abated.

A. D. 1046.

The Moorish monarchs of Toledo and Saragossa become his tributaries and vassals.

In his fourth campaign he ravaged all the country about *Medina Cæli*, visited all his conquests, and, having enriched his army with plunder and slaves, returned in triumph to the city of *Leon*^m. The next spring, when he came to assemble his troops, he found them more numerous than they had been in any of his former expeditions, which induced him to invade the dominions of the king of *Toledo*, at this time one of the most powerful of the *Moorish* princes; and, after he harassed and destroyed the open country, he at length besieged *Alcala*; which, though a place of great strength, was at length reduced to such straits, that they sent to *Almanon*, then king of *Toledo*ⁿ, to inform him, that, if they were not speedily relieved, they must be obliged to surrender. That monarch, finding himself in no condition to oppose Don *Ferdinand* by force of arms, took the best part of the riches that were in his treasury, and, attended by a small guard, went directly to the Christian camp, and presented himself before the king, intreating him to desist from hostilities against his subjects, offering to become his vassal, and pay him an annual tribute, and at the same time threw himself and the treasures he had brought at the king's feet. The principal officers in the army were of opinion, that this was only done to gain time, but Don *Ferdinand* was so touched with that prince's distress, that he granted him all he desired, and retired with his troops into his own dominions^o. He proposed the next year to have carried the war into the territories of the *Moorish* king of *Saragossa*, of which the latter no sooner received intelligence, than he sent ambassadors to offer the like submission that had been accepted from the king of *Toledo*, and thereby diverted the intended expedition^p. And of this vassalage he afterwards availed himself against another Christian potentate.

Sickness of the king of Navarre; death of queen Elvira and king Ali Maymon.

1050.

As the kingdom of *Castile* and *Leon* enjoyed at this time a profound peace, the king thought no time so proper for holding a general council, which he summoned at *Cayanca*, in which there was no legate from the pope present; and in which thirteen canons were made, most with respect to ecclesiastical, but some of them likewise respecting civil affairs^q. The year following his brother Don *Garcia*, king of *Navarre* fell dangerously ill at *Najara*, on the frontiers of *Castile*; of which Don *Ferdinand* was no sooner informed, than he resolved to pay him a visit. He went thither accordingly, and was received with all possible demonstrations of affection and respect. It seems, however, that two kings can never be long safe together in the same place; for, in a short space, he was informed, whether truly or not is a point historians have disputed, that his brother intended to secure his person; upon which, taking a hasty but civil leave, he retired into his own dominions, extremely nettled at this real or supposed injury^r. On the fifth of *November*, in the year of our Lord 1052, died the queen dowager Donna *Elvira*, widow of Don *Alphonso* the fifth, and mother of the queen Donna *Sancho*; her body was interred in the dormitory of the royal family at *Leon*^s. The year following deceased the old king of *Toledo*, and was succeeded by *Ali Maymon*^t, who seems to have remained tributary to Don *Ferdinand*, as his power was not in the least diminished, and as the *Mohammedan* princes were as far as ever from living upon good terms among themselves. These short scenes of mourning seemed to be the preludes of more afflicting calamities which quickly ensued, and which proved extremely fatal to the Christians in *Spain*, who were generally the authors of their own misfortunes.

The king of Navarre imprisoned, escapes and declares war against king Ferdinand.

Don *Ferdinand* falling dangerously ill in the succeeding spring, his brother Don *Garcias*, to manifest an equal affection, came to see him; but the king, who could not forget the informations, true or false, that had been given him at *Najara*, though he received him at first with all the marks of joy and fraternal kindness possible, yet caused him to be soon after arrested, and sent prisoner to the castle of *Cea*^u, at that time the strongest place in his dominions. But notwithstanding the strictest injunctions possible were given for preventing either his escape, or his giving or receiving any intelligence, so it was, that he found the means of conveying an account of the usage he had met with to some persons whom he could trust in his own dominions, and whom he directed to be at a place appointed at a certain time. They came accordingly, and brought some of the fleetest horses in *Navarre* for the king's use; and he, by what contrivance

¹ RODERIC Toletan de rebus Hispan. l. iv.

Toletan. Historia Arabum.

^o Chron. var. antiq.^m LUC. Tudens. Chronicon.^p RODERIC Tolet. Hist. Arabum.ⁿ RODERIC^q Card.

d'AGUIRRE Conc. Hispan. tom. iii. p. 212.

^r P. MORET Investigationes Historicas de las antiquidades

del reyno de Navarra. RODERIC Toletan. de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. LUC. Tudens. Chron.

^s RODERIC

SANTII Hist. Hispan. P. iii. ALPHONSI a Carthagera reg. Hisp. Anacephalæosis FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispan.

^t Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.^u Rod. Toletan de Rebus Hisp. l. vi. LUC.

Tudens. Chron.

- a is unknown, was equally punctual, having found his way out of the castle in spite of all the care that could be taken. His flight was so sudden and unexpected, that he was safe in his own dominions by that time the news of it reached the ears of Don *Ferdinand* at *Leon*^w. The king foresaw the mischiefs that would attend this accident, and it may be, in his own mind disapproved that conduct he had pursued. However, when he heard that Don *Garcias*, with a great army, was on the point of invading *Castile*, he went thither in person and assembled another, superior in troops as well as in number; he was notwithstanding very desirous, if possible, to avoid effusion of blood; and, with this salutary view, sent some of the clergy, who were about him, to propose terms of accommodation to Don *Garcias*, offering at the same time whatever satisfaction he could desire, explaining the motives upon which he acted, and offering to bury in silence all memory of either event^x. The chief of the nobility about Don *Garcias*, and such ecclesiastics as were most in his esteem, concurred with the ambassadors of *Castile*, and laboured to reconcile him to his brother. All persuasions were vain; Don *Garcias*'s breast was wholly occupied by his resentment: he would hear no proposals, but obstinately persisted, that all disputes between them should be decided by a battle^y. Don *Ferdinand* did all he could to decline it, acted wholly on the defensive, and resolved not to fight, unless his brother was the aggressor.

- Don *Garcias* being informed of this, entered into the kingdom of *Castile*, and advanced directly towards *Burgos*; and notwithstanding Don *Fortuno Sanchez*, an antient nobleman, who had been his governor, laboured all he could to divert him, he fixed the first of September^z for the day of battle², when the two armies appeared in sight of each other between *Atupuerta* and *Ages*, about nine miles from *Burgos*. Don *Ferdinand*, who was much the better officer, ordered a corps of *Castilian* cavalry to charge the army of *Navarre* in flank, which they did with such success, that they penetrated to the post where Don *Garcias* commanded in person; and one *Sanchez*, a trooper, or, as antient history reports, an officer³, to whom that monarch had formerly offered some insult, plunged his spear into his breast. The nobility about his person prevented his being taken, or wounded a second time; but that was of little consequence, since the stroke he had received was mortal. *Inigo*, abbot of *Ona*, caught him in his arms, assisted him with his prayers in his last moments, and supported him till he expired^b. A column was afterwards erected in the place where he fell^c. As this misfortune could not be concealed from the army, and as it affected the minds of the soldiers to such a degree that they lost all courage, the dispute was soon at an end, and the flight became general. Don *Ferdinand* would not suffer his troops to pursue; but, perceiving a large body of *Mohammedan* auxiliaries, he caused them to be surrounded and cut to pieces, only their generals, being excellently well mounted, made their escape^d. The king made no use of a victory that he regretted; on the contrary, he suffered his brother's body to be interred in the monastery of *St. Mary* at *Najara*, which he had founded, with royal honours, and returned himself to *Leon*, not in triumph, but with all apparent marks of the most sincere grief^e.

- We find in some historians^f, that this war was continued, and that the king, Don *Ferdinand*, availed himself of his superior army, to the prejudice of his nephew, the king of *Navarre*; but this is not supported by any of the antient authors^g, and may be presumed from thence a gross misrepresentation. Indeed the king of *Leon* and *Castile* seems to have been a monarch of great mildness and moderation, and who made no other use of his superior power than for the benefit and protection of his subjects, by preserving peace on every side; and, while that subsisted, letting slip no opportunities of improving the great cities, and encouraging his people to cultivate to the best advantage their respective properties in all parts of his dominions. He removed the body of his father, Don *Sanchez*, from the monastery of *Ona* to the city of *Leon*^h; where, having made choice of the church of *St. John Baptist*, in complaisance to his queen Donna *Sancha*, by whose father, Don *Alonso* the fifth, it was built for the place of his own sepulchre, he caused the old brick building to be pulled down, in order to rebuild it with stoneⁱ, and with a degree of magnificence suitable to the power, and expressive of the piety of its founder. He caused a council^k to be held the beginning of the year 1056, in the apostolic church (so the *Spaniards* stile it) of *St. James* of *Compostella*, in which some canons were made for the support of the discipline of the church. Yet, notwithstanding this prudent and pacific behaviour, which it might have been presumed would have given all his neigh-

^w Chron. var. antiq.^x RODERIC TOLETAN. de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. LUC. Tudensis Chronicon.^y Chron. var. antiq.^z ROD. Toletan. de Rebus Hisp. lib. vi.² Annal. Complur. FERRERAS

Historia de Hispana, P. v. sect. xi.

^b Chron. var. antiq. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iii.^c ALPHONSI a Carthagina reg. Hisp. Anacephalæosis FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispaniæ.^d ROD.

Toletan. Hist. Arabum.

^e RODERIC Toletan. de Rebus Hispan. l. vi.^f RODERIC TOLETAN

MARIANA, MAYERNE TURQUET, P. d'ORLEANS.

^g Chron. var. antiq.^h ROD. Tolet. de

Rebus Hispan. lib. vi. LUC. Tudens. Chron.

ⁱ RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. P. iii. ALPHONSI a

Carthagina reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis.

^k Card. d'AGUIRRE Conc. Hisp. tom. iii. p. 199.

bours the utmost satisfaction, we find that Don *Garcias*, king of *Navarre*, and Don *Ramiro*, a king of *Arragon*, had an interview at the monastery of *Leyra*, under pretence of the dedication of the church, where they made a defensive league¹ for the reciprocal protection of their territories, in case that either should be attacked by Don *Ferdinand*; who, it does not at all appear, meant them any disturbance, or took any umbrage at this precaution (B).

A legate from Rome, who began the quarrel as to the Gothic liturgy.

ON the death of pope *Nicholas* the second there happened a schism; and one of the competitors, who took the title of *Alexander* the second, sent a legate into *Spain*, in order to derive all the help he could from that quarter. This may seem an immaterial point, but it is really a thing of great consequence; for this ecclesiastic was extremely offended with the old *Gothic* liturgy, and was for obtruding upon the *Spaniards* the *Roman* offices at once; with which, in their turn, they were equally displeased. At this juncture, indeed, there was nothing done in that matter, but it was this legate who laid the foundation of all that has been done since; for, upon his return to *Rome*, he reported, that the *Spaniards* could never be made good subjects to that see (and in that, no doubt, he was right) till the *Gothic* liturgy and their antient usages were removed out of the way: and this being thoroughly comprehended, the indefatigable spirit of the church of *Rome* never suffered the government of *Leon* and *Castile* to be at peace, till they had got the better in this respect; which was not, however, till some years after, as will be shewn in its proper place; and then it was in consequence of their having prevailed in other *Spanish* principalities before. Let us now return from ecclesiastical to civil history, and observe what the strange consequences were of this legate's doctrine at the court of *Leon*, and how far, even under a wise and good prince, religious caprices operated upon the most important affairs of state.

Translation of the body of St. Isidore, bishop of Seville, to the city of Leon.

THE church of *St. John the Baptist* being finished, the queen *Donna Sancha* was desirous of enriching it, according to the superstitious humour of those times, with holy relics; and upon this there either came or was thrust into her head two virgins, *St. Justa* and *St. Rufina*, who were martyred, and whose bodies were interred at *Seville*. It was suggested, that the surest way of obtaining them was by force of arms. Upon this, the ablest *Spanish* historians² boast of it to this day, Don *Ferdinand* made an irruption into the territories of *Mohammed Aben Habet*, king of *Seville*, without provocation, and without any intimation of offence, murdered multitudes of *Moors*, drove vast numbers into slavery, and gave up the whole country to pillage, which brought the poor *Mohammedan* prince upon his knees³ to *Ferdinand*, offering him all his treasures to ransom the bodies of his unhappy subjects, whom he wanted force to defend. The king of *Leon* and *Castile* insisted upon having the body of *St. Justa* taken up and sent to *Leon*, and that the *Moorish* monarch should do him homage and become his vassal. *Mohammed* submitted to all this very willingly and cheerfully. But when, some time after, three bishops and three counts came to *Seville* to demand the body of the saint, the poor king found himself in a very distressed condition, as not having the least knowledge where this saint was to be found. The Christian inhabitants professed themselves as ignorant as he⁴. In the

¹ RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. LUC. Tudens. Chron. d'España, lib. ix. FERRERAS. MAYERNE TURQUET. Toletan de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. LUC. Tudens. Chron.

² MARIANA, Historia general ³ ROD. Toletan Histor. Arabum. ⁴ ROD.

(B) We are assured by *Mariana*, that Don *Ferdinand* was not so disinterested a prince as no ways to avail himself of this victory (1); but that he made himself master of *Briviesca*, the mountains of *Occa*, and so much of the county of *Rioja* as lay on that side of the river *Oja* next to *Castile*; so that Don *Sanchez*, the son of Don *Garcias*, had only *Navarre*, *Biscay*, the remaining part of the county of *Rioja*, *Najara*, *Lagragua*, and some other places left; and which is still more singular, he speaks of the countries now taken by Don *Ferdinand*, as if they had been the original cause of the differences between the two brothers, in which he not only contradicts others but himself; and, indeed, the whole relation is incredible, because it is impossible. For if Don *Ferdinand* was desirous of possessing himself of these countries, he would certainly have been the aggressor, which all historians agree he was not; and, on the other hand, that Don *Garcias* did not take up arms to recover these from his brother is evident, from what *Mariana* says of their being taken from his son after his death. Upon the whole it is, perhaps, more than probable, that not only *Mariana*, but an antient

historian, in whom we also find something much to the same purpose, confound the death of Don *Garcias* with that of his son Don *Sanchez*, and speak of what certainly happened after the death of the latter, as if it had fallen out upon the demise of the former: for thus much of the truth it must be acknowledged there is in the foregoing relation, that the countries therein mentioned were taken from *Navarre*, and annexed to *Castile*; but this happened many years after (2), upon a compromise between the kings of *Leon* and *Arragon*, at which time the river *Ebro*, into which the *Oja* falls, was made the common boundary of their dominions. (3) It is impossible, considering our plan, to discuss in this manner all the variations we have been obliged to make from the common manner in which the *Spanish* history has been stated in our language; but from a few instances we hope the candid reader will do us the justice to believe, that it is out of respect to proper authorities, and not out of an affectation of singularities, that we are led to the same conduct in other places.

(1) LUCÆ Tudensis Chronicon. Mariana Historia general de España, lib. ix. in the course of this history.

(3) Ferreras Historia de España, p. v. scilicet xi.

(2) As the reader will find

a midst of this perplexity, *St. Isidore* very kindly appeared to *Alvitus*, bishop of *Leon*, who was at the head of the embassy, and told him, it was not a proper time to remove the saints *Justa* and *Rufina*, but that they should take his body^u with them, and pointed with a cross to the place where it lay. This was accordingly done, and *Alvitus* himself dying in his return, both bodies were received with great reverence into *Leon*; the king, the queen, and a great number of the nobility going out a considerable distance to receive them; and the corpse of *St. Isidore* being deposited in the new church of *St. John the Baptist*, has, in some measure, changed its name^w.

WHILE the king *Don Ferdinand* was employed in the war against *Seville*, *Don Ramiro*, king of *Arragon*, with a formidable army, invaded the dominions of the *Moorish* prince of *Saragossa*, who, being tributary to the king of *Leon*, immediately sent ambassadors to his capital to implore his assistance: they finding him absent, applied themselves to *Don Sancho* his son, who sent them instantly back to their master, desiring him to assemble all the troops he was able; and assuring him, that he would forthwith march with a strong body of forces to his relief, which he accordingly did. The Infant *Don Sancho* having for his lieutenant the famous *Don Rodrigo*, surnamed the *Cid*, no sooner joined the *Moors* than he proposed marching to give the king of *Arragon* battle, who, on his side, raised the siege of a town before which he lay, and marched to meet them. The dispute was long and bloody; but at length the victory^x declared on the side of the Infant, the unfortunate *Don Ramiro* being killed upon the spot, as most of the *Spanish* writers agree; though there are some^y who affirm, that he died some time after in his bed; and there are also others who assert, that he was not only killed, but that his body fell into the hands of the infidels, who caused it to be flead; the probability of which will be discussed in another place; at present it is sufficient to observe that the Infant *Don Sancho*, having relieved his father's vassal, returned with his victorious troops to *Leon*^z (C).

At the time of the translation of *St. Isidore* (so the *Spaniards*^a stile it) the king *Don Ferdinand* held an assembly of the states at *Leon*, in which he opened to them his design of dividing his dominions amongst his three sons; that is, to give the kingdom of *Castile* to the eldest *Don Sancho*, upon whom the *Moorish* king of *Saragossa* was to depend; the crown of *Leon* and the *Asturias* of *Oviedo* to *Don Alonso*; and the kingdom of *Galicia*, with so much of *Portugal* as he had conquered, to *Don Garcia*, the youngest. We cannot doubt but many of the nobility must foresee the mischiefs that would inevitably follow from this measure, so inconsistent with all maxims of policy, as well as dictates of experience. But the majority complied with and applauded the king's proposal; upon which, at the breaking up of that assembly^b, the Infants *Don Sancho* and *Don Garcia* were sent to take possession of *Castile* and *Galicia*. About the same time three *Spanish* prelates (which is the first instance of the kind) were sent

^u PELAG. OVETENS liber Chronic.

^w Chron. var. antiq.

^x ROD. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

^y Chron. var. antiq.

^z PELAG. OVETENS liber Chronic.

^a MARIANA Historia general de

Espana, lib. ix. FERRERAS.

^b RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. vi.

(C) There is something very dark and difficult in this piece of history. *Mariana* (1), *Petavius* (2), and most other writers, place the death of *Don Ramiro* four years later, that is, in the year 1067; and, upon that account, place the war not in the reign of *Don Ferdinand* but of *Don Sancho*, which is not easy to comprehend, more especially as it appears from the monument of this prince, in the monastery of *St. John de la Pegna* (3), that he died on the 8th of the ides of *May*, and also on the fifth day of the week; but upon examination this will be found not to agree with the year 1067, but with the year 1063, where it is placed in the text (4). The infant *Don Sancho* therefore must have commanded the troops of his father, which joined those of the *Mohammedan* prince of *Saragossa*, and with him went *Don Rodrigo*, surnamed the *Cid*, to whom this remarkable victory is in a great measure ascribed (5). It is not a little strange, that not only this particular fact of the king's death, but the whole war has been represented as false and fictitious by some very good criticks (6); notwithstanding which we must, if we agree with them, give up those rules that have been hitherto looked upon as the safest and best in judging of history, since we have contemporary writers

who affirm it, and upon their authority it has been received by the best historians of that country (7). *Mariana*, who, as we have before observed, places this event in the reign of *Don Sancho*, acquaints us, that it was looked on as an ill omen to his administration, that it began with the death of his uncle (8); but it is as probable, that this omen might be applied as well to his first campaign; for we can scarce imagine, that the Infant *Don Sancho* had commanded in person before this time. There is little regard due to omens; but without doubt *Don Ferdinand* must conceive it a great misfortune, that two of his own brothers, and his wife's brother, should fall in the field by his arms: but, however, he might comfort himself with this, that in each of these actions they were the aggressors, and his forces only employed in the defence of his own subjects or of his allies. It is an inexcusable fault in *Mariana* notwithstanding, that he places the death of *Don Ramiro* four years later, to mention bulls directed to him by pope *Gregory* the seventh, who was not elevated to that dignity till the year of our Lord 1073, which shews how very little attention he paid to chronology, which is indeed the capital fault in this history.

(1) Historia general de Espana, lib. ix.

(2) Ration. Tempor. Success. l. xix.

(3) P. Moret

Investigaciones historicas de las antigüedades del Reyno de Navarra.

(4) Ferreras Historia de Espana, p. v.

sect. xi.

(5) Mariana Historia general de Espana, lib. ix.

(6) P. Moret.

(7) Lucæ

Tudensis Chronicon. Roderic Toletan de rebus Hispanie.

(8) Historia general de Espana, lib. ix.

to the council of *Mantua*^c, which was held by pope *Alexander II.* where they produced the *Gothic* offices; and, upon perusal, the council unanimously declared, that they were orthodox and pious; so that they have this testimony of a learned council, with a pope at its head, in favour of their antient liturgy, if that could afford it any sanction. Some^d, indeed, say, that the pope only approved the offices they sent, without suffering any to examine them but himself: and if so, then surely very little respect is paid to his decree, by those who speak so harshly of these venerable monuments of the doctrine and discipline of the truly catholic Christian church among the *Goths*.

Dies soon after his return from an expedition against the kings of Toledo and Saragossa.

THE *Moorish* kings of *Toledo* and *Saragossa* were not long before they took advantage of this impolitic division of the territories of the king *Don Ferdinand*, which, perhaps, they might attribute to the weakness and infirmities of old age, and from thence incline to hope they might be able to shake off the yoke and recover their independency. Yet how plausible soever these notions might be, they drew them into a hasty and fatal resolution. For having refused to pay their annual tribute^e, *Don Ferdinand* assembled a numerous and well disciplined army, with which, before they suspected any such thing, he swept the frontiers of both kingdoms, wasting the country with fire and sword, and carrying multitudes into slavery^f. He advanced with his victorious army into the neighbourhood of *Valentia*, the suburbs of which city he burnt, and perhaps had done more, but finding himself indisposed, and his disorder increasing, he thought it time to retreat, and accordingly returned to *Leon* in the beginning of winter. His health still declining, he caused himself to be carried into the church of *St. Isidore*, where he performed an act of public penance for his sins, and died the very next day^g, which was the twenty-seventh of *September* one thousand sixty-five. Besides his sons before-mentioned, he left behind him two daughters, to the elder of whom, *Donna Urraca*, he gave the city of *Zamora*, which he had strongly fortified, with other lands, and to the younger, *Donna Elvira*, *Toro*, and some other places by way of appendages, that they might live in a manner suitable to their high birth, and without being dependant upon any of their brethren^h.

Don Sancho, king of Castile, engaged in a war with the kings of Arragon and Navarre.

Don Sancho, king of *Castile*, though he submitted to the disposition which his father had made, looked upon himself as extremely injured thereby, from an opinion, that priority of birth gave him a just title to all the three kingdoms; but so long as his mother *Donna Sancha* lived, he did not suffer his discontent to appear, because her title to *Leon*, the *Asturias*, *Galiccia*, and *Portugal*, seemed clearer than his own, and he was perfectly satisfied that what the king had done was through her persuasion. He reigned therefore quietly at *Burgos*, and applied himself with indefatigable diligence to render the kingdom of *Castile* as flourishing as possible. But that prince's dyingⁱ on the 7th of *November* in the following year, he found himself more at liberty, and perhaps would have discovered his real intention sooner, if he had not been involved in a war with the kings of *Arragon* and *Navarre*, both of his own name, which most writers place two years sooner; and in which, it is said, that he met with a total defeat. But as the causes and consequences of this war are very obscurely expressed, and as it is much more probable it happened after the death of *Don Ferdinand*, we have followed the example of *Ferreras*^k, and placed it here, though we are not able to acquaint the reader in what manner it ended. It may be the confederate princes, satisfied with their victory, and believing they had done enough for the security of their own dominions, were willing to give an example of moderation in their own conduct; or it may be they differed between themselves, which hindered them from pushing their success farther. But whatever the motive was, this war came to a very speedy conclusion; and for any thing that appears in authentic historians, *Don Sancho* might have enjoyed the kingdom bestowed upon him by his father in quiet, if the turn of his own mind would have permitted it.

War between Don Sancho, king of Castile, and Don Alonzo VI. his brother.

A. D. 1067.

Don Alphonso, king of *Leon*, was a prince of a very humane and gentle disposition, in consequence of which he had stood highest in his mother's favour, by whose counsels he was chiefly directed while she lived, and after her decease had great regard to the advice of his sisters, who were princesses of uncommon parts, and which was still more rare had nothing of jealousy or intrigue in their tempers. One of the first steps taken by this monarch after his accession was to conclude a treaty of marriage with a princess of *England*, whose name was *Aguda*, the daughter of *William* the first, surnamed the conqueror, whom he espoused by proxy, and who, in her passage to *Spain*, died at sea. Her corpse was landed in *France*, and interred in a monastery there. This misfortune was succeeded by another; for *Don Sancho*, king of *Leon*, invaded his dominions with a formidable army, notwithstanding that the two princesses their sisters had laboured all that in them lay to prevent things from coming to extremities. *Don Alphonso* opposed him with troops superior in number, but not equal in courage, or at

^c Concil. tom. ix. p. 1179.

Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. Luc. Tudens. Chron.

ALPHONSI a Carthagena reg. Hisp. Anacephalæosis FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ, de Reg. Hisp.

Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. Luc. Tudens. Chron.

OVETENS liber Chronic.

^d Chron. var. antiq.

^e Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

^f Rod. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iii.

^g Rod.

^h Rod. SANTII Hist. Hispan. p. iii. PELAG.

^k Historia de Espana, p. v. sect. xi.

a least in discipline. The battle was fought on the 19th of July, at a place called *Lantada*, in which Don *Alphonso* being defeated ^o, fled to *Leon*, and made the best disposition he could there for his defence; but, through the interposition of the princesses, a siege was prevented, and Don *Sancho* engaged to return for that year into his own dominions upon certain conditions; of which we have very indistinct accounts, and this probably because the agreement that was now concluded did not last long. A. D. 1068.

WHILE the realms of *Castile* and *Leon* were in such confusion, and the concerns of their inhabitants turned upon each other, the arms of Don *Garcia*, king of *Galicia*, were in very little better condition. He had a favourite, to whom he confided without reserve the management of all his affairs: the chief of his nobility had represented to him frequently the ill consequences of such a behaviour, and the bad use this man made of his unlimited authority; but as this had no effect, those great lords had recourse to rougher measures, and cut this insolent favourite to pieces ^p, almost in the presence of his master; after which they thought fit to retire into the dominions of *Leon*, where they met with protection and favour. The reader has been informed, that the inhabitants of *Galicia* were of a very mutinous disposition; and besides this, which is indeed a sufficient proof, there happened another in that country within the compass of a few months; for *Gudesto*, bishop of *Compostella*, having some disputes about the rights of his church with Don *Froila*, a nobleman of great authority, and his near relation, the latter found means to enter the apartment of the prelate when in his bed and fast asleep, and stabbed him to the heart with his dagger ^q; notwithstanding which, the government was in such confusion, that, for any thing that appears in history, he escaped with impunity. 1069.

THE peace between Don *Sancho*, king of *Castile*, and his brother Don *Alphonso*, king of *Leon*, had been with difficulty prolonged for somewhat more than a year, when Don *Sancho* had again recourse to arms ^r, without pretending any other motive than that of despoiling Don *Alphonso* of his territories. The latter had assembled a numerous and well disciplined army, towards which his brother Don *Garcia* ^s contributed, by sending him a considerable body of auxiliaries. The two armies met and fought on the fourteenth of July; when, after a long and bloody dispute, Don *Alphonso* remained victorious ^t. If he had pursued his advantage, he might very probably have put an end to the war; but the mildness of his nature, and his unwillingness to shed the blood of his father's subjects, restrained him. Don *Sancho* had with him the *Cid*, who rallied his army, and encamped not far from the field of battle. He afterwards prevailed both upon the king and the troops to fall upon the victorious army about an hour beyond midnight; and taking them by surprise, it was rather a slaughter than a fight, since they met with little or no resistance. The king Don *Alphonso* mounted the first horse he could find, and fled to the first church, which was that of *St. Mary de Carrion*; but Don *Sancho* pursued him with such eagerness, that he was presently taken, and sent prisoner under a strong guard of horse to *Burgos* ^u. Don Alonfo beats Don Sancho one day, and is totally defeated by him the next. 1070.

THE princesses, Donna *Urraca* and Donna *Elvira*, upon Don *Sancho's* coming to *Leon*, interposed in behalf of their unfortunate brother, and were very earnest in persuading the conqueror to spare his life; to which with some difficulty he consented, upon condition that he should abdicate his dominions, consent to be shaved a monk, and retire to the abby of *Sabagon*; which terms, however hard and inglorious, Don *Alphonso* was forced to accept, and is said to have taken a religious habit in the house before-mentioned; but an historian ^w, who lived near these times, tells us, that Don *Sancho* insisted only upon his quitting his dominions, and laying aside the royal title (D). However that may be, Don *Sancho* found no great opposition in establishing- Obligated to abdicate his throne by Don Sancho, who deposes Don Garcia like-wise.

^o RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. LUC. Tudens. Chronicon. PELAG. OVETENS liber Chronic.
^p Chron. var. antiq. ^q ROD. Toletan de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. LUC. Tudens. Chron. ^r Chron.
 var. antiq. ^s LUC. Tudens. Chron. PELAG. OVETENS liber Chronic. ^t ROD. Toletan de
 reb. Hispan. lib. vi. ^u Chron. var. antiq. ^w ROD. Toletan de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. LUC.
 Tudens. Chron.

(D) As it contributes not a little to enlighten history, when we have the characters of the principal persons mentioned in them drawn with fidelity and judgment, it may not be amiss to observe here, that Don *Pelayo*, bishop of *Oviedo*, tells (1) us of Don *Sancho*, that in his father's life-time he drew the respect and veneration of the people by the manly beauty of his person, which, though considerably beyond the common size, was perfectly well proportioned. His countenance was open and pleasant, his air majestic, active, and full of address

in martial exercises, and he had such uncommon vigour, that he derived from thence the surname of Don *Sancho* the strong. He was very brave, and in his own nature generous and beneficent; but he had one great foible, which was, that he loved praise, and them from whom he received it. *Mariana* (2) says, that quarrels had arisen between Don *Alonso* and Don *Garcia* before Don *Sancho* made his first irruption into *Leon*. The archbishop of *Toledo* (3) asserts positively, that Don *Sancho* spared his brother's life upon no other

(1) Pelag. Ovetens Chron. lib. vii.

(2) Historia general de Espana, lib. ix.

(3) De reb. Hispan.

establiſhing himſelf on the throne of *Leon*; and, indeed, in the ſituation things were then in, it is no great wonder. As ambition excludes content, ſo Don *Sancho* could reap no joy in the poſſeſſion of one brother's crown, while there was yet a diadem upon the head of another; and therefore as ſoon as the people of *Leon* had ſubmitted and ſworn allegiance to him, and he had received large reinforcements from *Caſtile*, he entered *Galicia* with his victorious army. If the people had been in any degree united, his conqueſt might have been at leaſt diſputed; but their want of a good underſtanding with their ſovereign and each other, diſabled them from making any conſiderable reſiſtance; and the ſeverity with which Don *Sancho* treated all who oppoſed him, was another circumſtance that facilitated his conqueſt. As for Don *Garcia*, his chief care was to avoid falling into his hands, and therefore, as ſoon as he found his affairs deſperate, he threw himſelf, with ſuch as remained firm to him under his miſfortunes, who were but a few, into the dominions of the king of *Seville*; who, by the conqueſt of *Cordova* and *Murcia*, was become the moſt conſiderable of the *Mohammedan* monarchs in *Spain*, by whom he was very kindly received, and honourably proteſted.

Don Alonſo
withdraws
into the king-
dom of To-
ledo, and is
well received.

While Don *Sancho* was employed in the conqueſt of *Galicia*, Don *Alphonſo* was contriving how to recover his liberty, and to eſcape out of the monastery in which he was confined into the dominions of ſome foreign prince. He found means to inform the princeſſes his ſiſters of his intentions; and Donna *Urraca* prevailed upon three lords, of the family of *Affurez*, to run the hazard of facilitating his eſcape. They accordingly ſupplied him with horſes; and, having drawn him ſafely out of the monastery, conducted him with the utmoſt expedition to *Toledo*. He acquainted *Ali-Maymon*, who was then king, with the ſituation of his affairs, and the reaſons he had to have reſort to his proteſtion. That monarch not only promiſed him all he aſked, but provided for him, and thoſe who reſorted to him, with royal bounty; and, as he knew that he was extremely fond of hunting, he aſſigned him a diſtrict where he might enjoy that diverſion, and where none were allowed to hunt but Chriſtians. The ſweetneſs of Don *Alphonſo's* temper prevailed ſo much upon his proteſtor, that he viſited him almoſt every day, and they lived together in the moſt ſtrict and intimate friendſhip (E). Don *Sancho*, at his return to *Leon*, quickly gave his ſiſters reaſon to believe, that he reſented in a very high degree their attachment to Don *Alphonſo*, by ſignifying to them, that, having now united his father's dominions, it

^y Chron. var antiq.
Luc. Tudenſ. Chron.

^z Rod. Toletan Hiſt. Arabum.
^b Rod. Toletan Hiſt. Arabum.

^a Rod. Toletan de reb. Hiſpan. lib. vi.

terms than an abſolute renunciation, and taking the habit of a monk; to which he was perſuaded by Don *Pedro Affurez*; but the biſhop of *Tuy* (4) relates this matter otherwiſe, for he tells us, that at the requeſt of Donna *Urraca*, Don *Sancho* permitted his brother to retire to *Toledo*, on a promiſe that he would never return during his life without his leave, and that he alſo conſented, that Don *Pedro Affurez* and his two brothers ſhould attend him. But both writers agree, that Don *Alonſo* was undone by his clemency in forbidding the purſuit of his brother's army when broken, ſaying of the *Caſtilians*, when he ſaw them fly, Spare them; they are your brethen, and were my father's ſubjects; and they likewiſe attribute all that afterwards happened to the councils given Don *Sancho* by the *Cid*, who ſeems to have held the ſame place in his favour that Don *Pedro Affurez* did in his brother's; and it may be, there is a little exaggeration in one character as well as the other.

(E) The reception met with by Don *Alonſo* at the court of the king of *Toledo* was without doubt as good as he could deſire, and much better than he could reaſonably expect (1). But *Mariana*, in the method he has taken to make us ſenſible of this, has injured the elegance of his deſcription, by puſhing it not only beyond probability, but beyond poſſibility alſo (2). He gives us the ſpeeches of the two kings at their firſt interview, the conditions propoſed and accepted, the diſpoſition of the city and ſummer palace, the penſions ſettled upon ſuch as followed the fortunes of this exiled prince, the ſervices they rendered the king of *Toledo* in his wars with other *Mooriſh* princes, and abundance of other entertaining particulars; amongſt the reſt he acquaints us, that one day, when the two kings were

together, with many of the *Mooriſh* nobility about them, in the royal garden, Don *Alonſo* laid himſelf along by the ſide of a canal, and ſeemed to be aſleep, while the king of *Toledo*, who attentively conſidered that city, of which they had a fair and full view from the ſpot where they were, deſired their opinion of his new works, and whether they did not judge that the place was now in a manner impregnable; to which one of his lords answered, that it was indeed much ſtronger than before, but that it might ſtill be taken, by waiting for ſeven years together all the country round, by which the magazines would be exhausted, and the recruiting them rendered impracticable; after which a ſhort ſiege would not fail of being attended with ſucceſs. This diſcourſe being over-heard, and treaſured up in his mind by *Alonſo*, ſtagnated him in proceſs of time with the means of becoming maſter of that capital. He adds, that there was ſuch a reſort of Chriſtians to Don *Alonſo*, that they built a town about his hunting ſeat, which is that now called *Bribuega*. But if he had adverted ever ſo little to the chronology of this hiſtory, it would have prevented, or at leaſt have ſhortened, this deſcription of the king's reception and manner of paſſing his time, ſince, by a comparison of circumſtances, it is certain, he did not remain at *Toledo* a full year; and an hiſtorian (3), who flouriſhed in his grandſon's reign, affirms, that his ſtay did not exceed nine months; which clearly demonſtrates, that moſt of theſe ſtories are the pure effects of imagination, not in *Mariana*, but in the writers from whom he took them, and by whom he would have been in no danger of being miſled, if he had attended to this circumſtance, which will juſtify our omitting them.

(4) *Lucæ Tudenſis Chron.* who very probably followed ſome more ancient author.
Hiſt. Arabum. (2) *Hiſtoria general de Eſpaña*, lib. ix.
from ſome abby chronicle of that time.

(1) *Roderic Toletan*
(3) *Ped. Ovetoſ Chron.* very probably

a was no longer requisite that they should remain mistresses of the towns which he had given them; but, upon their resigning these into his hands, he would assign them a maintenance suitable to their rank. They represented to him in vain how unworthy it was of so great a prince to think of oppressing two feeble women, and those too of his own blood. However, they called together their vassals, and acquainted them with the king's intention, whose haughty, morose, and cruel temper, having rendered him universally odious, those, who depended upon the princesses, dreading nothing so much as to become his subjects, freely offered to defend the places of which they were possessed to the utmost extremity; and this proposition being accepted, they took their measures accordingly.

b THE king was excessively provoked at this conduct, which he did not expect; but, on the contrary supposed, that their vassals would either have prevailed upon them to submit, or provided for their own safety by submitting themselves. As soon as he found himself deceived in that hope, he assembled a very numerous army, which he commanded in person^d, and had for his lieutenant general Don *Rodrigo*, surnamed the *Cid*. He first attacked *Toro*, which belonged to Donna *Elvira*, and took it rather by the srew than the force of his army^e, which pleased him exceedingly, and gave him great reason to hope, that he should find his next expedition attended with little difficulty. But he very quickly found the contrary; Donna *Urraca* had shut herself up in *Zamora*, which was very well fortified, and had a numerous garrison, whom he could not intimidate by menaces, and by whom his troops were repulsed with great loss in several assaults. There was a nobleman in the town, Don *Arias Gonzalez*, A. D. 1072. who acted as general and prime minister for the princess *Urraca*, and he acted so well in both capacities, that the troops did their duty with spirit, and were well supplied from the magazines with every thing they wanted; so that at length the king of *Leon*, notwithstanding the superiority of his forces, found himself obliged to retire to a greater distance, and to turn his siege into a blockade. This appeared to be a certain method of reducing the place; for as they had no succours to expect, so famine within the town would quickly bring them into greater distress than was in the power of an army without; and, indeed, all things considered, Donna *Urraca* and her subjects had great reason to look upon their condition as desperate^f.

d It was not long before some in the town began to think it so, and to communicate their thoughts to their neighbours, which producing a kind of general murmur, a council^g was called by the townsmen to know whether they should not demand a capitulation. After some very warm debates, one *Ataulphus* stood up, and assured them, that if they would have a little patience, he would undertake to deliver the place. Upon this the council broke up, and *Ataulphus*, at his own request, was permitted to go out of the city; he proceeded directly to the camp of the king of *Leon*, and having asked and obtained a private audience, he gave him an account of the council that had been held, assured him, that he was the only person who proposed a surrender; upon which they fairly turned him out of the town^h. At this he expressed great resentment, telling him, that if he would advance with a party of horse near the place, he would discover to him a postern that might be easily forced, and the city taken by stormⁱ. The king was extremely pleased with this intelligence, and at the request of him who gave it, kept it a secret from his officers. A few days after he advanced with a part of his cavalry, and when they were within sight of the walls, *Ataulphus* told the king, if he would dismount he would shew him the place, and him only. He readily complied with his request, but had not gone far before he found it necessary to ease himself; and while he was behind a bush for this purpose, *Ataulphus* struck him through the body with his javelin, and leaving him swimming in his own blood, made his escape^k. Thus fell the ambitious Don *Sancho*, king of *Leon*, *Castile*, and *Galicia*, on the fifth of *October* one thousand seventy two, when he had reigned almost seven years. The greatest part of his army separated immediately upon the news of the king's death; but the *Castilian* troops retired in good order, carrying his corpse with them, which they caused to be interred with royal honour in the monastery of *Ona*^l (F).

THE

^c Chron. var. antiq.
OVETENS liber Chron.
Tudens. Chron.
OVETENS liber Chron.
Anacephalæosis FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ, de reg. Hispan.
LUC. Tudens. Chron.

^d RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. LUC. Tudens. Chron.
^e Chron. var. antiq.

^h RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. l. vi.

^k RODERIC SANTI Hist. Hispan. p. iii. ALPHONSI a Carthagena reg. Hispan.
^l RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. lib. vi.

^g PELAG.

^g ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. p. iii. LUC.

ⁱ LUC. Tudens. Chron. PELAG.

(F) As singular and as extraordinary as the circumstances of Don *Sancho*'s death may appear in the text, they might have been rendered out of comparison

more wonderful, if we had paid any regard to what modern historians have made no scruple of inserting in their works upon this occasion (1). According to them,

(1) Ferreras Historia de Espana, p. v. scilicet. xi. Mayerne Turquet, Histoire general de Espagne, liv. viii. the

Don Alonso
VI. returns
into his do-
minions upon
the news of his
brother's
death.

THE first care of Donna *Urraca*, when the blockade was raised, was to dispatch an express ^a to *Toledo*, to desire Don *Alphonso* to make all the dispatch imaginable in repairing to *Zamora* ^m. When he communicated this intelligence to those who were about him, they unanimously dissuaded him from acquainting the *Moorish* prince, from an apprehension that he would not suffer him to depart. Their arguments had no effect upon Don *Alonso*. He said, that princes might indeed be justified from policy in dealing artificially with each other, but that such a behaviour was inexcusable between friends. He went therefore to *Ali-Maymon*, presented to him his sister's letters, and desired his permission to return into his own dominions ⁿ. That monarch received him with all imaginable kindness, concealing his own intelligence which was very near as early as Don *Alphonso*'s, he gave him the strongest assurances, that his pleasure was not greater than his own, and, having gently put him in mind of the kindnesses he had done him, ^b requested a continuance of his friendship towards himself and his eldest son *Hissam*; which Don *Alphonso* having promised in the most solemn terms, he dismissed him with all imaginable marks of esteem, and under the escorte of a strong party of horse, by whom he was safely conducted to *Zamora*, where he was received with all possible testimonies of affection and duty, as well as with the greatest tenderness, by the prince's Donna *Urraca*, to whose firmness and fidelity he owed his restoration ^o.

Invited into
Castile, but
obliged to
purge himself
by oath of the
murder of Don
Sancho.

THE principal nobility of *Leon* and *Galicia* repaired very cheerfully to *Zamora* to congratulate Don *Alphonso* upon this happy turn in his affairs, and to assure him of their fidelity ^p. The *Castilians*, however, were not altogether so hasty, but they acted with as much prudence, and perhaps with more dignity; for after some deliberation they sent deputies to Don *Alphonso*, ^c to acquaint him that they were willing to acknowledge him for their sovereign, and were for this reason desirous of his presence as *Burgos*; but knowing, as he did, that their late king fell by the hand of a traitor, they expected he should purge himself by oath of all privy or participation in that action ^q. Don *Alphonso* readily accepted the crown on this condition, and went to *Burgos* as he was desired; but when it came to the issue, none of the *Castilian* nobility had courage enough to require the king's oath. At length *Rodrigo*, surnamed the *Cid*, administered it, which was certainly very laudable; but not contented with this, he obliged the king to repeat it twice more, which he did, but resented it so much, that Don *Rodrigo* could never after recover his good graces ^r. This being over, the king took possession of the government, to the great joy and with the general satisfaction of the *Castilians*. ^d

Don Alonso
imprisons Don
Garcia, and
deprives him
of his domi-
nions.

As soon as the news of Don *Sancho*'s death, and Don *Alphonso*'s being quietly admitted to the succession, reached *Seville*, Don *Garcia* requested the *Moorish* monarch, with whom he had taken shelter, to permit him to return into his own dominions, which he did with great readiness ^s. What reception he met with from his subjects, or how he behaved towards them, we cannot with any certainty affirm. It is as little in our power, and therefore as little in our will, to suggest, that he meant to give his brother any disturbance. *Ferreras* ^t, indeed, says it, but without proof; and we must not supply facts to support characters. Don *Alonso*, being informed of his resuming the government in *Galicia*, invited him to a conference; upon which he very readily came to *Leon*, and though at first received with all outward testimonies of kindness, was in a short time arrested by the advice of Donna *Urraca*, and sent prisoner to the castle of *Luna*, where he spent the remainder of his ^e days ^u. It is alleged, that he was of a mutable and yet of a violent temper, which obliged his brother to have recourse to this method of treating him for his his own security. We

A. D. 1073.

^m Chron. var. antiq.
OVETENS liber Chron.
Tudens. Chron.
España, p. v. sect. xi.

ⁿ RODERIC Toletan Hist. Arabum.

^p Chron. var. antiq.

^q Chron. var. antiq.

^r Chron. var. antiq.

^o LUC. Tudens. Chron. PELAG.

^s RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. LUC.

^t RODERIC Toletan Hist. Arabum.

^u Historia de

the name of the person who managed the scheme of the king's death was *Velido Dolfos*, which seems to be a corruption of *Ataulphus*. It is added, that the *Castilians*, instead of deserting the siege, were so enraged by the murder of the king, that Don *Diego Ordóñez*, of the house of *Laura*, went up to the gates of *Zamora*, and threatened the inhabitants with the utter extirpation of every thing within their walls, if they did not purge themselves of their having any share in the contrivance or execution of that assassination; upon which, according the custom then in use, Don *Arias Gonzales* and his three sons, Don *Pedro*, Don *Diego*, and Don *Rodrigo*, offered to maintain the innocence of the townsmen in single combat one by one against Don *Diego Ordóñez*, which was accepted; and in this fight Don

Diego killed all the three young cavaliers; but the youngest of them, Don *Rodrigo*, after he had received a mortal wound, aiming a stroke at Don *Diego*, cut the reins of his horse's bridle; upon which the beast wheeled about, forced the barrier, and carried his master out of the field of battle; which, according to the laws of combat, was the same thing as if he had been defeated. Upon this, the judges refused to give any decision, and the *Castilians* raised the siege and retired into their own country (2). The reader will know what credit is due to these relations, when he is told, that their most authentic support are the ballads, sung time out of mind, through all the provinces of *Spain*, concerning these wonderful feats of arms.

a write the history and not the apologies of princes: the reader will judge of this action for himself; but certain it is, that the more antient historians are not so complaisant to the memory of Don *Alphonso* in this particular as the moderns ^w. We pretend not to determine the controversy, but we fairly report the facts. Their king being a prisoner, the *Galicians* readily and perhaps willingly submitted to Don *Alonso*, who thus united once more the dominions of his father, and became master of *Castile*, *Leon*, and *Galicia* ^x.

THE divisions among Christian princes were the true source of the papal power, which began now to extend itself in *Spain*. Don *Alphonso* found the *Roman* service introduced in the neighbouring kingdom of *Arragon*, and the emissaries of the pope used all their arts to engage the king's inclination to have it introduced also throughout his dominions. *Gregory* the seventh had succeeded *Alexander* the second; and having received some complaints of the behaviour of his legates in the other principalities of *Spain*, he made choice of cardinal *Hugo*, surnamed the *White*, to repair these mistakes, and sent him with special recommendations to the court of *Leon* ^y, and with instructions no doubt to make himself as agreeable there as he possibly could. He proved an active and an able minister, as appeared from his success; for after a short stay he prevailed upon the king to suffer his ambassadors to accompany him to *Rome*, to assure the holy father of his obedience, and to solicit the establishment of the *Roman* offices in all the churches throughout his territories; and this notwithstanding his predecessor had declared, that there was nothing in the *Gothic* liturgies but what was perfectly agreeable to the orthodox doctrines of the catholic church; so that what the king now asked as a favour to himself and subjects, was in reality a favour only to the *Roman* pontif; and having thus explained from their own historians ^z, and without the least exaggeration, the manner in which this objection of this church and state to the see of *Rome* was obtained, we will return to what is more immediately our province.

Don *Alphonso* had once been married without ever seeing his wife, and believing that the safety of himself and subjects depended in a great measure upon his leaving posterity, he judged it high time to think of a second marriage; to which it may be he was instigated also by the legate. The lady upon whom he cast his eyes, or rather who was recommended to him, was Donna *Agnes* ^a, the daughter of the duke of *Guène* and count of *Poitiers*, and their marriage was quickly after concluded and celebrated. The rejoicings upon this occasion were interrupted by the news of a war, in which Don *Alonso* thought himself obliged to take a part. Ambition prompted *Mohammed Aben-Habet*, king of *Seville*, who had already united three *Moorish* principalities, to attempt the conquest of a fourth, and it was with this view that he assembled the whole forces of his dominions; but as this could not be done without Don *Alonso's* knowledge, and as he knew not where the storm would fall, he likewise assembled an army; and upon receiving advice that the king of *Seville* had entered the dominions of the king of *Toledo* on one side, he without any ceremony entered them on the other ^b. *Ali-Maymon*, as soon as he had intelligence of Don *Alonso's* irruption, sent ambassadors to put him in mind of the old friendship that had passed between them. Don *Alonso* smiled at the gravity of their harangue, and assured them, that it was no other than the sense of that obligation that brought him thither, and that *Ali-Maymon* might rest satisfied, that his own subjects would not serve him more chearfully than the forces under his command ^c. This made a speedy and strange alteration. *Ali-Maymon*, who had fortified *Toledo*, understanding the approach of Don *Alonso* and his intentions, instead of expecting a siege, marched out and joined him with all his forces; and, as some authors ^d say, attacked and routed the king of *Seville* in a general engagement; though others affirm, upon the junction of the armies, he thought it expedient to retire into his own territories, and soon after made a peace with the king of *Toledo* upon equitable conditions; but, however, it is on all hands agreed, that Don *Alonso* had the honour of putting an end to this war, and of expressing, in the most honourable manner, his gratitude and affection towards his royal protector.

f We have more than once observed, that it is dangerous for the princes even in communion with *Rome* to shew any extraordinary respect or deference for those who stile themselves the successors of St. *Peter*. We have a most amazing instance of this in the conduct of *Gregory* the seventh, who, having received the ambassadors of Don *Alonso*, king of *Leon*, *Castile*, and *Galicia*, and the report of his legate cardinal *Hugo*, who by the way has an extreme bad character in history, judged it proper to make him a suitable return; which, however, is thought and treated as a very extraordinary one, even by the *Spanish* historians ^e. This return was claiming the supreme and absolute dominion of all his kingdoms, and not of his only, but

^w MARIANA FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET. Tudenf. Chron.

^y Chron. var. antiq.

^z MARIANA, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET. Roderic Toletan de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. PELAG. OVETENS liber Chronic.

Hist. Arabum.

^c LUC. Tudenf. Chron.

^d LUC. Tudenf. Chron. PELAG. OVETENS liber Chron.

^e MARIANA Historia general de Espana, lib. ix. FERRERAS, Historia de Espana, p. v. sect. vi. MAYERNE TURQUET.

^x RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. LUC.

^a MARIANA, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.

^b RODERIC Toletan

^c Chron. var. antiq.

of all the Christian princes in *Spain*; which strange title was suggested to stand upon as strange a foundation, that is, on a commission granted to *Eblon*, count of *Rouffi*, to conquer countries in the hands of infidels, which he was to possess and enjoy for his pains, yielding an annual tribute, and acknowledging himself feudatory to the holy see of *Rome*. When or where this great conqueror lived does not at all appear, or what this commission to him had to do with the crowns of *Spain*. *Ferreras*^s seems to suggest, that the argument drawn from hence was analogical. The count de *Rouffi*, in case he conquered lands from the infidels, was to hold them from the see of *Rome*, and to pay an annual tribute: therefore, according to this precedent, all territories conquered from infidels were to be held from the see of *Rome* by an annual tribute. A very wild title this; and from an error in the date of the pope's letter one would be glad, for the credit of these bishops, to suppose it counterfeit: but even in this we shall not find ourselves much relieved: for this pope did not stop at a single letter, to which Don *Alphonso* and the other princes seem to have given no immediate answer, because they knew not well what answer to give, but repeated and insisted upon his demand, at the same time that he enjoined the kings of *Leon* and *Navarre* (for in *Arragon* it was already in use) to lay aside the *Gothic* service, and to receive that of the *Roman* church. This at last obliged Don *Alphonso* to answer plainly, as the other princes likewise did, that they were independent princes, and would own no superior upon earth. As to the other part of the injunction, the king of *Leon* was inclined to grant it, and did as much as he thought convenient to do; but some of the bishops in his dominions peremptorily refused to quit their antient liturgy; and others, in obedience, or rather in complaisance to the king, introduced the *Roman* service.

Don Alonfo
seizes a part
of Navarre,
and the king of
Arragon the
rest.

A. D. 1075.

BUT as much as the pope interfered in this, we find no traces of his interposition in another great affair, where it might have been more reasonably expected. Don *Sancho*, king of *Navarre*, being murdered by one of his brothers, and some others of his family being suspected of conniving at it, his subjects absolutely refused to obey any of his race or line. Upon this the Infant Don *Ramiro*, one of the brothers of the deceased king, called in Don *Alonso*, who possessed himself of *Biscay* and *Rioja*, while most of the nobility declared for Don *Sancho*, king of *Arragon*, who got possession of the rest¹. Don *Alonso* took the infant Don *Ramiro*, and the Infantas Donna *Urraca*, *Ximena*, and *Mayao* into his care; but what became of Don *Garcia*, the king's son, unless he died in his infancy, does not appear. If ever the interposition of *Rome* was necessary, it was in such a case as this, to prevent orphans and innocent persons from being injured; but of this we hear nothing. Yet the next year a council^m was called at *Burgos* to force the *Roman* service upon the people; and upon this occasion, it is said, that the contest between the two offices was put upon the issue of a duel, and that the *Gothic* knight prevailed, and that both the services being thrown into the fire, the old book escaped without hurt; but notwithstanding this, the king persuaded the major part of the ecclesiastics to make a canon, enjoining the use of the *Roman* service, which was attended with great murmurings and heart-burnings among the people (G).

Pope's legate
divorces the
king from one
queen, and his
chaplain finds
another.

THE year following came a legate from the pope, who found or made a great deal of business at court. The king it seems had a mind to part with his wife; and he had an ecclesiastical favourite *Robert*, bishop of *Sabagon*, who had made himself some enemies by reforming that monastery, and who, being addicted to the old service-book, could find no passage there that would countenance kings parting with their wives when they had a mind to it. The

^s Historia de Espana, p. v. sect. xi.
Chron.

¹ Roderic Toletan de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. Luc. Tudenfis
Cardinalis d'AGUIRRE Conc. Hispan. tom. iii. p. 258.

(G) We shall have occasion in another place to treat of this matter more at large (1), and to discuss the reasons which induced the people of *Navarre* to think themselves under the necessity of laying aside the reigning family, and calling in princes of the collateral line to govern them. At present we will confine ourselves to the matters of fact arising from this revolution. The great acquisition which Don *Alonso* made by these troubles, might tempt one to believe, that he had some share in them; but when we consider that all the princes and princesses of the royal family of *Navarre* fled to him for shelter, and were the very persons that delivered up the countries they could not keep for themselves to him, in preference to the king of *Arragon*, we see all grounds of suspicion destroyed, and are obliged to own, that he acted with great generosity, as well as like an able politician (2). Those of the de-

ceased king of *Navarre*'s family, for whom Don *Alonso* made provision, were his brother the Infant Don *Ramiro*, his sisters Donna *Ximena*, Donna *Urraca*, and Donna *Mayao* (3). *Mariana* will have Don *Ramiro* to be the son of the deceased monarch, in which he is certainly mistaken; but, however, he is right in supposing that he married the daughter of Don *Rodrigo*, surnamed the *Cid*; Donna *Urraca* married Don *Garcia Ordonez*, of the royal family of *Leon*, and Donna *Maya* the count *Macon* in *France* (4). By the treaty he made with the king of *Arragon* both crowns were great gainers. The noble country of *Biscay* was again annexed to the *Asturias*, and all the territories lying south and west of the river *Elbro* were incorporated into the kingdom of *Old Castile*; and all this without any effusion of blood (5).

(1) In the history of the kingdom of Navarre.

(2) Annal. Complut. Chron. Monach. I. Joan Pagn.

Roderic Toletan de rebus Hispaniæ.

(3) Sandoval, Moret, Ferreras.

(4) Roderic Toletan, Ferreras.

(5) Mariana Historia general d'Espana, lib. ix. P. Moret Investigaciones historicas de las Antiquidades del Reyno de Navarre, lib. v. Mayerne Turquet Histoire generale d'Espagne.

- a legate was much an abler man ; he did the king's business and his own with great facility ; he found out that the queen Donna *Agnes* was some way related to the king's first queen *Agueda* ; who, as the reader will remember, he never saw ; and upon this pretence of consanguinity he dissolved the marriage. He likewise excommunicated abbot *Robert*, and sent him back into France from whence he came : in his room came another *French* ecclesiastic, whose name was abbot *Barnard*, who, before the close of the year, negotiated a new marriage for the king with Donna *Constantia*, daughter of *Robert* the first duke of *Burgundy* . The poor repudiated queen likewise found afterwards another husband * in the life-time of the king ; such was the purity that attended the new discipline, or rather such were the conveniencies that accompanied the submission to the holy see, and such the arts by which the pope's legates raised themselves
- b into the favour of princes.

- THE good old king of *Toledo*, and *Hissem*, his eldest son, being dead within little more than the compass of a year, *Hiaya*, the younger son of the one, and brother to the other, was seated on the throne, and proved, as the *Spaniards* † say, a very great tyrant ; inasmuch that the people of *Toledo* solicited Don *Alphonso* to make himself master of that city and kingdom ; but if we advert to facts, we cannot help perceiving, that the conjuncture was extremely inviting. The ambitious and all-grasping king of *Seville* had already attacked the unfortunate monarch of *Toledo* ; the king of *Arragon* pressed hard upon other *Mohammedan* princes ; so that this unlucky king had not either an ally or a protector, when Don *Alphonso* made his first irruption into that which is now called *New Castile*. We have no very perfect account
- c of this war ; but from the memorials still preserved, it is apparent, that it lasted full four campaigns, during which Don *Alonso* wasted all the country, and took every place of importance in the neighbourhood of *Toledo* ; by which, having prepared all things for the reduction of the place, he came the fifth year with a very numerous army ; and, having first blockaded the city till the inhabitants began to be in want, he at length turned that blockade into a siege. It is allowed, that *Hiaya* defended himself with great courage and firmness, and that Don *Alphonso* lost abundance of men before the place, which induced some of the citizens to represent to *Hiaya*, that it was better to capitulate in time than to expose them to certain death by famine or the sword. That prince clearly perceived, by the manner in which this advice was given him, that he had nothing to do but to follow it ; for that otherwise the
- d authors of it were like to treat for themselves. He therefore demanded terms from Don *Alphonso*, and obtained such as would not have been given, if there had been any great probability of *Toledo's* being taken by force. In fine, it was agreed, that the king, and such as would share his fortunes, should have leave to go where they pleased ; that the inhabitants should enjoy their religion and laws, and not suffer the smallest injury either in their persons or properties. The city being surrendered, *Hiaya* retired with his followers to *Valentia*, where he established the seat of his government, and passed the remainder of his days in the peaceable possession of a small principality ; which seems to render it plain, that he might have reigned as quietly over his hereditary kingdom, if he had been happy in having better neighbours † (H).

THIS

† RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hisp. Luc. Tudens. Chron.
‡ Chron. var. antiq.

* PELAG. OVETENS liber Chron.

† ROD. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

(H) While Don *Alonso* was employed in the preparations for his great design of conquering *Toledo*, some of the detachments which he had sent to spoil the country advanced towards the frontiers of the territories held by the *Moorish* prince of *Saragossa* ; and as he had not the least conception of the king's real intention, he judged his own dominions to be in the utmost danger ; and as he had no forces capable of resisting those of the king of *Leon and Castile*, he had recourse to a stratagem that succeeded in part, and was very near being attended with all the success that he could expect from it. The stratagem was this : he ordered *Aben-Falax*, one of his principal commanders, to enter into a secret treaty with Don *Alonso*, in which he gave him to understand, that he had received such ill-usage from his master as had determined him to quit his service, and at the same time to make himself master of the castle of *Rueda*, near the river *Xalon*, five miles from *Saragossa*, which, as he was apprehensive he could not defend with his own troops, he was willing to give it up to those of the king of *Castile*, provided he would come thither in person

to accept of his homage. This was accordingly executed, with so much cunning and address, that Don *Alonso* readily embraced it, and promised to do all that was expected or desired from him (1). Some, however, of the nobility were not so easily deceived, either because they knew the character of *Aben-Falax*, or had some secret reason for distrusting his insinuations. However that was, they prevailed upon the king not to go in person, but sent a body of troops, who summoned the *Moor* to the performance of his promise (2). *Aben-Falax* trifled for a time, and pretended that he would give up the place to none but the king. However, finding this would not do, he at length proposed to surrender it to such persons of distinction as the king should please to charge with his commission ; upon which Don *Alonso*, desirous of having the place, which was of great consequence, sent the Infant Don *Ramiro* of *Navarre*, the Infant Don *Sanchez* of *Navarre*, the count *Gonsales de Salvadores*, the count Don *Nunez de Lara*, and some other persons of great rank, with full powers to promise, in his name, what the *Moors* should require ; who

(1) *Annal Complut. Annal Toletan.*

(2) *Roderic Toletan de rebus Hispan. lib. vi.*

had

Great pains
taken by the
king to secure
and improve
that city.

THIS city was surrendered to the Christians on the 25th of *May* 1085, after it had been in the possession of the infidels three hundred and seventy-two years^x. Don *Alphonso*, who knew the importance of it, resolved to make it the capital of his dominions^y, and to people it as soon as possible with Christians, of whom he found many, and some illustrious families that had lived there from the time of the conquest by the *Moors*, and were, for that reason, as we have shewn elsewhere, stiled *Mozarabians*: there were likewise abundance of *Jews*; and the number of *Mohammedans* who chose to remain under his protection was very considerable. There remained, however, room for many new inhabitants, and it was not long before they were supplied, the example of the king, and of the nobility attending upon his person, being a kind of irresistible motives. On the other hand, Don *Alphonso* omitted nothing that might render persons of different nations and different faiths easy under his government; and it very quickly appeared that he acted in this as a very wise and prudent prince, capable of foreseeing and providing against dangers that might otherwise have proved fatal to his interests. This shews that there are some natures that are improved by prosperity; and that as we frequently see men's understandings weakened and lost through unexpected success, so in the present case we cannot but discern, that the genius of Don *Alphonso* expanded itself with his fortune, and that no two princes can be produced in this history more different from each other in their characters, than this monarch from himself before his expulsion, and after his restoration. These remarks are so natural, that they may at least be thought excusable.

The Moham-
medans are
exceedingly
amazed at the
loss of this fa-
mous place.

THE *Mohammedans* were astonished when they saw *Toledo* in the hands of the Christians, and the greatness of their loss was evident from the effects of that impression it made upon them, since they immediately composed their differences, and entered into a league against Don *Alphonso*^z. The principal powers at the head of this confederacy were the kings of *Seville* and *Badajoz*, who at the same time sent ambassadors to the princes of their religion in *Africa*, imploring their immediate assistance; alleging, that they were now engaged in a religious war, and that Don *Alonso* had nothing less in view than to extirpate all who professed the faith of *Mohammed*. These preparations and intrigues were no secret to the victorious monarch of *Castile* and *Leon*; and that he might not appear wanting in his own defence, he assembled a numerous army in the spring, and at the same time appointed a council to be held in his new capital the *Christmas* following, in order to the choice of an archbishop of that metropolitan see, which he had so fortunately restored to the Christians, and which he very justly regarded as the most considerable event of his reign, and it may be as the most glorious.

Don Alonso
takes Coria,
and loses a bat-
tle against the
Moors.
A. D. 1086.

As soon as the season would permit, he marched with his forces into the territories of the king of *Badajoz*, that he might convince him of his temerity in putting himself at the head of a league against so powerful a prince, and with this view he ravaged the country of *Estremadura* with fire and sword, and at length, meeting no resistance, besieged, and in a short time made himself master of *Coria*^a. But the two *Mohammedan* kings, having by this time assembled a numerous army of hardy and well disciplined troops, advanced to give him battle; and accordingly, on the 23d of *October*, the armies met between *Merida* and *Badajoz*, where, after an obstinate and bloody engagement, Don *Alonso* was defeated^b. Some authors say, that he was wounded in the leg, and that, having on his return to *Coria* reprimanded some of the nobility very sharply, they went over to the *Mohammedans*. Whatever truth there may be in these facts, we find the king in the beginning of *November* at *Toledo*, where he held a council, in which Don *Bernard*, abbot of *Sabagon*, was elected archbishop of *Toledo*, and the nobility gave the king their advice as to the most effectual means of raising a new army, numerous enough to repair the loss he had lately sustained, and prevent the infidels from acting, as it was evident they would otherwise do, offensively, as soon as the season would permit; and on this head gave him the strongest assurances of their fidelity and assistance.

Count Ray-
mond of Bur-
gundy and

THE king, though he relied much on these assurances, and not a little on the high rate at which the *Moors* had bought their late victory, yet he was resolved not to trust entirely to

^x MARIANA Historia general de Espana, lib. ix. FERRERAS Hist. de Espana, p. v. sect. xi. TUDENS Chron. PELAG. OVETENS liber Chronic.

^y LUC.

^z ROD. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

^a RODERIC

^b RODERIC Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

had no sooner prevailed upon them to enter his fortress than he caused them to be murdered. The king, upon hearing of this infamous act of treachery, came with all his forces, in hopes of reducing it, and of punishing *Aben Falax*; but the place was so completely fortified, the garrison so numerous, and the magazine so well sup-

plied, that, after several assaults to little or no purpose, he was obliged to retire, and to furnish the relations of the noble persons that were slain with a sum of money to ransom their bodies, which were interred with great pomp in the monasteries of *Najara* and *Ona* (3).

(3) Chron. Monachi Sancti Joannis, Annual. Toletan. Ferreras Historia de Espana, p. v. sect. xi.

^a the strength of his own dominions, extensive as they were. On this account he wrote to *Philip* the first, king of *France*, desiring his assistance, and to the great lords of his kingdom, amongst whom count *Raymond* of *Burgundy* and count *Besanson* went in person, at the head of a considerable body of troops, to the relief of the Christians in *Spain* against the infidels. But before their arrival the war was at an end; for *Don Alonso* having drawn together the whole force of his dominions, and marching towards his frontiers, that the infidels might see that he meant not to decline another action, the two *Moorish* princes, apprehensive of being overwhelmed by the foreign troops that they knew were raising, in order to pass the *Pyrenees*, entered into a negotiation; in which, as they were very sincere, and as *Don Alonso* found peace at that juncture very convenient to him, it was not long before terms were settled to their mutual satisfaction ^f. Yet whether these *Moorish* princes became his vassals, and agreed to pay him an annual tribute, as some historians ^g say they did, is more than we can find sufficient authority to assert, and think it a point of too great consequence to be determined by bare conjecture.

According to the capitulation of *Toledo*, the cathedral, which the *Mohammedans* had converted into a mosque, was to remain in their hands, with which the king punctually complied. But the new metropolitan *Don Bernard* looked upon this as a reproach to christianity, and by his vehement declamations persuaded the queen to be of the same opinion; in consequence of which, while the king was in the field, they dispossessed the *Moors* by force of that noble structure, restored it to its former condition, consecrated and celebrated divine service therein ^h, not without great danger of raising an insurrection. The *Moors*, however, reflected very prudently, that as this was done in the king's absence, and without his knowledge, they ought, in justice to themselves and him, to try first what might be done in the way of expostulation. They accordingly sent deputies to meet *Don Alonso*, and to inform him of what had happened. The king, upon hearing of this flagrant breach of faith, which was at the same time the highest insult upon his authority, though he was naturally of a calm and moderate disposition, fell into such a transport of rage against the queen and the archbishop, as terrified the *Moorish* deputies to such a degree, that they left his camp, returned to *Toledo*, and made such a report to their brethren as induced them to go in a body out of the city to meet the king, and to beseech him to pardon the authors of this injustice, offering at the same time to depart from their pretensions to the cathedral, rather than become the instruments of confusion in a state where they were willing to live peaceably, and to enjoy the benefit of his royal protection ⁱ. A very singular instance of prudence and self-denial, and which ought certainly to give us a very high opinion of their morals and good sense. The pacification thus made, the king entered the city in triumph, with the universal acclamations of all his subjects; and on the 25th of *October* following, the cathedral was solemnly consecrated by the archbishop *Don Bernard*, in the presence of the king and queen, and with all the pomp and ceremony possible ^k. The cathedral of Toledo taken from the Moors by the queen and the archbishop.

As every thing was now quiet, *Don Alonso* resolved to take this opportunity of fortifying his dominions effectually, by repairing the many cities that were destroyed in the course of the war, and to repeople them with Christians ^l. He began with those of *Segovia*, *Avila*, and *Salamanca*, and committed the care of their restitution to count *Raymond*, who, in all probability, settled a great part of his own people in them ^m. The king likewise determined to repair all the great towns between the river *Duero* and the mountains that separate the two *Castiles*; and by encouraging people to come and settle in them, he hoped to put the new kingdom he had conquered into such a condition, as, in case of fresh troubles, it might be able to furnish a strength sufficient to defend itself. In this likewise he was so well seconded by count *Raymond*, that the several great towns of *Medina del Campo*, *Aravalo*, *Olmedo*, *Coca*, *Isicar*, *Cuellar*, *Sepulveda*, and *Osma*, were restored, and filled with Christian inhabitants in the space of a few years ⁿ. In return for these and other eminent services, as well as to attach him to the like for the future, the king bestowed upon *Don Raymond* his only daughter *Donna Urraca*, whom he had by the reigning queen ^o. About this time, and chiefly through the mixture of foreigners that resorted into *Spain*, they quitted the old *Gothic* characters of writing, and began to make use of those that were common in other parts of *Europe* through all this monarch's dominions ^p. *Don Garcia*, king of *Galicia*, after having worn out many years in captivity, died in the castle of *Luna*, on the 22d of *May*, *Anno Domini* 1090. Don Garcia, the deposed king of Galicia, dies in prison.

^f Roder. Toletan. Hist. Arabum.

Hispan. lib. vi. Luc. Tudens. Chron.

Chron. ^g Luc. Tudens. Chron.

liber Chronicon. Luc. Tudens. Chron.

Hispan. lib. vi. Luc. Tudens. Chron.

thagena reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis

antiqu.

^h Chron. var. antiq.

ⁱ Rod. Toletan Hist. Arab.

RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. P. iii.

^m Chron. var. antiq.

^o Roderic Sant. Hist. Hispan. P. iii.

FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ, de reg. Hispaniæ,

^h Roderic Toletan de reb;

PELAG. OVETENS liber

ⁱ PELAG. OVETENS

ⁿ Roderic Toletan de reb.

ALPHONSI a Car-

^p Chron. var.

1091; some say of disease; but *Mariana* ^r asserts, of despair, and that he opened his veins ^a with his own hands. His corpse was transported to *Leon*, and interred with those of his ancestors in the church of *St. Isidore*; the king and queen, together with the Infantas *Donna Urraca* and *Donna Elvira*, and most of the great lords and bishops assisting thereat; and, which is more remarkable, the irons he had worn in prison were interred with him, according to his own directions ^s. The next year *Donna Constantia*, wife to *Don Alonso*, died, and he soon after married *Donna Bertha*, the sister of his son-in-law *Don Raymond*, in hopes of male issue; nor does it appear that consanguinity in this case troubled the conscience of the king, or gave any offence to *Rome*, though *Don Raymond*, and consequently his sister, was nearly allied to the deceased queen ^t.

Don Alonso extends his dominions on the side of Portugal at the expense of the Moors.

A. D. 1093.

THE interior of his dominions being in perfect order, *Don Alphonso* held it expedient to ^b renew his excursions on the infidels; for he was sensible, that if his troops remained long inactive they might degenerate in point of discipline, or become seditious and turbulent. To prevent this, he made an irruption into the countries since stiled *Portugal*, with a resolution not only to harass and plunder it, as himself and his predecessors had often done, but to make an absolute conquest of it; very justly conceiving, that whatever he took from the *Moors* was doubly beneficial to the Christians, as at the same time that it weakened one interest, it added to the strength of another: his army took the field early in the spring, and began their operations with the siege of *Coimbra*, which being speedily reduced, he proceeded to *Santaren*, which having subdued, he marched next to besiege *Lisbon*, and afterwards took *Sintria* by capitulation on the ninth of *May* ^u. At this very time he was also engaged in a war against *Don Sancho*, king of *Arragon*, as an auxiliary to the *Moors*. The case was this: the king of *Huesca* had become his tributary, and insisted on his protection, in case he was attacked by the king of *Arragon*, who was raising, as he apprehended, an army for that purpose; and it was the dread of that army that hindered *Don Alonso* from meeting with any resistance in his conquests. The next year this war broke out, and most of the *Moorish* princes entered into a league for the support of the king of *Huesca*, whose capital was quickly besieged. To this confederate army *Don Alonso* joined a body of auxiliaries, under the command of *Don Garcia*, count of *Najara*; but *Don Sancho*, king of *Navarre*, being wounded at this siege, and dying ^v soon after, suspended the operations of that war for the present.

A. D. 1094.

His forces, in quality of auxiliaries, made prisoners before Huesca

IN the succeeding year died *Donna Bertha*, and *Don Alphonso* gave his natural daughter ^d *Donna Theresa*, whom he had by *Donna Ximena Nunez*, to *Henry Besanson*, who had accompanied his son-in-law *Don Raymond* into *Spain*; and, as an establishment for his daughter, bestowed upon him all that he conquered in *Portugal*, with the title of count, to be enjoyed by him after his decease, with a reservation only of homage to his successors, as the *Spaniards* say; but, as the *Portuguese* writers affirm, without any such reservation at all. The next year the war broke out again between *Don Pedro*, the son of *Don Sancho*, king of *Arragon*, and the infidels, which called *Don Alonso's* troops into the field as auxiliaries of his vassal, the king of *Huesca*; but *Don Pedro*, though his army was inferior in number to the confederates, gave them battle notwithstanding, on the 18th of *November*, in the plain of *Alcoraz*, and, after a sharp and long engagement, totally defeated them, with vast loss on the side of ^e the *Moors*; and as to *Don Garcia*, and the troops under his command, they were made prisoners ^y. By this glorious success the conquest of *Huesca* was secured, and an end put to that *Moorish* principality.

1096.

Marries the daughter of the king of Seville, and enters into an alliance with him.

Don Alonso, either desirous of male issue, or weary of being longer a widower, and having heard wonders of *Zaide*, the daughter of *Mohammed Aben-Habet*, king of *Seville*, esteemed the most beautiful and accomplished princess of that age, he resolved to espouse her, in case she would change her religion. The proposition was very agreeable to her father, and the princess making no difficulty as to the condition, the marriage was quickly concluded and celebrated ^z; by which *Don Alphonso* acquired several places that were very convenient; and, on the other hand, restored, as a mark of his friendship, *Santaren*, *Sintria*, and *Lisbon*, to ^f the king of *Seville*; who, upon the whole, was no gainer by this marriage. Some writers speak of *Zaide* as the concubine only of *Don Alphonso*, and a contemporary writer speaks of her in this light; but as he afterwards retracts this opinion, and acknowledges her for the lawful wife of *Don Alphonso*, there seems to be no reason to question this fact. It was in consequence of this alliance that, by the persuasion of his father-in-law, *Don Alphonso* entered into a negotiation with *Joseph*, king of the west part of *Afric*, that is, of the kingdoms now known by the name of *Fez* and *Morocco*. The design of this negotiation was a very strange one. The

^r Historia general de Espana, lib. ix.

Chron. PELAG. OVETENS liber Chronic.

Chron. RODERIC Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

^y RODERIC Tolet. Hist. Arabum. Luc. Tudens. Chron.

lib. vi. PELAG. OVETENS liber Chronicon. RODER. SANTIL, Hist. Hispana, P. iii.

^s RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. Luc. Tudens.

^t Chron. var. antiq.

^u PELAG. OVETENS liber

^v Luc. Tudens. Chron. PELAG. OVETENS liber Chronic.

^z RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan.

a kings of *Leon* and *Seville* meditated the destruction of all the *Moorish* principalities in *Spain*, in order to divide their territories between them; and to effect this they demanded these auxiliaries upon certain conditions from this *African* monarch, who entered very readily into the treaty, and promised to furnish troops for the destruction of his brethren with all the readiness that the confederates could wish ^b.

But king *Joseph* had very different designs in his head. He assembled a very numerous army and a large fleet for their embarkation, and landed them without any difficulty or opposition at *Malaga*. There he received embassadors from the little *Moorish* princes, who were to be the victims of this alliance, who represented to him, that *Mohammed Aben-Habet* was a Christian in his heart, and intended nothing less than the total destruction of the *Moors* and the *Mohammedan* religion in *Spain*, which in all probability he would accomplish, unless, accepting of their assistance, the king would deprive him, as he deserved, of his dominions, and condescend to become the protector of the faithful in *Spain*^c. This was in a great measure what king *Joseph* designed. He accepted their offer without the least hesitation; and, marching directly to *Seville*, became master of the place and of the person of king *Mohammed* without difficulty or dispute ^d. Having thus acquired a great kingdom, he began to look about him, and to consider of the proper means of executing his own project in its full extent; and this it was that led him to affect a kind of neutrality towards Don *Alonso*, and to carry on the war against his own nation till he had reduced *Granada*, *Almeria*, and *Murcia*, and had forced some other lesser lords to acknowledge him for their sovereign; and, in the end, made himself master of the best part of the rich country of *Andaluzia* with little or no resistance ^e.

It is necessary to say something here of the origin of this new people with respect to *Spain*, whom the historians of that country call *Almovarides*^f. They were part of an *Arab* tribe that entered that district of *Africa*, which they now possessed near half a century before, that they might live more at their ease and in a state of retirement, as pretending to follow the dictates of their *Khôran* more closely than others of their sect, from whence they took the name of *Morabites*; from which, as we observed, the *Spaniards* borrowed the appellation of *Almovarides*. The first prince or chief of this nation was *Abu-beker-ben-Omar*, who, in *Spanish* authors, is commonly called *Abu-Texifen*^g; and to him this *Joseph* had succeeded, under whose administration their affairs had prospered exceedingly. Whatever, therefore, he might pretend upon his first invitation, his real project was to make himself master of as much of *Spain* as possible, both at the expence of Christians and *Moors*; and the reason that he first fell upon the latter was, that his power might acquire a suitable augmentation before he run the hazard of contending with Don *Alonso*, whose reputation was very great, and of whose power all the *Moorish* princes were very apprehensive. But the king of *Leon* and *Castile* penetrating his design, sent an army, commanded by Don *Rodrigo* and Don *Garcia de Cabra*, to insult *Seville*; while *Joseph* was with his troops in the kingdom of *Murcia*. He marched, however, to intercept this body of forces, and obliged them to fight in the neighbourhood of *Rueda* in *La Mancha*; where, after a brisk engagement, the Christian army, through the bad behaviour of Don *Garcia Ordonez*, was defeated, and a great number slain, and a still greater number made prisoners ^h; which threw all the country adjacent into consternation.

THE *African* monarch would, in all probability, have entertained a much higher notion of his victory, if Don *Garcias Ordonez*, and some of his adherents who went over to him, had not given him such intelligence as left him no room to doubt, that this would prove a matter of very little consequence with regard to the fate of the war, since Don *Alonso* would soon be at the head of another army, and, by commanding in person, prevent such accidentsⁱ as that to which he owed his victory. The truth of this information quickly appeared; for Don *Alonso* was indefatigable in raising forces through all his dominions, and despatching them as fast as possible to the frontiers of *New Castile*; and, as soon as the season would permit, he took the field, and marched directly towards *Seville*, though he was informed, that his antagonist was at the head of a more numerous army. *Joseph*, however, taking the advice of Don *Garcia*, acted wholly on the defensive. He saw clearly, that if he lost the battle, it could never be repaired; and that, as things stood, he had not a force sufficient to deal with the king of *Castile* and *Leon*, and at the same time keep the *Spanish Moors* in awe; for this reason he took a resolution of returning to *Africa*, and sending over a fresh army, which he accord-

Joseph king of Fez, Tremecen, and Morocco, conquers Seville.

A. D. 1097.

A short account of the Almovarides, who, under this monarch, invaded Spain.

1097.

Don Alonso advances towards Seville, and offers the Mohammedans battle.

1098.

^b Chron. var. antiq. Tudens. Chronicon.

^c ROD. Toletan Hist. Arab. PELAG. OVETENS liber Chronicon. LUC.

^d RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan lib. vi. RODERIC Toletan Hist. Arabum.

^e Chron. var. antiq.

^f MARIANA Historia general de Espana, lib. ix. FERRERAS, Historia de Espana, P. v. sect. xi. MAYERNE TURQUET Histoire generale d'Espagne, liv. viii.

^g RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. LUC. Tudens. Chron. FERRERAS, Historia de Espana, p. v. sect. xi.

^h RODERIC Toletan Hist. Arabum. PELAG. OVETENS liber Chronic.

ⁱ Chron. var. antiq.

ingly executed; while Don *Alonso*, finding it impossible to force the enemy to a battle, after a he had ravaged the country about *Seville*, and enriched his army with booty and slaves, returned into his own dominions^k, much less satisfied with the success of his expedition than those who attended him, as he had received certain information, that *Joseph* had in a manner extirpated Christianity in *Andaluzia*, by transporting into *Africa* such of the *Mozarabians* as had not an opportunity of making their escape^l. An act of policy, or rather of violence, which proved afterwards a fatal precedent for the *Moors*, as will be seen in the course of this history.

King Joseph
finds it expedient to return
to Morocco.

THE orders and persuasions of the *African* monarch were so cheerfully obeyed, and had so great an influence over his subjects, that, before the close of the year, he sent over incredible reinforcements to *Spain*, with orders to *Almohait Hiaya*, his lieutenant general, to push the war with vigour, and to make all the use possible of his superiority. He executed these orders with great punctuality, and took the field early, with so great an army, that Don *Alonso* was forced in his turn to retire into his hereditary dominions, and to summon all his nobility to join him under the highest penalties; yet, before this could be done, the *Moorish* general had actually invested *Toledo*, which siege he carried on with the utmost vigour, and even made several assaults, in which he was not only repulsed, but suffered great loss^m. On the approach therefore of Don *Alonso*, at the head of all his forces, he found himself in no condition to venture a battle, and therefore retired in his turn, and contented himself with taking a place on the frontiers, that he might have a passage open to renew his excursions whenever a favourable opportunity should offerⁿ. About this time died the Infanta Donna *Elvira*, the king's sister; and this year was also fatal to that famous hero Don *Rodrigo*, surnamed the *Cid*; who with his own troops, and some assistance from Don *Alonso*, had taken *Valentia* from the infidels, and had gallantly maintained his conquest against several vigorous efforts that had been made to recover it^o, though far inferior in strength to the assailants (I).

1099.

IN

^k PELAG. OVETENS lib. Chron. LUC. Tudens. Chron. RODERIC Toletan de Rebus Hispan. lib. vi.
^l RODERIC Tolet. Hist. Arab. PELAG. OVETENS lib. Chron. ^m LUC. Tudens. Chron. RODERIC Tolet. Hist. Arab. PELAG. OVET. lib. Chron. ⁿ RODER. Tolet. de reb Hispan. RODERIC Toletan Hist. Arabum. LUC. Tudens. Chron. ^o PELAG OVET. lib Chron. RODERIC Tolet. Hist. Arabum. LUC. Tudens. Chron.

(I) In the compass of this note we intend a succinct account of that celebrated hero in *Spanish* histories, as well as romance, Don *Rodrigo Dias de Bivar*, surnamed the *Cid*, which in *Arabic* signifies lord (1). He was undoubtedly a person of very high quality in *Old Castile*; but we dare not pretend to give his genealogy, or even to warrant that found in *Mariana* and other historians (2): what we aim at is to represent fairly those great actions of his life which have been the objects of authentic history; and as for that fabulous legend of incredible, and even impossible adventures, which have obscured, and consequently diminished his true fame, which they were intended to illustrate, we leave them to be found in a multitude of histories; and we are sorry that we cannot refer to the *Latin* life of this celebrated person, composed in the reign of the emperor *Charles* the fifth by *Ramiro Nugnez de Guzman*, and by him dedicated to the prince Don *Philip*, afterwards *Philip* the second, which has not, however, been published. The first time we find the *Cid* mentioned in the more antient authors (3), is in the year 1063, when he assisted the prince Don *Sancho*, who marched with a body of auxiliaries to the assistance of a *Moorish* prince, when he had a large share in the battle of *Grao*, where Don *Ramiro* the first king of *Arragon* was defeated and slain. In 1068 and 1070, he commanded under Don *Sancho*, king of *Castile*, against his brother Don *Alonso*, as is very certain; but that he attended that monarch into *Galicia*, rescued him when taken in battle, and afterwards brought Don *Garcia* prisoner, though related by some modern historians, is not so well established as to deserve intire credit. In 1072 he commanded, under his master Don *Sancho*, at the siege of *Zamora*, retired from thence in good order with the *Castilian* forces, carrying with him the royal corpse, which he caused to be interred in the monastery of *Ona*. We have remarked in the text,

that he alone, of all the *Castilian* nobility, was so hardy as to administer the oath of exculpation to Don *Alonso* at *Burgos*, and, by the manner in which he did it, incurred his displeasure. Two years after, perceiving that the king's resentment continued, he resolved to retire out of his dominions, notwithstanding he had married a little before Donna *Ximena Diaz*, daughter to Don *Diego Alvarez de las Asturias*; and accordingly, followed by all his friends and dependants, and by many of his relations, he went into *Arragon*; where, after ravaging and plundering the country adjacent, he at length made himself master of the castle of *Alcocer*, situated at a very small distance from *Calatayud*. Thither resorted to him a great multitude of malecontents from *Castile* and *Leon*, which enabled him to continue his inroads upon the *Moors* with great success. As he extended his conquest gradually, he penetrated at length into the district of *Teruel*, or, as some write it, *Tervel*, twenty-seven leagues south of *Saragossa*, where he fixed his residence in a strong fortress, called to this day *Pena de el Cid*, that is, the rock of the *Cid* (4). It may not be amiss to observe, that there is not in all *Spain*, perhaps hardly in *Europe*, a more pleasant country than this, where the air is so pure, and withal so soft, that there is a kind of eternal spring; every little copse being enamelled with odoriferous flowers, that blow, flourish, and decay in all the months of the year. It was during his residence here, that he had intelligence of the execrable murder of the unfortunate *Hiaya*, formerly king of *Toledo*, and then lord of *Valentia*, traiterously slain by *Aben Japhet*, who usurped his little principality. Upon this the *Cid* sent to the king, Don *Alonso*, to put him in mind of the obligations he was under to revenge that poor prince's death, and to desire, that he would send him a small detachment of troops, with which, joined to his own, he would try his fortune be-

(1) Ferreras Historia de Espana, p. v. sect. 11.
war antiq.

(2) Historia general de Espana, lib ix.
(4) Lucæ Tudensis Chronicon. Roderic Toletan de reb Hispan. lib. vii.

(3) Chron.

- a In the first year of the twelfth century deceased Donna *Urraca*, who, as well as her sister the Infanta Donna *Elvira*, preserved her virginity during her whole life, and was buried with great magnificence in the church of *St. Isidore*^p. The city of *Jerusalem* being at this time taken from the infidels by the forces of the Christian princes, under the command of *Godfrey of Bouillon*, several *Spanish* noblemen proceeded to *Rome*, with an intention of joining the succours that were about to pass into the *Holy Land*; but Pope *Paschal* the second very prudently interposed, and advised them to return home and deliver their own country from the infidels first. The *Moors*, as soon as they had intelligence of the death of the *Cid*, made very little doubt of their recovering *Valentia*; and therefore bent all their forces that way. Don *Alonso* opposed to them a very numerous army, under the command of his son-in-law the count Don *Henry*;
- b who, endeavouring to stop their passage, gave them battle at *Malagon*, where, however, he met with a signal defeat^q; notwithstanding which Donna *Ximena*, the widow of the *Cid*, assisted by Don *Alvaro Fanez* the governor, defended the place with such spirit and obstinacy, that after lying before it a long time, and suffering great loss, the infidels were at last obliged to retire. This was a very seasonable check, and prevented the *Moors* from harrassing *New Castile*, which gave Don *Alonso* time to regulate his domestic affairs, and to put the city of *Toledo* into a state of defence, by repairing the walls from the church of *St. Stephen* to the river^r.

The city of Valentia gloriously defended against the Moors by Ximena, widow to the Cid.

- THE very next year the *Moors*, with a great army, appeared again before *Valentia*, which was preserved by the succours sent by Don *Alonso* over the mountains with very great difficulty, and with such expence, as determined him to quit that place; which, lying at so great a distance from the rest of his dominions, he believed would fall, sooner or later, into the hands of the infidels, with all the Christians who were in it, and who, at his command, withdrew^s. Soon after this Don *Alonso* lost his fifth wife Donna *Isabella*, who was buried in the church of *St. Isidore* with great solemnity, leaving behind her a son, Don *Sancho*, who was considered as the heir apparent of all his fathers extensive dominions^t (K). But, notwithstanding he had now an heir male, the king resolved to marry again; and *Bernard*, archbishop of *Toledo*, whom he had sent to the Pope, negotiated a match with the princess *Beatrix*, of the house of *Este*, very little to the satisfaction of the Infanta *Urraca*, and her husband Don *Raymond*. Soon after this he had the misfortune to lose a great battle against the *Moors*, in which, however, he did not command in person; but notwithstanding it is acknowledged that great numbers were slain, and many taken prisoners, yet by his prudence he had soon so formidable an army on foot that the *Moors* were not able to draw any great advantage from their victory^u.

Several alterations by deaths, births, and marriages, of the royal family.

A. D. 1103.

1105.

^p ROD. SANTII Hist. Hispan. P. iii. ALPHONSI a Carth. reg. Hisp. Anacephalæosis, RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. ^q ROD. Tolet. Hist. Arabum. PELAG. OVET. liber Chronicon. LUC. Tudens. Chron. ^r Chron. var. antiq. ^s LUC. Tudens. Chron. ROD. Tolet. Hist. Arabum. PELAG. OVET. liber Chronic. ^t RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. PELAG. OVET. liber Chron. LUC. Tudens. Chron. ^u RODERIC Toletan Hist. Arab. LUC. Tudens. Chron. ROD. Toletan de reb. Hispan. lib. vi.

fore *Valentia*. The king applauded his design, granted him all and even more than he asked; and the *Cid*, in 1094, after a long siege, took the city, and defended it against the whole force of the *Moors*, who attempted to recover it. There he continued the remaining part of his life; and there, full of years and of glory, he died in 1099 (5), leaving his widow Donna *Ximena* in possession of *Valentia*, which she also defended with more than masculine bravery, till, in obedience to the king's orders, for reasons that are mentioned in the text, she thought fit to abandon it. As to his wars with the kings of *Aragon*, and the counts of *Barcelona*, they appear to be but fabulous; and the same thing may be said of many of his expeditions against the *Moors*, at least as they are commonly represented; and as to the marriage of his daughters with the counts of *Carrion*, they have been already, by the judicious pen of *Sandoval*, shewn (6) in their proper light, that is, of foolish and inconsistent falsehoods.

(K) We have already acquainted the reader, that this *Moorish* princess, to facilitate her marriage with Don *Alonso*, at the time of her baptism, took the name of *Maria Izabella*, or *Elizabeth*, for they are the same name; and yet a strange mistake happened very early

in relation to this princess, occasioned by some obscurity in the inscription to her memory; whence Don *Pelayo*, bishop of *Oviedo*, has made her both the king's queen and concubine. His queen, by the title of *Izabella*, daughter to *Lewis* king of *France*, and his concubine, by the *Moorish* name of *Zaide* (1). *Mariana* corrects half this mistake, since he acknowledges her to have been the lawful wife of Don *Alonso*, but still this *Izabella* of *France* runs in his head also (2). Another inquisitive and judicious writer (3) seems to have untied this knot effectually, for he has produced the inscription, which has given rise to this dispute; and which, notwithstanding, is as decisive as one could wish, and being very concise, we will transcribe it: *Hic R. Regina Elizabeth, uxor Regis Alphonsi, filia Benavit Regis Siviliæ, quæ prius Zaïda fuit vocata*; that is, Here reposes queen *Elizabeth*, wife of king *Alphonso*, daughter to *Benavet*, king of *Seville*, who was formerly called *Zaide*. The old writers many of them (4) bestow upon her two daughters by the king, which, however, she had not; but, as his family is very clearly represented to the view of the reader in the text, it would be needless and impertinent to repeat any thing upon that subject here.

(5) *Mariana Historia general de Espana, lib. ix. Ferreras Historia de Espana, p. v. sect. 11. Mayerne Turquet, Histoire general de Espagne, lib. viii.* (6) *Hist. reyes de Castilla y Leon.* (1) *Pelag. Ovet. Chron.*
(2) *Historia general de Espana, lib. x.* (3) *P. Moret investigationes historicas de las antiquidades del reyno de Navarra, lib. iii.* (4) *Chron. var. antiq.*

The royal family was increased on the first of *March* 1106, by the birth of the infant Don *Alonso*, son to Don *Raymond* count of *Galicia*, by the Infanta Donna *Urraca*, who was baptised in the apostolic church of *St. James* at *Compostella*; with respect to the birth of which prince, the annals of those times unanimously report, that a new and bright star was observed for thirty days together, before that in which he was brought into the world^y; which in those days was regarded as a very favourable presage, and will be deservedly exploded in these; since, supposing the fact to be true, it could have no more relation to *Spain* than to any other country where that star was visible.

Invasion of
the Almova-
rides and the
fatal battle of
Ucles.

JOSEPH, king of the *Almovarides*, thought it now high time to return into *Spain*, having fully achieved all that he proposed in *Africa*, bringing over with him on board a numerous fleet, a much more powerful army of *Mohammedans* and *Moors* than had hitherto ever landed in that kingdom^z. As soon as he had incorporated them with those which he had already on foot in that country, he judged his power sufficient to undertake at once the conquest of the dominions of the king of *Castile* and *Leon*, with which view he assembled two great armies, and all the remaining princes of the *Moors*, to which he destined a third^a. Don *Alonso* was not a little alarmed at the news of these preparations; and, being too old to command an army in person, he sent for Don *Raymond*, his son-in-law, out of *Galicia*, who fell ill of a fever in his journey, and died upon the road; but the good old king had the satisfaction of visiting, and affording him all the consolation in his power in his last moments^b. He then made a progress through the kingdoms of *Leon* and *Castile*, in order to quicken the nobility in marching with their vassals to form an army in the neighbourhood of *Toledo*, towards which city he foresaw the enemy would not fail to advance as soon as the season would permit. He was not mistaken in his conjecture; for king *Joseph*, having united his troops on the frontiers, bent his rout directly towards the capital^c. Don *Alonso*, in hopes that it would give fresh courage to his army, which was composed of almost all the force of his dominions, sent the infant Don *Sancho*, though a child but of eleven years old at most, with his governor Don *Garcia de Cabra*; but who had the chief command does not appear^d. On the arrival of the infant the Christians advanced to *Ucles*, where they met the infidels ranged in order of battle; the dispute was very obstinate, and they fought on both sides with the utmost intrepidity, till at length the *Mohammedans* pierced into the center of the Christians, and surrounded that body of troops where the young infant was, whose horse being killed he stood on foot, and his governor Don *Garcia* covered him with his buckler, fighting with incredible bravery, though he was far advanced in years, till at length he fell, and bore down his pupil with him; when the *Moors* massacred all that body of troops; and the army being intirely broken, gained a complete victory, no less than seven counts dying in the field^e. This fatal battle was fought on the 29th of *May* 1108, and was the most heavy reverse of fortune the Christians had sustained since the loss of the city of *Leon*; but, however, the *Moors* bought this victory so dearly, that they were in no condition to reap any immediate advantage from it^f. The infanta Donna *Urraca*, with the assistance of the bishop of *Compostella*, having assembled all the forces in *Galicia*, advanced immediately into *New Castile*, received the scattered remains of the defeated army, and marched with so good a countenance towards the *Moors*, that they did not judge it convenient to venture another battle, but contented themselves with the reputation they had acquired, and retreated into their own dominions. The Christians took this opportunity of putting a strong garrison into *Toledo*, while the old king brought out of *Castile* a fresh body of troops, which enabled him to cover that city with a good army in the field^g (L).

THE

^y Chron. var. antiq. ^z PELAG. OVET. lib. Chron. Luc. Tudens. Chron. Rod. Toletan: Hist. Arabum. ^a RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. lib. vi Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum. Luc. Tudens. Chron. ^b ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. P. iii. ALPHONSI a Carthagera reg. Hisp. Anacephalæosis, PELAG. OVET. lib. Chron. Luc. Tudens. Chron. Rod. Toletan. Hist. Arab. ^c Rod. Toletan. de reb. Hispan. Lucæ Tudensis Chron. Rod. Toletan Hist. Arabum. ^d PELAG. OVETENS liber Chron. Rod. Toletan Hist. Arabum. Lucæ Tudensis Chron. ^e Chron. var antiq. ^f MARIANA, Historia General de Espana, lib. ix. FERRERAS, Historia de Espana, p. v. sect. xi. MAYERNE TURQUET. Hist. General d'Espagne, liv. viii. ^g PELAG. OVETENS liber Chronicon. RODERIC Tolet. Hist. Arab. Lucæ Tudensis Chronicon.

(L) There can be nothing more evident, from the account given us of this fatal battle, than that the infant Don *Sanchez* was the legitimate son and heir apparent of Don *Alonso*; for otherwise it would have been an act of extreme cruelty, to have exposed a child of eleven years of age, to no purpose whatever. The heir of all was, or ought to be, the care of all; so that, in this desperate state of things, the king may be said to have acted

wisely in sending that young prince to the army; for, by this action he plainly shewed, that the safety of his people was dearer to him than the safety of his Children. He shewed also his courage and firmness of mind, in assembling fresh troops, and providing, notwithstanding this severe blow, for the future security of his dominions; which, in a prince, so broken with age and diseases, was so much the more laudable, as it was less to be expected

a THE king Don *Alphonso* was, as we may well suppose, extremely mortified to find himself in this sad situation in his declining years, and when his bodily infirmities, as well as his great age, disabled him from doing what his prudence dictated in favour of his subjects. He did not, however, omit any thing that was yet within the reach of his abilities, *Guido*, archbishop of *Vienna* in *France*, brother to the deceased Don *Raymond*, coming into *Spain* to see his nephew Don *Alonso*, the king caused the young prince to be brought to *Leon*; to which city he directed all the nobility of *Galicia* should repair; and in his presence, as well as of the *French* archbishop, take an oath of fidelity to their infant sovereign, whom he appointed his sole successor^b in all his dominions, in case his daughter *Donna Urrara* should have no other male issue, having, in compliance with the desires of the nobility, consented to her marriage with Don *Alonso* king of *Arragon* and *Navarre*^c. He disposed the troops under the command of the several counts, who brought them into the field so judiciously on his frontiers, and gave his orders so properly for assembling a numerous army, in case the *Moors* should make any attempt, that they chose to carry their army into *Catalonia* and elsewhere, rather than attempt to purchase any more victories at so dear a rate as the *Castilians* were accustomed to sell them^d. It does great honour to the memory of this prince, that, though for the space of eighteen months he lay in a weak and languishing condition, the civil and military affairs of his kingdom were preserved in so good order, that there neither happened any invasion from foreign enemies, or any tumult or commotion among the people; and in his capital city of *Toledo* Don *Alvaro Fanez*, whom he had appointed governor, disposed every thing to such advantage, that the inhabitants were not under the least apprehension, though they had every day fresh advices of the increasing strength of the *Moors*^e. At length the king, worn out with age, care, and sickness, departed this life *June* the thirtieth, in the year of our Lord 1109, when he had enjoyed the regal dignity thirty-seven years from the time of his restoration, and forty-four from the death of his father^f. His sixth and last wife *Donna Beatrix* returned into *Italy* after his decease^g.

THE demise of this prudent and potent monarch was indeed the epocha from whence might be dated the miseries of his subjects. Don *Alonso* king of *Arragon* and *Navarre*, believing it impossible to acquire kingdoms without an army, entered *Castile* at the head of a numerous body of troops, to support his claim of the government in right of his queen; the states quickly put an end to the troubles that this might have occasioned, by informing him, that they were not accustomed to see their sovereign at the head of foreign troops; that his army therefore might be better employed in his own dominions, since there was no need of force, where the right of the queen was not at all disputed. Don *Alonso* received this message with the spirit it deserved; he said, he knew not the intentions of his people when he entered *Castile* in arms, but that he was ready to dismiss his army, which he did immediately, and to rely on their loyalty, which had been ever conspicuous^h. He found it much more easy to deal with the states than with their queen, who was so very fond of sovereignty, that she would willingly have reckoned her husband only the first of her subjects. The passion of her first husband count *Raymond* made him really so; the dignity, and it may be said the disposition of the king of *Arragon* forbid it. He laboured to make her sensible, by reason of the duty she owed to him, and she discovered by her behaviour, that she understood nothing of duty, but as others were bound by it to obey her willⁱ. An old *Castilian* nobleman, Don *Pedro Affarez*, the companion of her father's exile, the favourite of his whole life, and who had been entrusted with her

^b Chron. var. antiq.^c RODERIC Toletan. de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. PELAG. OVET. lib. Chron.^d RODERIC Toletan Hist. Arabum. LUCÆ Tudensis Chron.^e PELAG. OVET. liber Chronic. ROD.

SANTII Hist. Hispan. P. iii.

^f LUCÆ Tudensis Chronicon. ALPHONSI a Carthagera reg. Hispan.

Anacephalæosis, PELAG. OVET. lib. Chron.

^g RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. lib. vi.^h Chron. var. antiq.ⁱ LUCÆ Tudensis Chronicon.

pected (1). Some historians tell us, that he did still more, and they report the occasion of it thus: They say that after this battle, discoursing with those who were most in his confidence, he expressed a strong persuasion, that this was a severe visitation from heaven for some particular sins; and that they had little hopes of a change of fortune, till the necessary change was made in their manners; and how this might be effected he was at a loss to know, and would be glad to learn. One of his nobility took occasion from thence to observe, that heaven punished them by the *Moors*, for his having suffered too great an intercourse between them and his subjects,

which had produced a great depravity of morals, and the fatal introduction of foreign luxuries, to which in former times the *Castilians* were utter strangers (2). The king received this admonition thankfully, and immediately published a prohibition (3) of public baths, and of all kinds of spectacles and diversions, which, in imitation of the *Moors*, had been introduced at first among persons of distinction, and by degrees diffused through all ranks of people, which had a very good effect, and banished for a season that propensity to idleness, vanity, and pleasure, which are always both the causes and the symptoms of a declining state.

(1) Roderic Toletan de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. LUCÆ Tudensis Chronicon. Roderic Toletan, Hist. Arabum.

(2) Chron.

(3) Mariana, Ferreras, Mayerne Turquet.

education, took the liberty of expostulating with her, and of setting her conduct in a true light; which provoked her to such a degree, that she banished him the court, stripped him of his employments, and confiscated his estates^a. The king could not bear this; he took Don Pedro into his immediate service, he restored him to his honours, his employments, and his estate; declaring, that whatever injury was offered to him, from whatever hand it came, he would regard it as done to himself^c. This naturally increased the disorder; which at length rose so high, that the king secured the person of his consort, and made her prisoner in the fortress of *Castellar*^b, from which she was speedily delivered by some of the nobles of *Castile*, and began to feel great trouble of mind on account of the relation between her and her husband, for they were second cousins; so that, to quiet her conscience, she was desirous the marriage should be dissolved^d.

A civil war
breaks out in
Galicia,
where the re-
bels seize the
young prince.
A. D. 1110.

IN the midst of these disturbances a civil war broke out in *Galicia*; Don Pedro Frolaz de Traba had been charged with the education of the young Infant Don Alfonso by his father, and confirmed in it by his grandfather; his conduct was irreproachable; and this was the source of the war^e. Some of the nobility, headed by two brothers, Don Arias Perez and Don Pedro Arias, men of a most turbulent spirit, invested the castle where the young prince was; and, contrary to their faith given, tore him out of the arms of the countess Don Pedro's wife, and imprisoned for a time the archbishop of *Compostella*, who reproved them for their rudeness^f. But the inhabitants of that city taking arms in behalf of their prelate, they thought proper to set him at liberty, retaining still the young prince in their custody, and pretending to colour all the violences they committed, with the specious pretence of loyalty to the child they kept a prisoner^g; a sort of proceeding that put an end to the regular administration of affairs in that province, and threw all things into the utmost disorder and confusion. Such was the disastrous train of events that fell out in the first year after the demise of that great king, who had raised the power of the Christians in *Spain* to so formidable a point of elevation.

Ali Joseph,
king of the Al-
moravides,
besieges To-
ledo without
success.

JOSEPH king of *Morocco*, and of the *Almoravides* in *Spain*, died much about the same time with Don Alfonso the sixth, and was succeeded by his son Ali Joseph^h, who, for the sake of distinction, we shall call only Ali, and who had been for some years his father's viceroy in *Spain*; but at the time of his demise he was in *Africa*, from whence he speedily returned with a numerous army and a potent fleet. He had no sooner debarked his forces, than he marched directly to *Seville*; and, having examined and given the necessary directions for repairing and augmenting this capital of his dominions, he issued his orders for a general rendezvous of all his forces at *Cordova*, to which city he repaired in person. Having made a general review, he concluded himself well able to accomplish what his father had only contrived; and, under a strong persuasion of this, grounded probably on the present state of the Christians, he proceeded directly towards *Toledo*, wasting all the country with fire and sword, and utterly demolishing two beautiful monasteries in his passageⁱ. The city being completely invested, and no fear of disturbance from any army in the field, he proceeded vigorously in his siege; and, by the help of the best machines then in use, actually made a breach in the wall sufficiently practicable. He intended to have stormed upon the eighth; but on the seventh day of the siege, Don Alvaro Fanez, with the best part of the garrison, passed, by the help of wooden bridges, over the breach into his camp a little before the break of day, levelled his works, burnt his machines, and gave his troops such an earnest of the reception they were like to expect, that the king of *Morocco*, finding he had no stomach to the attack, very prudently raised the siege the next day, with a resolution to insult *Madrid*^j.

Fails in the
whole expe-
dition, and re-
turns again to
Morocco.

THERE was but a small garrison in the place, but the inhabitants were very numerous, and they defended themselves so gallantly, that he was obliged to retire from thence also; but, to make himself amends, he took another route into his own dominions; and, sweeping all the country before him, amassed a prodigious booty, and carried many thousands of people into slavery^k. All these, together with the remains of the Christians who still lived peaceably in his territories, he caused to be shipped on board his fleet, with which he returned to *Africa*; and having carried his miserable captives up to *Morocco*, dispersed them in the county adjoining to that capital, to replace, in some measure, the inhabitants whom he had carried to *Spain*^l. Thus the Christians of *New Castile* were left to supply the vast loss they had sustained in the best manner they could, by their private endeavours, as they had received very little assistance, and could scarce expect more from the condition of their government, which was so extremely unsettled, that it scarce deserved that name, as appears from no efforts being made, either upon

^a RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. lib. vi.

Hist. Arab.

^b Chron. var. antiq.

RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. vi.

var. antiq.

^c RODERIC Toletan. Hist. Arabum.

Toletan. Hist. Arabum.

^d RODERIC Toletan. de reb. Hispan. lib. vi.

^e PELAG OVET. liber Chronicon. RODERIC Tolet.

^f LUC. Tudensis Chron.

^g PELAG. OVET. liber Chron.

^h Chron.

ⁱ MARIANA, FERRERAS, MAYERNE, TURQ.

^j LUCÆ Tudensis Chronicon.

^k RODERIC

^l LUCÆ Tudensis

Chron.

a the irruption or the retreat of the infidels, when they might have been attacked with the greatest probability of advantage.

THE nobility of *Leon* and *Castile* saw with inexpressible concern how low they were fallen, and how much lower they might fall: they therefore solicited the queen to consent to a reconciliation with her husband; and to this, to satisfy their importunity, she at last agreed^d. That it might appear an act of her own, she went to him, and was received; and they lived together again for some little time^e. But the coldness and contempt of Don *Alphonso* was too apparent to be borne by a princess of so high a spirit; and therefore the queen, believing that she had now given her nobility all the satisfaction they could expect, left him again, with a full resolution never to be reconciled to him more, which naturally increased those disorders, that were but too many and too great already^f. The king, on the other hand, depended upon the *Arragonian* lords, whom he had placed as governors in some of the best towns in both the *Castiles*, and upon many of the *Castilian* nobility, who were also in his interest; for though he had conceived an implacable aversion to the queen, he was by no means willing to part with her dominions^g.

THE queen, though her affairs wore so indifferent an aspect, did not suffer her spirits to sink at all; but by her affability to all the lords of *Castile*, who came to pay their respects to her, and by her gracious deportment towards the commons, drew over multitudes of all ranks to her party; and these at length came to entertain so good an opinion of her cause and their own force, that they summoned the *Castilians*, to whom the king had committed castles, to surrender them; which, generally speaking, they did, and threatened to reduce the *Arragonians* by force^h. Among the rest, Don *Pedro de Assurez* surrendered those which the queen had taken from him, and to which he was restored by the king's favour; but, as soon as he had done it, he went directly to *Toledo*, and having obtained an audience of the king, told him, that as for the fortresses they undoubtedly belonged to the queen his master's daughter, who having demanded he had yielded them, as he conceived it is duty; but that, if his majesty considered the thing in another light, he had brought his body to answer for the offence. At first the king was in so great a rage, that, if some of his favourites had not interposed, Don *Pedro's* life would hardly have been safe; but as soon as that transport of passion was over, the king embraced him, and testified the highest admiration of his loyalty and virtueⁱ. From this moment the king discerned that his authority could no longer depend on any thing but success; and therefore, having recommended the kingdom and capital of *Toledo* to Don *Alvaro Fanez*, who had shewn himself firmly attached to his service, he marched with a small body of excellent troops directly into *Castile*, where he found the whole force of that kingdom assembled to impede his passage, which put him under a necessity of beginning the war with what had very much the appearance of a decisive battle; and as things were come to this extremity, he was a prince of too much courage to decline it; though without question he could not avoid discerning of how dangerous consequence these disputes were to the Christian cause.

THE queen's army was encamped in the neighbourhood of *Sepulveda*, and, upon the king's troops advancing towards them, a battle ensued, which was fought on the 28th of October 1111, in a large plain called *Campo de Espina*, which in *English* we should call *Thornfield*. The vanguard of the queen's army was commanded by Don *Pedro de Lara*, which was quickly broke by the square battalion of the *Arragonese* infantry, commanded by the king in person, upon which Don *Pedro* fled to *Burgos*. The second line, commanded by the count Don *Gomez*, made a gallant and obstinate resistance; and when they were at last broken, the count had the honour to die upon the spot, covered with glory and wounds. There fell likewise many other persons of great distinction, and a great number of private men. In consequence of this victory, the king became master of *Burgos*, *Valentia*, *Carrion*, *Sabagon*, and the royal city of *Leon*; all which he gave up to be pillaged by his soldiers, who plundered even the monastery of *Sabagon*, and the church of *St. Isidore* at *Leon*, the sacred dormitory of their kings, which filled all the adjacent countries with such terror, that some places in *Galicia*, seduced by his emissaries, declared for the king^k.

THE queen, who was retired to a place of safety, published, to repair this loss, a proclamation, requiring all her subjects, capable of carrying arms, to take the field^l. In the mean time, however, the archbishop of *Compostella*, and Don *Pedro Trolas de Traba*, prevailed upon *Pedro Arriaz* and his accomplices to compromise their disputes, and to surrender the person of the young prince Don *Alonso Raymond*, whom the archbishop crowned^m with great solemnity

^d RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. antiq.

^e Rod. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. var. antiq.

^f LUC. Tudensis Chron.

^g LUCÆ Tudensis Chron.

^h Idem de reb. Hispan. lib. vii.

ⁱ Chron. var.

^j Chron.

^k RODERIC SANTI Hist. Hispan. p. iii. LUC. Tudensis Chron. ^l MARIANA Historia general de Espana, lib. x. FERRERAS Historia de Espana, p. v. sect. xi. Hist. general d'Espagne, MAYERNE TURQUET, liv. ix.

who is crown-
ed by the arch-
bishop.

before the high altar in the cathedral church of *St. James*, and quickly after carried him, at the head of the best army they could raise, to join the queen his mother; but were attacked in their passage by the king of *Arragon*: and though the army was defeated, yet the archbishop found means to convey the young prince safely to the queen, who, as soon as it was in her power, retired with him back again into *Galicia*, where she immediately began to raise a new army; while the king of *Arragon*, with his victorious troops, besieged the city of *Astorga*, in which were the remains of the archbishop's army, who made a gallant and a long defence¹. The queen applied herself to count *Henry of Portugal*, who had married her sister, and intreated him to assist her, and the son of his friend, in this danger and distress. Count *Henry* advised her to march immediately to the relief of *Astorga*, and promised to join her with a considerable body of troops, which he did. The great lords of *Asturias* likewise joined her with the flower of their militia; and the nobility of *Castile* about the same time attacked and defeated a body of *Arragonese* troops that were in full march to join their king; and that prince found himself in such circumstances, that he raised the siege of *Astorga* in the night, and retired precipitately to *Carrion*². The queen followed him so close, that her forces invested the city almost as soon as he entered it; and in all probability he had fallen into her hands, if the pope's legate, who was lately arrived in *Spain*, and who appointed a council to be held in *Palentia* to judge finally of the queen's marriage, had not prevailed upon her to suffer him to retire, upon his promise to deliver up all the places in her dominions that were in his possession; which, however, he absolutely refused to perform³. The count *Don Henry of Portugal*, had scarce the pleasure of seeing the queen in *Astorga*, before he died there⁴, and was carried from thence to *Braga*, where he lies under a splendid tomb. *Mariana* seems to have aspersed his memory by mistake, in ascribing the loss of the former battle to his deserting the queen after it began⁵.

A. D. 1112.

The war con-
tinued between
the king and
queen, of which
the Moors
take advan-
tage.

THE queen, *Donna Urraca*, finding herself deceived in her expectations, and under a necessity of having recourse to arms, in order to recover the city of *Burgos*, into which the king her husband had put a strong garrison, and caused a new castle to be erected for its defence, marched thither. She found this enterprize, however, embarrassed with far greater difficulties than she expected; for, on one hand, the lords of *Castile* were so displeased with her conduct towards *Don Pedro de Lara*, that they abated much of their zeal for her service; and, on the other, the *Galicians* had their suspicions likewise, arising from their affection to the young king; so that, if the archbishop of *Compostella* had not been indefatigable in his endeavours, the army could never have been brought before *Burgos*; which city soon opened its gates, but the garrison held out a siege of several weeks, but at length was obliged to surrender on the feast of *St. John the Baptist*⁶. About this time the *Moors* made an irruption into the kingdom of *Toledo*, and advanced from thence towards the frontiers of *Galicia*; but, at the pressing instances of the queen and archbishop, a numerous army marched against them; upon which they thought it more adviseable to retire with the plunder they had acquired⁷, than to hazard a battle against troops that would otherwise be employed in their service, that is, in weakening the king of *Arragon*.

1113.

A council held
at Palentia, in
which the
queen's mar-
riage is declar-
ed void.

THE queen, to put an end to these troubles, that had so long disturbed and distracted her subjects, called a general assembly of the states at *Burgos*; to which, at her request, resorted *Don Bernard*, archbishop of *Toledo*, and *Don Diego*, archbishop of *Compostella*. The debates in that assembly ran quickly very high; for most of the *Castilian* nobility, and more especially the deputies of the city of *Burgos*, declared roundly for the queen's being reconciled to her husband; and, upon the archbishop of *Compostella*'s insisting on the invalidity of the marriage, they were so exasperated, that he thought it prudent to withdraw; soon after which the assembly broke up, referring the decision of this difficult point to the council that was to be held at *Palentia*⁸. This council⁹, held in the beginning of the succeeding year, and in which the pope's legate presided, declared the marriage null; by which an end was put to all the king of *Arragon*'s pretensions; who, notwithstanding, raised by his emissaries a formidable rebellion in *Galicia*, which, but for the prudence and spirit of the archbishop of *Compostella*, might have been attended with very fatal consequences (M). About this time *Don Alvaro Fanez*, going on

A. D. 1114.

¹ Roderic Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. vii.

² Lucæ Tudensis Chron.

³ Chron. var. antiq.

⁴ Rod. SANTI Hist. Hispan. p. iii. FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispaniæ.

⁵ Historia general

de Espana, lib. x. ⁶ Luc. Tudensis Chron.

⁷ Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

⁸ Chron.

var. antiq. ⁹ Card. d'AGUIRRE Conc. Hisp. tom. iii. p. 319.

(M) Those of the nobility, who now took up arms in *Galicia*, were *Pedro Gudesteo*, *Rodrigo Nugnez*, *Arias Perez*, and *Pedro Arias*; against whom the bishop of *Compostella* quickly marched with forces so considerable, that the malecontents thought fit to separate. *Pedro Gudesteo* and *Rodrigo Nugnez* retired to their castles, which

lay by the sea-side, and invited an *English* body of troops on shore, who happened to pass at this critical juncture along the coasts of *Galicia*, on board their own vessels, and had sent to desire leave to purchase provisions. They complied readily with this invitation; and were no sooner on shore, than they began to spoil and lay waste

- a on some occasion from *Toledo* to *Segovia*, an insurrection happened in the last-mentioned place, in which he was unfortunately killed. He was succeeded in the government of *Toledo* by Don *Rodrigo Nunez*; whether by the appointment of the king of *Arragon*, or by the choice of the inhabitants, does not appear; but by that time he was well fixed in his office, the city was invested by a numerous army of infidels, under the command of *Amazaldi*; but the place was so well defended that he was obliged to retire^b. To make himself some amends he ravaged all the adjacent country, and Don *Rodrigo Nugnez*, with the best part of his garrison, attacking him in his retreat near *Pulgar*, in hopes of recovering the booty, were thoroughly beaten for their pains. The next year *Amazaldi* returned with a great army of *Moors* into the neighbourhood of *Toledo*, when Don *Rodrigo Nugnez* had his revenge; for drawing his whole force out of the city, he gave the infidels battle in the field, and, after a long and bloody engagement, cut the greatest part of them to pieces, and their general *Amazaldi* among the rest^c. A. D. 1115.
- b Donna *Urraca*, desirous of reducing the places that still remained in the hands of the king of *Arragon*, went to *Compostella*, in order to procure the assistance of the *Galician* nobility; and conceiving some jealousy of the bishop, who had done her so many services, would have seized upon his person, if she had not been prevented by some of the lords who were his friends; after which a reconciliation was brought about, which enabled her to oblige Don *Alonso* to retire into his own dominions, who was upon the point of making a fresh irruption into *Castile*^d. To this singular mark of his credit with the people, and loyalty to his sovereign, that prelate speedily added another, by causing a small squadron of gallies to be built and equipped at his own expence, which not only freed the coasts of *Galicia* and *Asturias* from the insults of the *Moorish* pirates, who had pillaged and destroyed all the sea-coasts, but likewise made reprisals, by plundering their territories. Notwithstanding all this, the queen became again out of humour with him to such a degree, that she directed his friend Don *Pedro Frolaz* to secure his person; instead of which he gave him notice of his danger; and, after maturely weighing the many inconveniences to which they were exposed from the mutability of this princess's temper, they judged it most expedient to put the government into the hands of her son, at least the kingdom of *Galicia*, to which his right seemed unquestionable, even in the lifetime of his mother; which proposition was well received by all the nobility, and the design was put in execution, which occasioned new disturbances; for the queen assembled all the forces of *Leon* and *Castile*, and pretended to treat the bishop and his adherents as rebels, notwithstanding her son was with him and approved of all he did^e. At length, however, by the interposition of some of the principal nobility, things were compromised; when the queen had visibly the advantage, and might have treated those who adhered to her son with great severity, or at least have obliged them to abandon their country^f. But as there was nothing cordial in this reconciliation, so it did not last long, both parties retaining a deep resentment of what had passed; the queen looking upon the bishop and Don *Pedro Frolaz* as men who had seduced her son into a rebellion; and they regarding her as a princess besieged by flatterers, inordinately fond of power, and far from having those abilities that were necessary to govern so many kingdoms, in so critical and perilous a conjuncture.
- c THE *Moors* were so tempted by these intestine disturbances, to hope the recovery of *Toledo*, that they scarce failed either besieging or attempting to besiege it, every year. In this we are told, that *Ali* sent one of his generals, whom an ancient *Spanish* chronicle calls *Acredelia*, with a numerous army, to ruin the country round about. But the Christian governor, whom the same author calls *Abbacil*, foreseeing the consequences of such expeditions would be distressing the place by famine, marched out with his forces, engaged and beat the enemy, and killed their general upon the spot. The *Moors*, provoked at this defeat, and still anxious to avail themselves of the troubles among the Christians, speedily drew together a fresh army, and under *Aben Haret*, a celebrated general of theirs, took the field, and marched directly towards *Toledo*. They found, however, their passage speedily stopped by the governor, and the

Fresh troubles arise in Galicia, where the nobility declare for the young king.

1116.

Several attempts made by the Moors against Toledo, without success.

^b Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. de reb Hispan. lib. vii.

^c Luc. Tudenfis Chron. Chron. var. antiq.

Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

^d RODERIC

^e Luc. Tudenfis Chron. Rod. Tolet.

waste the country on every side. The bishop of *Compostella* had no sooner notice of this, than he directed some gallies, which had been built at his own expence to act against the *Moorish* pirates, and which were laid up in the port of *Padron*, to be equipped, and embarked on board them some of his best troops, with orders to find out and engage the *English*. They executed his instructions very punctually, and made themselves quickly masters of the whole squadron, including some vessels

belonging to the *Galician* rebels, the best part of the men being on shore. At their return the bishop purchased all their prisoners, that he might have an opportunity of setting the *English* at liberty; practising the like generosity upon the reduction of the castles, which very quickly followed. As for *Arias Perez* and *Pedro Arias*, they were no sooner informed of the fate of their companions, than they quitted *Galicia*, and retired to Don *Alonso* of *Arragon* (1).

(1) *Histor. Compestel. lib. i. which is a proper and sufficient authority to a fact of this nature, though not supported by any other, as probably lying out of the way of other historians.*

whole force of the garrison, who immediately gave them battle, and this with success not inferior to the former; since the *Moors* were intirely vanquished, and *Aben Haret*, being taken prisoner was sent to the castle of *Toledo*; while the governor, with his victorious army, ravaged the *Moorish* frontiers, and swept the places where he came so thoroughly of provisions, that it was impossible to assemble any third army there for that year, which, at that juncture, was indubitably a thing of infinite consequence to the cause of the Christians ^a.

The queen and the bishop of Compostella in great danger of being burnt in a commotion.

THE compromise between Donna *Urraca* and those who declared for her son, was quickly violated by the queen's besieging *Gomez Nugnez* in the castle of *Turon*, which he held for Don *Alonso Raymond*, and she was soon after besieged herself in *Soberosa* by Don *Pedro Frolaz*, at the head of the *Galician* army, assisted by the troops of *Portugal*, though that country was governed at that time by her sister Donna *Theresa*; but the great lords of *Castile* and *Leon* ^b came with a potent army to deliver the queen, and clapped up another pacification; soon after which she returned to the royal city of *Leon* ⁱ. Some new disputes arising in *Galicia*, the enemies of the bishop of *Compostella* took advantage of them, and were on the point of securing his person; for, being a moderate and an honest man, this prelate had the honour to be very heartily hated by the bigots of both parties; so that, to provide for his own security, he was obliged to retire to *Leon*. The queen received him with equal kindness and respect, desired him to write to those worthy men, who were his friends in *Galicia*, to compose these disturbances, and to put things into such a situation, as she might with safety visit her son; which in a little time was brought about, and the bishop first, and the queen not long after, went to *Compostella* ^k. The populace, surmising that there was a secret intention to punish them ^c for the insults they had offered to their prelate, surprized him with the queen and the principal nobility in the cathedral, and, failing in their attempt to force it, set that noble structure on fire, crying, vehemently, let the queen come out, and let the bishop and his adherents perish in the flames ^l. The bishop, more concerned for her safety than his own, obliged the queen to quit the cathedral, which she did, and retired to the church of *St. Mary*, loaded, in her passage, with all the foul language that an enraged mob could bestow; and, after her departure, the bishop, not without great difficulty, made his escape in disguise ^m. In the midst of these disorders, the inhabitants of *Toledo* took a very laudable resolution of recalling their natural prince; and accordingly Don *Alonso Raymond* made his public entry into that city 1117 ⁿ.

A. D. 1118. AT this juncture there was a schism in the church of *Rome*; one party adhering to cardinal ^d Don Bernard, *de Gayette*, by the name of *Gelasus* the second; the other, supported by the emperor *Henry* the fifth, to *Maurice Burdin*, archbishop of *Braga*, who assumed the name of *Gregory* the eighth, but was soon after deposed, and ended his days in prison (N). The prelates of this

^b RODERIC Tolet. Hist. Arabum. reb. Hispan. lib. vii.
^l Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. vii.

ⁱ LUCÆ Tudensis Chronicon.

^k Chron. var. antiq.

^m LUCÆ Tudensis Chron.

ⁿ RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. vii.

(N) We have as hideous a picture of this *Maurice Bourdin*, or *Burdin*, in various histories, as it was almost in the power of men to invent (1). Amongst other things it is said, that, being sent to *Rome* to solicit on behalf of *Bernard* archbishop of *Toledo*, he most ungratefully traduced that prelate, to whom he had the highest obligations; and laboured assiduously to get himself raised to that dignity; which, upon the whole, however, does not appear to be true. He was a native of *Limoges* in *France*, and was carried from *Rome* into *Spain* by the archbishop of *Toledo*, with whom he was in great favour. In the year 1108, he became bishop of *Coimbra*, or *Conimbra*; after which he made a tour to the *Holy Land*, and in his return staid some time at *Constantinople*, where he was very much caressed by the emperor *Alexis* (2). Upon his coming back to *Portugal* he was, in 1110, elected archbishop of *Braga*. It was in consequence of this, that he came to differ with his old patron the archbishop of *Toledo*, who, as the pope's legate and primate of *Spain*, required such submission from him, as he thought inconsistent with the rights of his see, which had always contested the primacy with that of *Toledo*. In reference to this dispute he went to *Rome*, and pope *Pascal* the second thought him so far in the right, that by his letter to the archbishop of *Toledo*, dated *November* the third 1115, he discharged him from the exercise of his legantine power within the pro-

vince of *Braga* (3). As a farther mark of his confidence in this archbishop, the same pope sent him with the character of his legate to treat with the emperor *Henry*, whom the archbishop ventured to crown in his absence; for which the pope excommunicated him in the council of *Beneventum* (4). *Gelasus* the second, his successor, was exactly of his sentiments; and the emperor, hearing that he had assumed the popedom without his leave, caused the archbishop of *Braga* to be elected by those of his party, *March* the 14th 1114, who thereupon assumed the name of *Gregory* the eighth, and was so acknowledged in some parts of *Germany* and *England*; whereas in *France* and in *Spain* they acknowledged *Gelasus*, and in many countries they would own neither. *Calixtus* the second succeeded *Gelasus*, made peace with the emperor, and then proceeded to *Rome*; upon which *Gregory* retired to *Sutri*, whither *Calixtus* followed him with an army, and made him prisoner in the month of *April* 1121. His soldiers mounted him upon a camel with his face towards the tail, with a sheep's skin new flead and bloody about his shoulders. He sent him prisoner to the monastery of *Cava*, and from thence removed him to *Janula*, from whence his successor, *Honorius* the second, transferred him to *Fuman* near *Alatri*, where he wore out the remainder of his days, and died in such misery and contempt (5), that the time is not known.

(1) Mariana Historia general de Espana, lib. x. Maimbourg, decad. de l' Empire, lib. iv. p. 391. Mayerne Turquet, &c. (2) Vita Mauricii Burdini, archiepiscopi Bracarenensis, Scriptore Stephano Baluzio in Miscellan. tom. iii. p. 471. (3) Rod. a Cunha in tractatu de Primatu Bracarensis Ecclesiæ. (4) Histoire de Papes, tom. ii. p. 598. (5) Constat. Caiet. in not. ad vitam Gelas. lib. ii. p. 68. Will. Tyr. lib. xii. cap. 8.

- a age in general were certainly very extraordinary persons; for we find, that Don Bernard, ^{duces Alcala} archbishop of *Toledo*, whose gratitude to the memory of his protector had kept him firm to the interests of his family, and who, therefore, while the place was in the hands of the king ^{of Henares} of *Arragon*, remained under a cloud, no sooner regained his own authority, than he persuaded the people to make an attempt upon the strong town of *Alcala de Henares*, the same which the antients stiled *Complutum*, and to which, from a conflux of waters, the *Moors* gave the name of *Alcala*, and distinguished it farther by the adjunction of *Henares*, the river upon which it stands; it was in all respects very considerable, but particularly in commanding a large district of country, well fortified, and had a numerous garrison; notwithstanding which, and that the *Moors* defended themselves gallantly, the archbishop reduced it, and immediately
- b put it into the king's hands, who made a grant ^o of it to the archbishops of *Toledo*, from which place it is distant about eighteen miles.

- At the opening of the ensuing year died pope *Gelasus*, who was succeeded by the arch- ^{Discontents a-} bishop of *Vienne*, uncle to Don *Alonso Raymond*, by the title of *Calixtus* the second, for ^{gainst the} which reason we mention it ^{queen rise so} ^{high, that the} ^{nobles seize} ^{Don Pedro} ^{de Lara.} The queen, who at this time was upon good terms with her son, desired his assistance for recovering the places that were still held by the king of *Arragon*; and Don *Alonso* joined her with a considerable body of troops at *Segovia*, to which city she came with a numerous army, attended by most of the nobility of *Leon*, *Castile*, and *Asturias*. In a short time, however, after the king's arrival, disputes arose; for the nobility could not bear, that Don *Pedro de Lara* should put on airs of state and dignity in the presence both of
- c his and their master, which excited murmurs in the army; till two of the principal lords cut things short, by seizing upon the person of Don *Pedro*, and carrying him prisoner to the castle of *Mancilla*; upon which the queen, in great discontent, retired to *Leon* ¹. After her departure, the king, with the forces under his command, entered upon the proper business of the campaign, and reduced most of the places that were held by the king of *Arragon*, while those two lords of the queen's army, who had seized Don *Pedro*, followed her to *Leon*, reduced that city, besieged her in the castle, which they constrained her to deliver up, and to be reconciled to her son ¹. The new pope, at the request of a prelate who had deserved so well by his strict adherence to his nephew, raised the see of *Compostella* to the rank of an archbishoprick, of which dignity Don *Diego Gelmirez* took possession *July* the 25th, on the
- d feast of St. *James*, in the year 1120; and in the succeeding year he held a council there, in which he presided as the pope's legate, which gave no small offence to the archbishop of *Toledo*.

- His cares were, however, unsuccessful, in respect to the preservation of the public tranquillity; some of the nobility in *Galicia* remaining in arms under slight pretences, but with high protestations of their fidelity to the king; which brought Donna *Urraca* thither, who had again drawn together a considerable army, by the assistance of the lords of her party in *Castile*. The archbishop of *Compostella* received her with all imaginable marks of duty and respect, and, in obedience to her commands, endeavoured to reduce those of the nobility who were in arms; which, with some difficulty, he performed ². The queen then declared her
- e intention to act against her sister Donna *Theresa*, on account of her having taken *Tuy*, and some other places which belonged to *Galicia*. The archbishop did all he could to prevent this war; but finding this out of his power, he passed the river *Minho* with his forces, and the rest of the queen's army; but when Donna *Theresa*, after having abandoned all the places in question, was besieged by the queen in the castle of *Laniusa*, the archbishop was desirous of retiring with his forces into his own diocese, which revived the queen's old resentments against that prelate, to whom she ascribed most of the disappointments she had met with in her violent projects. She dissembled, however, her disposition for the present, and gave him leave to send back his troops; but, under pretence of relying wholly upon his advice, would not suffer him to retire from about her person. She could not, however, take her
- f measures so secretly, but that her sister Donna *Theresa* gained intelligence of them, and gave notice to the archbishop of his danger, who was so much deceived by the queen's behaviour, that he considered this as an artifice to detach him from her service. He was very quickly convinced of his error; for, upon raising the siege, and the army's repassing the *Minho*, the queen caused this prelate and his three brothers to be arrested, and sent to different prisons ³, without the king's consent, though he was in the army; and at the same time seized upon several castles and lands that belonged to the archbishoprick of *Compostella*. The queen's politics deceived her extremely upon this occasion; she imagined, from what had formerly happened, that this would have been pleasing to numbers of the *Galicians*; whereas it proved quite otherwise. The enemies of the archbishop were only so on account of his attachment to the queen; and therefore the news of his imprisonment was no sooner divulged, than they

^o Chron. var. antiq.
Compostell. lib. ii.

^p Lucæ Tudenfis Chronicon.
^r Roderic Toletan de reb. Hispan. lib. vii.

⁹ Chron. var. antiq.

^t Chron. var. antiq.

^r Hist.

were the loudest in their clamours; and those who would have burnt him in his church, now took a up arms, or would have taken up arms, for his deliverance. It was thought more adviseable to try fair means first; and therefore four prebendaries of the cathedral, and four deputies from the city of *Compostella*, were sent to know the reason why the queen had confined their archbishop, and met with a very ill reception. The queen went, however, in person to that city; and, on *St. James's* day, proceeded in pomp to the cathedral, which she found intirely hung with black; and was met at the entrance by the principal persons of the city in mourning, who very respectfully desired, that she would lay hold of this opportunity to set their archbishop at liberty: but the queen was inexorable; upon which her son *Don Alonso* left her, and went and incamped with his forces on the other side of the river, which raised the spirits of the people, and intimidated the queen, who at length perceiving her person in danger, and that the people had seized *John Diaz*, in whose custody the archbishop was, she pretended suddenly to change her mind, ordered the archbishop to be released, declared she was satisfied of his innocence, and that she meant with the utmost severity to punish his accusers; but this had no effect; neither the populace thanked her for the archbishop's deliverance, nor could that prelate be ever afterwards brought to trust her *. So low even princes fall, when their artifices are discovered.

The death of Donna Urraca, the cause of which is differently reported.

A. D. 1126.

IN a short time after this, things were on the point of coming to an open rupture; the queen and her *Castilian* lords remaining in the field with one army, and the king *Don Alonso*, with the archbishop, *Don Pedro Frolaz*, and most of the nobles of *Galicia*, at the head of another; but, through the indefatigable pains of the prelate, things were at length accommodated; and sixty lords of the queen's party bound themselves for the due performance of articles y. But soon after all was in confusion again; *Don Alonso*, or at least the nobility about him, would have *Galicia* taken for a separate and independent kingdom, within which the queen should have no power; whereas the queen pretended, that her son held it in homage of her; and therefore very frequently committed therein most exorbitant acts of power. Some writers z say, that, wearied out with these disputes and their consequences, *Don Alonso* confined her; but the contrary is much more probable. At length on the sixth, as some a say, on the eighth, as others b affirm, and, as some c again assert, on the tenth of *March*, in the year of our Lord 1126, she died at *Saldagna*, not far from *Carrion*, of the consequences of a miscarriage, as certain historians d allege; though there want not those e who affirm, that, having plundered the church of *St. Isidore*, she died suddenly as she came out, and was buried in the royal dormitory there, among the princes her ancestors, little regretted by her subjects f.

Don Alonso VII. succeeds in Castile, Leon, and Asturias, being before king of Galicia and Toledo.

1126.

THE king *Don Alonso* came to *Leon* within two days after the death of the queen his mother, and was received with all possible testimonies of affection and loyalty by the nobility of *Leon*, *Castile*, and *Asturias*, who there swore allegiance to him; only the citadel of that place, being in the possession of the adherents of *Don Pedro Lares*, and his brother *Don Roderic Gonsales*, were hardy enough to refuse giving up that fortress to the king, surrounded by his nobility g. They were quickly made sensible of their fault; for many of the great lords, and more especially the archbishop of *Compostella*, had brought troops; so that, with the assistance of the townsmen, the place was presently invested, and in a few days carried by storm; when the king might have put the rebels to death, as well by the rules of war, as by the laws of the land; but he contented himself with banishing them his dominions h. He next made a progress to *Zamora*, in order to receive the homage of the nobility in that neighbourhood; and this over, he went to *Ricorado*, which stands at the conflux of the rivers *Orbigo* and *Duero*, where he had a conference with his aunt *Donna Theresa*, and concluded a truce with her for a certain time; after which he returned to *Zamora*, to meet such of the *Galician* and *Castilian* nobility as had not hitherto sworn allegiance i. But some there were, who, hardened by that spirit of anarchy that prevailed during the late troubles, absolutely refused to acknowledge him for their prince. These were *Don Pedro Gonsales de Lara*, and his brother *Don Roderic*, who kept, with their adherents, in the mountains of *Santillana*; *Don Ximenez Iniquez*, who held the town now called *Valentia*; *Don Juan* and *Don Arias Perez* in *Galicia*, where they had seized *Castro*, *Luparia*, *de Pena*, *de Cornaria*, and other places k.

Concludes a peace with

THERE were, besides these, some much more considerable places that still held for the king of *Arragon*; such as *Carrion*, *Burgos*, *Villa Franca*, among the mountains of *Occa*, *Na-*

* LUCÆ TUDENSIS Chron. Chron. MARIANA, MAYERNE.

ADEF. Imperat. Historie general d'Espagne, lib. ix.

ANA, Historia general de Espana, lib. x. Histoire generale d'Espagne, lib. ix.

reb. Hispan. lib. vii.

y RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. lib. vi.

a Hist. Compostell. lib. ii.

d MARIANA Historia general de Espana, lib. x.

f FERRERAS Historia de Espana, p. v. sect. xi.

FERRERAS Historia de Espana, p. v. sect. xi.

b LUCÆ TUDENSIS Chronicon.

h Chron. var. antiq.

z LUCÆ TUDENSIS

c Chron.

c MAYERNE TURQUET,

e MARI-

MAYERNE TURQUET,

i RODERIC Toletan de

- a *jara*, and some others; but this seems to have been chiefly out of pique to Donna *Urraca*; for, as soon as the king's accession was published, they most of them opened their gates, and the people of *Burgos* particularly compelled the king of *Arragon*'s governor to retire into the citadel, which they reduced without any assistance, and then put both the city and fortress into the king's hands¹. In *Galicia* the archbishop of *Compostella* humbled *Arias Perez*, tho' not without effusion of blood. Don *Ximenes* was constrained to surrender *Valentia*, though he would not do it but to the king in person; so that, before the end of the year, the king found himself in full possession of all the dominions of his grandfather, except some few districts on the frontiers of *Old Castile*, which, however, troubled him more than all the rest, as the king of *Arragon* had some colour of title to them, which he appeared determined to maintain and make good by his sword. In the beginning of the succeeding year he marched with a numerous army, resolved to recover as much as possible, or at least to protect what was still left; the king of *Castile* and *Leon* advanced towards him with the flower of both nations, and surrounded by the principal nobility and prelates of his dominions. When the armies drew near each other, neither of these princes discovered any great eagerness to fight. The king of *Castile* spoke very respectfully of his antagonist, and the king of *Arragon* could not help having a tenderness for a prince he had been accustomed to call his son. The prelates and nobility on both sides saw this with great satisfaction; and the king of *Arragon* having been prevailed upon to send a message, importing, that in forty days he would order all the places in dispute to be evacuated, Don *Alonso Raymond* demanded a personal interview, where all their differences were amicably determined, and the two kings parted perfectly good friends^m.

Don Alonso,
king of Arra-
gon and Na-
varre.

A. D. 1127.

- WHILE the king Don *Alonso Raymond* was at a distance from the frontiers of *Galicia*, Donna *Theresa*, who made no doubt that the war in *Arragon* would find him full employment, caused the troops of *Portugal* to pass the *Minho*, in hopes of recovering *Tuy*, to which she pretended a right. Don *Alonso* had no sooner notice of this, than he marched thither with the utmost diligence; and having obliged the enemy to repass the river, followed them into *Portugal*, where he began to lay the country waste with fire and sword; but at length, through the persuasions of the archbishop of *Compostella*, who accompanied him, he was prevailed upon to listen to an accommodation, and things were speedily adjusted between him and his auntⁿ. This was quickly followed by an alteration of government in that country, where the people were extremely dissatisfied with Donna *Theresa*'s administration, and her too great regard for Don *Ferdinand Perez*, the son of Don *Pedro Frolaz*; and therefore proposed to Don *Alonso Henriquez*, her son, that, laying aside his mother, he should take the government into his own hands; to which that high-spirited young prince readily consented, and caused himself immediately to be proclaimed sovereign of *Portugal*^o. His mother, however, who was not of a humour to part with her right so easily, and who had a good body of troops, under the command of her favourite, about her person, marched directly to reduce the prince and his adherents; but having the misfortune to lose a battle, and being soon after obliged to surrender a fortress, into which she had fled for shelter, she was constrained to do as her subjects would have her, and to leave the administration in the hands of her son^p; and as for Don *Ferdinand Perez*, he retired into *Galicia* (O).

Donna The-
resa deposed
and imprisoned
by her son and
her subjects.

1128.

¹ Chron. ADEF. Imperat.

ⁿ Luc. Tudenf. Chron.

TURQUET.

^m RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. Chron. ADEF. Imperat.

^o MARIANA Historia general de Espagne, lib. x. FERRERAS, MAYERNE

^p RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. lib. vi. Luc. Tudenf. Chronicon.

(O) The usage which Donna *Theresa* has met with from the generality of historians, is yet harder than that of her sister. It is reported, that she had an intrigue with Don *Veramond*, the son of Don *Pedro Frolaz*; but being better pleased afterwards with his brother Don *Ferdinand*, whom she seems to have made earl of *Trafamara*, she consented that Don *Veramond* should marry the princess Donna *Elvira* her eldest daughter, and then secretly espoused the earl his brother; which excited, as it very well might, a general clamour amongst her subjects; and produced that offer which was made to the prince *Alonso*, mentioned in the text (1). Whatever truth or falshood there may be in the former of these facts, the latter has such a concurrence of evidence, that it may be regarded as certain; and from thence we may easily account for the conduct of

this princess in respect to her sister and nephew, as well as for that intelligence which she seems always to have had with the malecontents in *Galicia*; and which she knew very well how to turn to her own advantage. We are told, that, at the time she was deprived of her administration and liberty by her son, he ordered two small chains to be put upon her legs, to prevent her escape, which she resented so much, that she prayed earnestly to God his legs might not continue whole as long as lived; and it is added, that, being defeated by the king of *Leon*, he broke his leg in endeavouring to make his escape, by which accident he became a prisoner. It is also reported, that he remained ever after so lame, that, being unable to mount a horse, he travelled always in a kind of carriage (2), of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

(1) Manuel de Faria y Sousa, Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, lib. iii. cap. 1: Turquet, Histoire generale de l'Espagne, lib. ix.

(2) Mayerne Tur-

Fresh troubles
in Castile, and
a noble instance
of Don Alon-
so's clemency.

DON *Alonso*, king of *Leon*, having at this time peace on every side, and being full two a
and twenty years of age, thought it time to provide for the succession by a prudent marriage;
and with this view cast his eyes upon Donna *Berengara*, the daughter of *Raymond*, count of
Barcelona, a young princess of great beauty and distinguished merit; which marriage was con-
cluded by the interposition of the king of *Arragon*, to the great satisfaction of all parties^a.
The year following he held a council^r at *Valentia*, in which Don *Raymond*, who succeeded
Don *Bernard* in the archbishoprick of *Toledo*, presided; and in which many wholesome canons
were made. Soon after this the king of *Arragon*, who had not been very punctual in ful-
filling his promise, formed some pretensions upon *Medina Cæli* and *Moran*, the latter of which
he besieged; but the king of *Leon* marching with a numerous army to its relief, the king of
Arragon raised the siege, and retired into his own dominions. The appearance of this war b
raised another rebellion; for Don *Pedro*, count *de Lara*, and his brothers, attempted to en-
gage the city of *Valentia* in a revolt, and not succeeding in that design, fortified several places
in the mountains of *Santillana*. The king followed them hither sooner than they expected,
invested the fort where Don *Roderic Gonfalez* was, took it by storm, and made Don *Roderic*
prisoner, who, knowing he deserved no mercy, did not expect it; but the king, having de-
graded and stripped him of his estates, gave him his life and liberty, but banished him his
dominions; and not long after Don *Pedro* died of infirmities and a broken heart. His
brother was no sooner informed of this, than he returned privately into *Castile*, threw himself
at the king's feet, and desired leave to live obscurely in his own country, assuring him, that
he had not in his dominions a more faithful subject. The king, touched with his repentance c
and humility, restored him to his honours, his estates, and his employments, which he more
than merited by his future services^t. The king, perceiving that his forbearance would never
procure the places that were still in the hands of the king of the *Arragon*, took the advan-
tage of that monarch's absence in *France*, to reduce them by force; but he contented himself
with this, and did not offer any insult to that prince's frontiers, or to his subjects. It is very
possible he might have some political motive to this moderation in his conduct.

A. D. 1130.

The gallant
behaviour of
Don Roderic
Gonfalez,
whom the king
pardoned.

ALL this time a prædatory war was carried on between the Christians in the kingdom of
Toledo, and the *Moors* subject to the king of *Seville*; in which Don *Roderic Gonfalez*, now
restored to the king's favour, had his share; and, though he behaved very bravely, had the
misfortune to be beat; but, upon the arrival of *Texefin-ben-Ali* king of *Morocco*, things began d
to have a more serious aspect; for he privately issued his orders to his principal officers, to
assemble a numerous army in the plain of *Lucena*, on the side of *Cordova*, looking towards
Toledo, intending to have destroyed all the towns in the neighbourhood of that city. In the
mean time the Christians, vexed at their late defeat, formed a body of a thousand excellent
horse, and three or four thousand foot, passed the *Tagus* on the side of *Talavera*, and after
that the *Guadiana* and *Sierra Morena*, with all the speed and secrecy possible, and at length
threw themselves into the territory of *Cordova*, with no other intent than to plunder, and
make a hasty retreat. There they received the first intelligence of the king of *Morocco's*
being on the other side of the city with a large army; upon which, giving themselves over for
lost, they took a sudden and generous resolution; and, after a short repose, began their march e
in the afternoon, continued it all night, and, before break of day, fell into the *Moorish* camp,
where they made a horrible carnage; for the troops having not the least expectation of an
enemy, more especially on that side, and, being attacked in the night, were so thunder-struck,
that they could make no resistance; the king himself, wounded in the thigh, got on horseback,
and fled to *Cordova*, to which place as many followed him as escaped; the victorious Chris-
tians plundered the camp, mounted all their infantry on horseback, and, with immense riches,
returned in triumph to *Toledo*^u, where the people were equally rejoiced at their success, and
at their own happy escape from a danger, of which they had not the least notice, till it
came, attended with that of their deliverance. A circumstance that rendered their transports
the greater, and did not recommend the governor the less. f

An insurrection
in Asturias, a
war in Ga-
licia, and an
irruption of
the Moors.

THE next year afforded the king of *Castile* and *Leon* troubles sufficient to exercise his
courage and conduct. In the spring a rebellion broke out in the *Asturias*, at the head of
which were the counts Don *Gonfalez Pelaez* and Don *Roderic Gomez*: he marched immedi-
ately thither, and had the good fortune to make Don *Roderic* prisoner, whom he degraded
from his honours and banished; but Don *Gonfalez*, retiring into the city of *Tudela*, made
there a long and vigorous defence; but, finding it impossible to escape, he submitted to the
king's mercy, who pardoned him freely; but by that time he returned to *Leon* had intelligence
he had revolted again, and had made himself master of several strong places^w. His attention
to this misfortune was called off by a greater, which was, the news that Don *Alonso* of *Por-*

^a Chron. ADEF. Imperat. MARIANA, FERRERAS.
Chron. ROB. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. vii.

^w Chron. ADEF. Imperat. LUC. Tudens. Chron.

^r Chron. var. antiq.

^t Luc. Tudens.
^u RODERIC Toletan Hist. Arabum. Chron. var. antiq.

- a *tugal* had invaded *Galicia*. He was therefore obliged to march thither with his army, where he not only expelled the *Portuguese*, but took from them the country of *Limmia* ^x. While A. D. 1132: he was thus employed, advice was brought him, that the king of *Morocco* was on the point of invading the kingdom of *Toledo* with a numerous army; upon which he declared Don *Roderic Gonzalez* governor of that city and kingdom. That nobleman raised a considerable body of forces; and having secured the capital, and heard that his master was advancing towards the king of *Morocco*, he threw himself into the kingdom of *Seville*, where he had the good fortune to defeat the *Moors* in a general engagement; and, having ravaged the country to the very gates of *Seville*, returned with his victorious army laden with plunder, and driving with them a multitude of slaves in triumph to *Toledo* ^y. The king of *Morocco*, on the approach of Don *Alonso*, after he had spoiled the open country, and taken and ruined some places of strength, thought proper to retire into his own dominions; where, meeting with a small body of Christians returning from an expedition, he surrounded them in the night, and the next day cut most of them to pieces ^z.
- b

- THE *Moorish* monarch *Texefin-ben-Ali*, bearing still in his mind the importance of *Toledo*, Don *Alonso's* and that the recovery of this place was absolutely necessary to restore the credit and power of his nation, resolved to make yet another attempt, with an army more numerous than any he had before employed; but the king of *Castile* and *Leon*, being as early in the field as he, ^{glorious expedition against the Moors, and triumphant return.} marched directly towards that city, which the *Moors* had scarce time to invest, who thereupon raised the siege, and withdrew into their own country ^a. Don *Alonso* having reviewed the garrison of *Toledo*, and considering that the city could be in no danger while they were in the enemy's country, resolved to proceed forthwith into the territory of *Cordova*, by one passage, while Don *Roderic*, with the troops under his command, did the same by another, appointing the castle of *Gallelo* for the place of junction. There the armies being united, the king advanced into the neighbourhood of *Cordova*, wasting all the country before him, destroying their harvest, cutting down their fruit-trees, tearing up their olives by the roots, carrying off their cattle, burning their villages, ruining their mosques, killing their priests, and driving their people into slavery; which, unless it was done from a principle of retaliation, and to prevent the continuance of such a method, was certainly extreme cruelty. He advanced in this manner to *Seville*, beyond it, and even to the sea-coast: in his return, however, with an immense booty, he met the van-guard of the *Moorish* army; but being at the head of his own, composed of *Castilian* cavalry, he charged them so briskly, and with such success, that the gross of the army thought proper to retire into *Seville*; so that, without any farther interruption, he returned in triumph into his own dominions, and at *Taravera* dismissed his troops ^b.
- c
- d

- THE brave old kind of *Arragon* was far from being so fortunate; his army being defeated by the infidels, and himself killed ^c before *Fraga*. As he died without heirs of his body, it produced great disturbances; the people of *Arragon* electing his brother Don *Ramiro*, though a monk, and the people of *Navarre* Don *Garcia Ramirez*, a descendant from their antient princes, for their king ^d. In the midst of these confusions, Don *Alonso* marched with a numerous army towards *Rioja*, where the inhabitants of *Najara* and *Callaborra* opened their gates to him, as did all the places of any consequence on the south of the *Ebro*, till he came to *Saragossa*, where he was met by Don *Ramiro*, king of *Arragon*, and the chief prelates and nobility of his dominions, to whom Don *Alonso* declared, that it was not through any motive of ambition, or with any views of conquest, that he came thither with his troops, but purely to protect them from the infidels ^e. While he remained here, his brother-in-law, count *Raymond*, of *Barcelona*, repaired thither, and did him homage as his vassal; and his cousin Don *Alonso* of *Toulouse* did the like. The king of *Arragon*, with the consent of his prelates and peers, yielded to him the city of *Saragossa*; and the bishops having, in great ceremony, bestowed upon him their benedictions in the church of our lady of the pillar, he returned with his army into his own dominions ^f. The new king of *Navarre* met him in his passage, and, being desirous to obtain his protection, did him voluntary homage ^g; after which he proceeded to *Leon* to keep his *Whitsuntide*, at which season he proposed to solemnize his coronation. There were present together at this high feast the king and queen of *Castile*, the Infanta Donna *Sancha*, the king's sister, Don *Garcia*, king of *Navarre*, with all the prelates, abbès, counts, and great lords of the kingdom. They met the first day in the cathedral church of that city, where they consulted of ecclesiastical affairs only, and of the means of restoring ecclesiastical discipline. The day following it was resolved to proclaim the king Don *Alonso* emperor;
- e
- f

^x RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. Imperat.

^z Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

Toletan Hist. Arabum.

var. antiq.

^d MARIANA Historia general de España, lib. x. FERRERAS Historia de España, p. v. sect. xi. MAYERNE TURQUET.

^f Chron. var. antiq.

^g Chron. ADEFONS Imperat.

^y Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum. Chron. ADEFONS

^a RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. RODERIC

^b Lucæ Tudensis Chronicon. Chron. ADEFONS Imperat.

^c Chron.

^e RODER. Toletan de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. Luc. Tudens. Chron.

and, accordingly, a deputation was sent to bring him from his palace to the church, where Don *a* *Raymond*, archbishop of *Toledo*, assisted by the bishops, abbots, and clergy, waited for him. As soon as he entered, the imperial mantle was thrown upon his shoulders, he was conducted up to the high altar, where, the crown being placed upon his head, and the scepter in his hand, supported on the right by Don *Garcia*, king of *Navarre*, and on the left by Don *Arias*, bishop of *Leon*, the clergy sung a solemn *Te Deum*; after which followed divine service; and, as soon as this was over, he was proclaimed emperor, all the assistants crying with a loud voice, Long live his imperial majesty ^b Don *Alonso*. This ceremony concluded, the emperor, with all who were present, returned to his palace, where a sumptuous feast was prepared (P).

The monarchs
of Navarre
and Portugal
enter into a
league against
the emperor.

WE might reasonably, from the number of his vassals, and the good-will expressed to him ^b on all sides, more especially in regard to the last mentioned action, conclude, that no prince had less to fear from his Christian neighbours; but such is the nature of men, and too frequently of princes, that they oppress those that are weaker, and envy such as are stronger. Upon this principle it was that Don *Garcia Ramirez*, king of *Navarre*, and Don *Alonso Enriquez*, sovereign of *Portugal*, entered into a league against the emperor; the cause of which was, that the former was desirous of recovering the country of *Rioja*, and the latter was unwilling to render homage to the emperor for his dominions, by whom it was required. In virtue of this league, Don *Alonso* made an irruption into *Galicia*, where he made himself master of *Tuy*ⁱ, and some other places, partly by force and partly by corrupting the governors, who were entrusted with *Turon* and *Limmia*. The emperor sent an army into *Galicia*, commanded ^c by some of the prime nobility, to expel the enemy, but they were unfortunately defeated. As for the king of *Navarre*, the emperor was no sooner informed of his behaviour, than he entered his dominions in person, at the head of a numerous army, and wasted his country, without being able to bring him to a battle^k. In this expedition he had a conference with the king of *Arragon*, to whom he restored the city of *Saragossa*, upon condition that he should hold it as his feudatory, and do him homage, which he very willingly accepted^l.

Don Alonso
Enriques of

ABOUT this time the emperor, upon some recollection of old distaste, dismissed Don *Roderic Gonzales* from his employments^m, who thereupon went to the *Holy Land* (Q), and appointed

^h MARIANA Historia general de Espana, lib. x. FERRERAS Historia de Espana, p. v. sect. xi. MAYERNE
TURQUET Historia general d'Espagne, liv. ix. ⁱ RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. Chron.
ADEFONS Imperat. ^k LUC. Tudens. Chron. ^l Chron. ADEFONS Imperat. ^m RODERIC
Toletan de rebus Hispan. lib. vii.

(P) In the assembly of the lords and prelates, which, upon this occasion, is not stiled a council, probably because religious matters were not the subject of their deliberations, the following laws were made, or rather declared, for most of them seem to have been laws before, and to have received only on this occasion the sanction of the emperor, that his subjects might have the greater reverence for his new title (1). 1. The people shall henceforward be governed in the same manner, and enjoy the same privileges, as in the reign of Don *Alonso* VI. grandfather to the reigning emperor. 2. Churches and private persons shall be restored to whatever estates they can prove any legal title to. 3. All towns and villages that have been destroyed during the late troubles shall be rebuilt and repopled, and the country round them cultivated, by planting vines and fruit-trees. 4. The judges shall every where punish, with such severity as the law requires, malefactors of all kinds, without respect of persons. 5. Sorcerers and magicians shall be punished with death. 6. The alcaides of *Toledo*, and other frontier provinces, shall annually make excursions into the enemy's territories, and waste the country with fire and sword. These were all the laws they passed; and it appears to have been the meaning of this last to oblige the *Moors* to put themselves under the king's protection, or at least it had this consequence; for we find that, upon an expedition of this nature, about five years before, a certain *Meor* of great quality, whose name was *Zafadola*, descended from the antient kings of *Cordova*, and lord of *Rhoda*, in the province of *La Mancha*, sub-

mitted himself to Don *Alonso*, put that place into his hands with its dependencies, and, retiring with his family into the kingdom of *Toledo*, had very considerable grants of castles, houses, and arable lands for his support; and as his castle of *Rhoda* was given by the king to his new born son, it fixes the birth of the Infant Don *Sancho* to *Anno Domini* 1131 (2), which is of some importance.

(Q) There does not appear the least trace of the motives which induced the emperor to entertain fresh suspicions of Don *Roderic Gonzales*. All we know of the matter is, that this great man no sooner perceived it, than he demanded leave to take the cross, as was common in those days, in order to make an expedition into the *Holy Land*, which was willingly granted him; and he went accordingly, accompanied by such as were either desirous of making that expedition, or inclined to follow his fortunes. He behaved in the wars against the *Saracens* with the same courage and conduct as against the *Moors*; built a fort near *Afcalon*, which he fortified, and provided with every thing necessary for its defence; but being seized with a desire of seeing his native country, he made a present of it to the knights templars. On his return to *Spain*, he went first to the court of Don *Raymond*, count of *Barcelona*, afterwards to that of Don *Garcia*, king of *Navarre*; but it does not appear that he ever thought of entering *Castile*; from whence we may conclude, that he remained still under the emperor's displeasure. We have a farther proof of this, from his withdrawing out of *Navarre*, in order to put himself under the protection

(1) Ferreras Historia de Espana, p. v. sect. xii. Chron. Adefons Imperat.
Adefons Imperat. Roderic Toletan Hist. Arabum.

(2) Annal Toletan. Chron.

- a pointed Don Roderic Fernandez to the government of *Toledo* in his stead ; who, at the first entrance into his government, had the good fortune not only to make a successful inroad in the territory of *Cordova*, but likewise to beat the king *Texefin ben-Ali*, who attacked him in his return to *Toledo*, which gained him great reputation ^a. The next year the emperor went in person against the *Portuguese*, and sent three of his principal nobility, with a numerous army, to make head against the king of *Navarre*. As his army was more numerous than that of his antagonist, he entered the kingdom of *Portugal*, and wasted the country with fire and sword ^b. On the other hand, Don *Alonso Enriquez*, who acted on the defensive, being extremely chagrined to see his dominions ruined, and his subjects oppressed, fought, with the utmost diligence, how he might be revenged : and perceiving that Don *Ramiro*, who commanded a great detachment of the emperor's army, was at too great a distance to be succoured, he threw himself and his forces between him and the emperor, and, attacking him with great fury, destroyed most of his troops, and made him prisoner ^c. This check served only to irritate the emperor, who endeavoured to force his cousin Don *Alonso* to a battle ; who, upon intelligence received, that the *Moors* had made an irruption on the other side of *Portugal*, was prevailed upon by his nobility to send a deputation to the emperor, who received them very obligingly ; telling the ambassadors there would not be much difficulty in making a peace ; towards which there required no more than restoring the places and setting the prisoners at liberty taken on both sides. This was done on the part of the *Portuguese* at the return of their deputies, and immediately after by the emperor, who then had an interview with his cousin, and parted so good friends, that Don *Alonso Enriquez* thought proper to order the counts Don *Gomez Nugnez*, and Don *Rodrigo Velloso*, who had given rise to the war, by betraying their master, to quit his dominions ^d ; the common reward of traitors ; which affected the former so much, that he retired into *France*, and became a monk ; as for the second, he went to the emperor, and expressed so much sorrow for his offence, that he forgave him, and restored him to his employments ^e. Don *Roderic Fernandez* made another successful expedition against the *Moors* this year ; and the emperor's brother-in-law, Don *Raymond*, obtaining the crown of *Arragon* by the marriage of the heiress, prevailed upon the emperor to restore the places he had taken from that kingdom ^f.

- THE war on the side of *Toledo* continued with pretty equal fortune on both sides ; but the emperor, finding himself at ease from his neighbours, resolved to make a brisk effort with all his forces against the infidels, which he accordingly did, by entering *Andalusia* with a numerous army. A considerable detachment having passed the river without the emperor's leave, out of a desire to pillage, there fell so heavy a rain in the night, that they found the stream altogether impassable, and the very next day were surrounded by the enemy, and cut to pieces in sight of the emperor and his army, only one escaping by his great skill in swimming ^g. This accident so disgusted the emperor, that he returned into his own dominions, resolving to conclude the campaign with reducing *Coria*, a place of importance, and which, being in the hands of the *Moors*, gave him a great deal of trouble. He besieged it accordingly ; but the place being very well defended, and Don *Roderic Martinez*, governor of *Leon*, and one of the emperor's principal generals, being killed upon the spot, the emperor caused the siege to be raised ; and having bestowed upon Don *Osoño*, the son of Don *Roderic*, his father's employments, he returned to *Leon* ^h, by no means pleased with the operations of the year ; and resolved to employ the winter in preparing for a new expedition in the spring ; to which he was not a little excited, by having advice, that *Texefin-ben-Ali* had caused the best part of the Christians inhabiting in his dominions to be transported to *Africa* ⁱ, where he employed them as soldiers, being well acquainted with their valour, and having no reason to distrust their fidelity, when fighting against as well as for infidels ; which afflicted the emperor exceedingly ; who knew well enough, that the principal motive to this ill usage was the inclination they had shewn of becoming his subjects. He took pains, therefore, to settle, in the best manner he was able, all disputes with his neighbours, and even to terminate such as had broke out between themselves, from a persuasion that, when they had no other quarrel on their hands, they

^a Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

^b Chron. var. antiq.

^c Luc. Tudens. Chron. Chron. ADEF.

Imperat.

^d RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. viii.

^e Chron. ADEF. Imperat.

^f Chron.

var. antiq.

^g RODERIC Toletan Hist. Arabum.

^h Luc. Tudens. Chron.

ⁱ Rod. Tolet.

de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

of *Aben Gama*, viceroy for the king of *Morocco*, in *Spain*, who resided at *Valencia*, where he was received with all possible testimonies of kindness and respect. Yet he did not continue long in this place ; for the *Moors*, for what reason it is impossible to guess, gave him a poisonous draught, which threw him into a le-

prosy ; and being by this means convinced that he could be no where safe in *Spain*, he returned again into the *Holy Land*, and there ended his days. A memorable instance of the danger in digressing once from the right path, which it is extreme difficult, if not impossible, to recover (1).

(1) Chron. Adefons Imperat.

would naturally employ their arms against the *Moors*; and that, whether designed or not, a these would be in effect so many diversions in his favour. His scheme, as it was well laid, was prudently and happily executed; so that in the spring he found himself at full liberty to pursue the plan of operation he had laid down, without any apprehension of being compelled by new disturbances to alter his measures, which had hitherto been the principal cause that his arms had not made so great an impression upon the infidels, as, from the superiority of his power, in comparison with that of his predecessors, he had just reason to expect. He certainly reasoned very right upon this head; and if he could have prevailed upon the sovereigns of *Navarre, Arragon, and Portugal*, to have adopted the same principles, and to have pursued them steadily, the *Moors* had been much sooner driven out of *Spain* than they were.

He determines
to reduce the
castle of Oreja
on the frontiers
of Castile.

THE infidels had a very strong fortress at *Oreja*, which lay to the east of *Toledo*, from whence they made frequent irruptions into the territories of that city; and the year before, the Christians, not without great difficulty, had erected the castle of *Azeca*, in order to be a check upon this place; but it seems this did not prove so effectual a remedy as the nature of the case required: the emperor, therefore, resolved to open the campaign with the reduction of *Oreja**, that his subjects might be once for all delivered from this thorn in their sides, with which hitherto they had been continually troubled. Accordingly, Don *Roderic Fernandez* invested it with the forces under his command, in the month of *April*, and the emperor joined him soon after with a very numerous and well appointed army. The alcaide of *Oreja* was *Ali*, esteemed the best officer in the *Moorish* service; he had a very powerful garrison, and the place was well supplied with every thing necessary; so that, as his countrymen expected, he made a very brave and well conducted defence†. At length he gave notice to the alcaides of *Cordova* and *Seville*, that their out-works were ruined, his garrison much diminished, his magazines almost exhausted, and that, therefore, they must send him an effectual and speedy relief, if they expected he should keep the place. The alcaides began to amass provisions, and to raise forces, at the same time that they gave intelligence to *Texefn-ben Ali*, who was at *Morocco*, of the situation things were in, and the apprehensions they were under; upon which he sent over a fresh body of troops, and ordered them to leave nothing untried to force the emperor to raise the siege‡. Upon the junction of their forces, the alcaides found themselves at the head of thirty thousand good troops, with a vast train of waggons, laden with provisions d and other necessaries. They resolved to march directly towards *Oreja*, and were so confident of success, that they sent instructions to *Ali* to make a vigorous sally upon the Christians when they should begin to raise the siege§. The emperor, who had perfect intelligence of all their measures, determined to wait for them, and to give them battle if they persisted in their design, or to suffer them to besiege *Toledo*, if they proposed by that method to divert him from his enterprize.

Reduces it
after an ob-
stinate resist-
ance, in spite
of all the
power of the
Moors.

In their march, the *Moors* took a small fort or two, and at length insulted the castle of *Azeca*, where the empress lay with the ladies of her court^b. She sent a message to the alcaides, that the emperor waited for them at *Oreja*, which was the proper place for men of their birth and breeding to signalize themselves, and that little honour was to be got by disturbing a number of helpless women^c. The *Moorish* generals excused themselves for their ignorance, and desired to have the honour of paying their respects to her imperial majesty. The empress, to gratify them, appeared upon the ramparts with all her ladies richly dressed; and the alcaides, at the head of their troops, in order of battle, having paid her their military salute, retired without giving her any farther disturbance. They tried every method they could devise to draw the emperor out of his lines, or to force a passage for their succours, but to no purpose. At last *Ali* sent to the emperor, and offered to surrender, if he was not relieved in a month, upon condition that his garrison marched out with the honours of war, and was escorted safely to *Calatrava*. The emperor accepted the proposal, and gave him leave to send to the king his master, who returned for answer, that he might surrender when he would, for that it was not f in his power to relieve him^d. When they came to march out, himself and garrison were perfect skeletons; the emperor received them very kindly, entertained *Ali* at his own expence, and ordered the garrison to be distributed thro' the camp. The alcaide expressed his surprise, and desired he might march to *Calatrava*. The emperor bid him be in no pain, that the articles should be punctually executed, but that he could not part with so many brave men in such a condition; and after feasting them for a month, sent them back very well satisfied with their usage^e. The fortress of *Oreja* was surrendered in the month of *October*; and, after

* RODERIC Toletan de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. Luc. Tudens. Chron. Arabum.

† Chron. var. antiq.

‡ Luc. Tudens. Chron.

§ ADEFONS Imperat.

^b RODERIC Toletan Hist.

^c MARIANA Historia general de Espana, lib. x. FERRERAS Historia de Espana, p. v. sect. xi.

^d RODERIC

Toletan de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. Chron. ADEFONS Imperat.

^e RODERIC Toletan Hist. Arabum.

^f Chron. var. antiq.

a the castle was thoroughly repaired, and a good garrison put into it, the emperor marched in triumph to *Toledo*; where, after singing *Te Deum*, and receiving the benediction of the archbishop, he went to his palace, and sent for the empress and her court, extremely well satisfied with the success of this campaign ^f (R).

RAYMOND, prince of *Arragon*, and count of *Barcelona*, relying on his near relation to the *Don Garcia*, emperor, endeavoured to engage him in a league against the king of *Navarre*, against whom the emperor wanted not some just causes of complaint; and, therefore, what the prince of *Arragon* desired was easily brought about, who made no question now that he should be able to reunite the kingdoms of *Navarre* and *Arragon*, giving some places that lay convenient to the emperor for his assistance ^g. But *Don Garcia* very judiciously set on foot a negotiation

b with the young king of *Portugal*, by which he was brought to discern how great his danger must be by any accession of power to the emperor, which engaged him to enter into a defensive alliance with *Don Garcia*. As soon, therefore, as the season would permit, the emperor and the prince of *Arragon* took the field; *Don Garcia* was sensible, that his forces were by no means sufficient to act against those of the two princes joined together; from whence he very wisely concluded, that it was his business to fight them separately, or rather to fight the weakest. Accordingly, having put a strong garrison into *Pampeluna* ^h, he left the rest of his dominions to the emperor's mercy, marching with the best body of troops he could assemble against the prince of *Arragon*. The emperor, meeting with no resistance at *Navarre*, advanced to *Pampeluna*, and besieged it; but the place was scarce invested,

c before he had the news of *Don Garcia's* having beat the prince of *Arragon* ⁱ; and this induced him to raise the siege to give battle to the victorious army. *Don Garcia*, however, with his usual prudence, quitted the field, and threw his troops into the adjacent fortresses; upon which the emperor saw himself obliged to retire into his own dominions, and to defer the prosecution of the war to the next season ^k. In the mean time *Don Garcia* took pains to recruit and strengthen his army in such a manner, that he quickly found it in his power to give the emperor battle; but upon that monarch's entering his dominions, the nobility and prelates on both sides interposed so effectually, that a peace was concluded ^l. The emperor's eldest son, *Don*

d *Sancho*, espoused the Infanta *Donna Blanca*, daughter to the king of *Navarre*; and, as this princess was very young, she was sent to be educated at the court of *Castile* ^m. The king of *Portugal* also, who had been extremely rudely handled in his invasion of *Galicia*, judged it expedient to make peace likewise; and by this means the ambitious scheme of the prince of *Arragon* was entirely defeated, and the peace of the Christians in *Spain* restored ⁿ.

A. D. 1140.

e THE war with the *Moors* continued all this time as hot as ever, and the alcaides, *Aben-Azuel* of *Cordova*, and *Aben-Ceta* of *Seville*, having united their forces, resolved to undertake an expedition of importance; the consequences of which might prove more favourable to their nation than those prædatory excursions that were commonly the business of their summers. Accordingly, having taken all the precautions that they thought necessary, and assembled the utmost force of their respective governments, they directed their march, with as much secrecy as possible, towards the fortress of *Mora*, between the rivers *Guadiana* and *Tayo*, and at no great distance from *Toledo*; a place of infinite importance, as it covered the Christian frontier on one side, and opened a passage into the *Moorish* territories on the other; where the Christian governor, *Muna Alonso*, through an inexcusable indolence, was so ill provided, that the place was easily surprised, and himself, with some difficulty, made his escape to *Toledo* ^o. The *Moors* instantly furnished it with all things necessary, and a numerous garrison; and having recommended the support of it to the alcaide of *Calatrava*, to whom it served as a barrier, returned home in triumph ^p. The emperor was very much

^f LUC. Tudens. Chron. RODERIC Tolet. Hist. Arabum.
Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. Chron. ADEFONS Imperat.
Historia de Hispana, p. v. sect. xi.
lib. vii. LUCÆ Tudens. Chronicon.
Historia de Espana, p. v. sect. xi. MAYERNE TURQUET,
Tudensis Chron. Chron. ADEFONS Imperat.
antiqu.

^g Chron. var. antiqu. ^h RODERIC
ⁱ LUCÆ Tudens. Chronicon. FERRERAS
^j ROD. Tolet. de reb. Hispan.
^k Chron. var. antiqu. ^l MARIANA Historia general de Espana, l. x. FERRERAS
Historia general d'Espagne, lib. ix. ^m LUCÆ
ⁿ ROD. Tolet. Hist. Arabum. ^p Chron. var.

(R) The emperor, after the taking the fortress of *Oreja*, returned, as we have said in the text, in triumph to *Toledo*; where, as soon as the rejoicings for his success were over, he applied himself during the winter to regulate the concerns of his civil government, to redress grievances, to determine disputes amongst his nobility, and to make the proper provisions for settling and securing his conquests. We mention this once for all in a note, that the reader may form some notion of

this monarch's administration, who, at the three great feasts, but more especially in the winter, caused his prelates and nobility to resort to his court; where, by his authority always, and very often in his presence, they heard and decided differences of every kind; and, when this was over, took the emperor's instructions with regard to the particular trusts reposed in them, as to their respective governments (1).

(1) Chron. Adefons Imperat.

affected at this news, and therefore sent immediate orders to build a new fortress over-against that of *Mora*, and to place in it a good garrison, under the command of Don *Martin Fernandez*, to which new castle they gave the name of *Piedra Negra*, or the Black Stone^a. As for *Muna Alonso*, he was so much ashamed of his late disgrace, that, putting himself at the head of such forces as his friends were content to furnish him with, he made repeated inroads, in order to recover his reputation; and the emperor, who was naturally of a mild disposition, did not send for him to reprimand him, as he expected, for so capital an omission, but willingly allowed him leisure to repair his fortune^r.

Coria, after a short siege, is recovered from the Moors by the emperor. As the *Moors* had lately received great reinforcements, and seemed to threaten some expedition of importance, the emperor, being first well apprised of the strength of his frontiers, ordered Don *Roderic Fernandez* to make an excursion from *Toledo*, and with a good body of troops that were under his own command, and were intended for the war in *Portugal*, he suddenly invested *Coria*, which hitherto had defended itself against all attempts by the strength of its situation, and the care taken to keep the garrison always complete, and in good order. It was for this reason, perhaps, that they were less alarmed than otherwise they would have been at the news of this siege, which the emperor prosecuted with great judgment; for, having made a breach on one side of the place, and finding the enemy numerous, and bent upon an obstinate defence, he remained quiet till famine had brought the *Moors* so low, that they offered to capitulate, in case they were not relieved in thirty days; to which he consented^s. But the governor of *Toledo*, being informed of the situation that things were in, made his irruption just at this juncture, which put it out of the power of the alcaides of *Cordova* and *Seville* to succour the place; which, at the close therefore of the thirty days, surrendered; upon which the emperor caused the breach to be immediately repaired, filled the magazines with provisions of all sorts, and, leaving a strong garrison, returned to *Salamanca*; and then sending for *Muna Alonso*, commended his services highly, and declared him lieutenant to Don *Roderic Fernandez* in the government of the city and kingdom of *Toledo*^t, rewarding his good, and passing by the ill consequences that had attended his imprudent behaviour.

Irruption into the Moorish territories, by Don Muna Alonso, with great success. THIS promotion inspired Don *Muna Alonso* with so warm a desire of signalizing his gratitude, as well as his courage, that, on the first of *March*, in the ensuing year, he made an incursion, with nine hundred horse and a thousand foot, into the territory of *Cordova*, where his troops acquired a great booty^u. But the alcaides, *Aben-Azuel* and *Aben Ceta*, intending an expedition of the same kind, had just joined their forces, when they had intelligence, of Don *Muna Alonso*'s retreat, whom they followed with such diligence, that they quickly came up with him, and surrounded his troops, laden with booty, with forces far superior to those which he commanded. Don *Muna* divided his forces into two battalions, and, having recommended themselves to the protection of God, began the fight with great courage, which they prosecuted with such intrepidity, that the *Moors* were not only beaten, but both the alcaides slain, and their heads carried in triumph to *Toledo*: where, after they had for some time been placed on the palace, the empress caused them to be taken down, and sent to *Cordova* in a silver box, that they might be restored to their wives, in remembrance of the civility she had received from those alcaides in their life-time^v.

He is intrusted with Martin Fernandez to block up the Moors in the castle of Mora. THE emperor having assembled a numerous army, and being on the point of making an irruption into the enemies country, sent orders to *Muna Alonso* and to *Martin Fernandez* to put themselves, with a strong corps of troops, into the fortresses of *Piedra Negra*, with strict injunctions to cover his own territory from the incursions of the enemy, and to hinder them from making any additions to the castle of *Mora*. On the other hand, *Texefin-ben-Ali*, monarch of the *Moors* in *Africa* and *Spain*, had sent express orders for providing the fortress of *Mora* with every thing necessary, and for augmenting the works of that place; with the performance of which service, his viceroy charged *Farax Adali*, alcaide of *Calatrava*, who, after making all the preparations necessary for that purpose, marched towards *Mora* with a numerous body of troops. *Muna Alonso*, in pursuance of the emperor's instructions, issued with a small troop of horse from the fortress of *Piedra Negra* to scour the country, and by accident picked up a straggling *Moor*, who gave him intelligence of the alcaide's approach. Upon this, advancing to an eminence, he met the van of the *Moorish* troops, and charged them so briskly, that he drove them back in confusion upon their main body; of which when he had taken view, he returned to the fortress to consult with his colleague. On his report, *Martin Fernandez* proposed marching out and meeting them in the field; to which *Muna Alonso* readily consented. When they had proceeded as far as the walls of *Agudor*, they found the *Moors* drawn up in good order, whom they attacked with great spirit, and were received with

^a RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hisp. lib. vii. Chron. ADEFONS Imperat. Arabum. Luc. Tudens. Chron.

^s Chron. var. antiq.

^r RODERIC Tolet. Hist.

Chron. ADEFONS Imperat.

^t RODERIC Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

^u RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. l. vii. Lucæ Tudensis Chronicon.

^v RODERIC Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

Chron. ADEFONS Imperat.

^a much firmness. The dispute was sharp, and by no means decisive, both parties finding it requisite to retire, in order to gain a little repose. But *Muna Alonso*, perceiving that his colleague was wounded, advised him to retire to *Piedra Negra*, with such as were in the same condition, or had lost their horses, to take the necessary measures for the security of the place; while he, with the remainder of their forces, should endeavour to give a check to the *Moors*, in case they attempted to attack it by surprise ^z.

FARAX ADALI, having received a reinforcement, marched speedily to find out the Christians; who, perceiving their great inequality in number, marched to an eminence, called *Pegna de el Zeirbo*, where they might have some advantage of ground. The *Moors* quickly invested them; and, after harassing them with distant attacks, at length charged them on all sides with such fury, that, being already weakened and fatigued, they were quickly broken and cut to pieces; which, however, had not happened so soon, if their gallant leader had not been slain at the beginning of the general attack. The alcaide, as soon as his body was found, caused his head, his left arm, and his right leg, to be cut off, and sent to the widow of *Aben Azuel* at *Cordova*, who was to transmit them to the widow of *Aben-Ceta* at *Seville*, by whom they were to be conducted to the king of *Morroco*; the rest of the dismembered body he restored to the Christians; who, with sorrowful solemnity, caused it to be buried at *Toledo*. The emperor received this unwelcome news at *Talavera*, to which city he was returned after a glorious campaign; which, however, did not console him for the loss of this gallant commander, which he resolved to revenge, and repair the ensuing year, and gave orders that all his forces should assemble for that purpose early in the spring ^z.

At the time *Don Alonso* deliberated on the proper object of this expedition, his subjects complained to him so loudly of the disturbance given them by the *Moorish* garrison in the fortress of *Mora*, that he determined with himself to pluck that thorn from their sides before he made an irruption into the enemies country; and, having accordingly invested the place, he proceeded to the siege in form; but the garrison, perceiving little or no hopes of relief, thought proper, by an early capitulation, to procure for themselves the best terms they could; by which means this place came again into the hands of the Christians ^z. It was, in all probability, some intelligence that the emperor received during the time he was in camp before *Mora*, which induced him to alter his plan, and to assemble all the forces of *Castile* and *Leon* towards the middle of the month of *May*, in the neighbourhood of *Najara*, with a full resolution to reduce the monarch of *Navarre* so low, that it should not be in his power to disturb him, and his brother the prince of *Arragon*, in haste. But when he was on the point of entering that king's dominions, *Don Garcia* sent some of his prelates and nobility to inform him of his great respect for his person, his sincere desire to live with him upon good terms for the future, and his inclination to marry *Donna Urraca*, the emperor's natural daughter ^z. This proposition disarmed the emperor, who, as he had nothing in view but to be quiet on that side, readily granted all he asked; and, having dismissed his troops, returned to *Leon*; to which city came the empress *Donna Berengara*, with most of the nobility of the two kingdoms of *Castile* and *Leon*: thither also came the princess *Donna Sancha*, the emperor's sister, bringing with her her beautiful niece *Donna Urraca*; and soon after arrived *Don Garcia*, attended by the flower of his nobility ^b. The marriage was celebrated with all imaginable pomp and magnificence, on the 24th of *June*; the emperor gave his daughter a large sum of money, made very rich presents to the king of *Navarre* and his nobility at their departure, and sent several persons of the first quality to accompany them to *Pampeluna* ^c. These rejoicings over, the emperor returned to *Toledo*; and, in the month of *September*, made an irruption with all his forces into the *Moorish* territories, ravaged the country as far as *Granada* and the sea coast, and returned with an immense booty, and a prodigious number of slaves, to his capital, in the beginning of winter ^d.

The affairs of the *Moors* at this time were in the utmost confusion; for *Texefin-ben-Ali* found himself so distressed in *Africa*, that instead of yielding his subjects in *Spain* any assistance, he was continually requiring such supplies from thence as exhausted them; insomuch that the *Spanish Moors* determined at length to throw off the yoke, and to render themselves once more independent. It was with this view that they demanded of the emperor *Don Alonso*, *Zafadola* his vassal, on account of his being descended from their antient kings of *Cordova*, to whom they joined *Mohammed*, who was sprung from the same blood, and put them in possession of a great part of the country ^e; while the viceroy, *Aben Gama*, could only preserve the castle of *Cordova*, the city of *Seville*, and two or three other places; and soon after one *Haben Fandi*, a pretended saint, seized *Cordova* and *Calatrava*; while *Jaen*, *Granada*, and *Murcia*,

^a Annal. Tolet. ^y Chron. ADEFONS Imperat.
Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. Chron. ADEFONS Imperat.
Tolet. RODERIC Tolet, de reb. Hispan. lib. vii.
Chron. ^d RODERIC Tolet. Hist. Arabum,
Hist. Arabum.

^z RODERIC Tolet. Hist. Arabum. ^a ROD.
^b LUC. Tudens. Chronicon. Annal.
^c Chron. ADEFONS Imperat. LUC. Tudens.
^e LUCÆ Tudensis Chronicon. RODERIC Tolet.

remained to *Zafadola*; *Seville*, and the rest of *Andalusia*, to *Aben-Gama*; *Mortala*, *Valentia*, *Merida*, and *Tortosa*, to *Mohammed*^f. *Zafadola*, not contented with his share, requested assistance from the emperor, who sent three of his generals with a considerable body of forces to his aid, with whom, after they had done him much service, he quarrelled, and attacked them with his *Moorish* troops, but was quickly beaten and taken prisoner; and the soldiers, not being able to agree whose prisoner he was, killed him to put an end to the dispute^g. *Aben-Gama* took this opportunity to recover *Cordova*, which he did, and obliged *Hasen-Fandi* to fly to *Andujar*, and soon after delivered it up to the emperor *Don Alonso*, from whom he received it again as his feudatory. That monarch also took the advantage of these troubles to besiege and render himself master of *Calatrava*, a place of great importance; and by which he acquired the command of the best part of *La Mancha*, which removed the *Moors* so much farther from *Toledo*.

By the assistance of the French, Genoese, and Pisans, the emperor takes Almeria.

THE distractions of the *Moors* induced the emperor to hope for success in an expedition of still greater importance, which was the reduction of the city, fortress, and port of *Almeria*, at that time by much the strongest place the *Moors* had in *Spain*; from whence their privateers, which were exceedingly numerous, not only troubled the coasts inhabited by their Christian neighbours, but gave equal disturbance to the maritime provinces of *France*, *Italy*, and the adjacent islands. But for the reduction of this place a maritime force, superior to that of the enemy, was absolutely necessary, which induced him to negotiate supplies from his brother-in-law the prince of *Arragon*, the duke of *Montpellier*, the republic of *Genoa* and *Pisa*, who gave him the strongest assurances, that if he took the proper measures for investing the place by land, their squadron should not fail to block up the port by the first of *August*^h; and *Don Alonso*, relying on this engagement, was no sooner reinforced by the troops of *Navarre*, than he entered upon this great undertaking with all the forces of his dominions, and invaded *Andalusia* in the beginning of the month of *May* (S). He first of all reduced *Banos* and *Cazlona*, and then proceeded to invest *Baeca*, which made a vigorous defence, and did not surrender before the middle of *June*. He put into the place a strong garrison, commanded by *Don Manrique de Lara*, and, marching through the territories of the *Moors*, invested *Almeria* on the land side completely by the first of *August*, his confederates, with four fine squadrons lying before the bay. The city being strongly fortified, having a noble castle, a numerous garrison, and being excellently provided with every thing necessary, made a gallant and glorious defence: but at length the emperor took it by storm, on the 17th of *October*ⁱ, putting all the inhabitants to the sword who were found in arms; after which the victor distributed the best part of the plunder amongst his allies, whom he sent away thoroughly satisfied; and the *Genoese* particularly, who acquired here that emerald vessel^k which still remains in their treasury, and is esteemed invaluable; yet the emperor, who remained master of the place, and delivered his subjects from the continual apprehensions they were under from this nest of corsairs, was by much the greatest gainer, and very wisely looked upon this campaign as the most glorious, as well as the most advantageous, with which Providence had favoured his arms.

Aben-Gama, the Moorish viceroy forms a conspiracy against the emperor's life.

THE joy which this important acquisition gave to the Christians, however great, did not at all exceed the sorrow, vexation, and terror, with which the infidels were affected by so great a loss, but more especially *Aben-Gama*, who felt so sensible a regret on this account, that from the apprehension of the consequences that might, or rather must attend it, and despairing of any other method to ballance it, he projected, contrary to his faith and duty, as he was his vassal, against the dictates of honour and the principles of religion, the murder

^f Chronic. var. antiq.

^g RODERIC Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

^h Chron. var. antiq.

ⁱ Annal.

Toletan. Chron. ADEFONS Imperat.

^k RODERIC Tolet. Hist. Arabum. LUGÆ Tudensis Chron.

(S) It is supposed by some, that the place, since called *Almeria*, rose upon the ruins of the antient town of *Abdera*; though others conceive, that *Abdera* lay somewhat farther to the east (1). It lies within a fine bay, at the mouth of a pleasant river, close by the sea shore, and was in those days all that it is said to be in the text; and, upon its reduction under the power of the Christians, became a bishoprick; whereas at present it is very little better than a village, but indifferently inhabited, and has nothing to testify so much as the probability of its former greatness, except it be certain circumstances that cannot be lost or effaced even by the indolence of the *Spaniards*. What these are, an ingenious countryman of our own thus elegantly describes (2): "Its climate," says he, "is so peculiarly blessed, that one really wants words to express its

" charms and excellence. Its fields and meads are
" covered with flowers all the year round; they are
" adorned also with palms, myrtles, plane trees, oranges,
" and olives; and the mountains and promontories near
" it are as noted for their producing a great variety of
" precious stones, insomuch that the next promontory
" to it is called the *Cape of Gates*, which is a corrup-
" tion from the word *agates*, the hills thereabouts a-
" bounding in that sort of precious stones, as well as
" in emeralds and amethysts, granates, or coarse rubies,
" and extreme curious alabaster in the mountain of
" *Filaures*. And what is also very singular, there is a
" considerable river that runs directly under the town,
" and then immediately discharges itself into the sea."
Such is the site of *Almeria*, which was once so strong and magnificent a place.

(1) *Indic. Rer. ab Arragon. Regib. gest. lib. i. Rhys, p. 172.*

(2) *Tour through Spain and Portugal, by Udalap*

- a of the emperor ¹. In order to effect this, he threw himself into the strong city of *Jaen*, and sent Don *Alonso* a message with great secrecy, that if he would advance towards him with a small body of chosen troops, with as much privacy as possible, he would open the gates, and admit him into the city, as he done into *Cordova* ^m. The emperor was very near falling into the snare; but some of his nobility, to whom he communicated this proposition, dissuaded him earnestly; so that he sent Don *Manrique de Lara*, with part of his garrison, to demand of the *Moorish* chief the performance of his promise; and he had no sooner admitted that nobleman into *Jaen*, than he attempted to secure him, and those who attended him: but the populace, either not understanding his scheme, or fearing the resentment of the emperor, raised a tumult, in which *Aben-Gama* was stabbed ⁿ, and Don *Manrique*, and those
- b who were to have been the victims of his treachery, were either permitted to withdraw by the inhabitants, or found means, in the midst of this confusion, to open a passage for their escape ^o; by which disappointment, and the death of the *Moorish* governor, the disturbances amongst the infidels were very much increased, as in some places there was scarce any form of government left (T).

- THE year following began with mourning; for on the third of *February* died the empress Donna *Berengara*, extremely regretted by Don *Alonso* and all his subjects; and her body was interred with all the pomp and ceremony due to her high rank in the apostolic church of St. *James* at *Compostella* ^p. In the beginning of *March* the emperor held the great assembly of estates at *Leon*, where he declared his sons Don *Sancho* and Don *Ferdinand* kings ^q, the former of *Castile*, the mountains of *Burgos*, *Biscay*, and *Toledo*; the latter of *Leon*, *Asturias*, and *Galicia*, according to their antient limits; which remarkable event some historians place earlier, and some later; but public inscriptions, and their signatures to privileges and charters by this new title, are the circumstances which have determined us to this date ^r. The new dynasty of *Almohedes*, which, after overturning that of the *Almoharides* in *Africa*, had likewise gained most of the places they possessed in *Spain*, and particularly *Cordova*, treated the few remaining Christians in *Andalusia*, according to their bigotted maxims, with unrelenting severity; so that, in a very short space of time, all who worshipped God according to the lights of the Gospel, were either transported to *Africa*, or utterly extirpated; which cruelty, joined with the sending over several bodies of *Moors*, and the known ambition of the new conqueror of *Morocco*, obliged the emperor not to wait till the *Mohammedans* were in a condition to attack him, but to prosecute those expeditions, by which he had hitherto so successfully weakened these implacable enemies ^s.

- As soon, therefore, as the assembly of the estates was over, he gave instructions to his principal nobility to make their levies in the winter, and to bring their respective quotas into the neighbourhood of *Toledo* early in the ensuing spring. Count *Manrique*, who commanded the forces of that kingdom, in obedience to the emperor's command, took the field in the beginning of the month of *March*, and was very speedily joined by the king Don *Garcia*, at the head of a chosen body of his forces; the count *Ferdinand Perez de Trava* appeared at the head of the *Galicians*; those of *Asturias* and *Leon* were led by Don *Ramiro Frolaz*; Don *Guitterez Fernandez* was at the head of the *Castilians*; and Don *Ponce* brought the whole strength of the country of *Estremadura* ^t. The emperor put himself at the head of the army as soon as it was assembled, entered the enemy's territories, and proposed to besiege *Cordova*; but received intelligence in his march, that the enemy had formed the like design

¹ RODERIC Tolet. de Reb. Hispan. lib. vii. Chron. ADEFONS Imperat. ^m Chron. var. antiq.
ⁿ ROD. Tolet. Hist. Arabum. ^o Chron. ADEFONS Imperat. ROD. Tolet. Hist. Arabum. ^p ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. ALPHONSI a Carthagina reg. Hisp. Anacephalæosis FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispaniæ. ^q Chron. var. antiq. ^r FERRERAS Historia de Espana, P. v. §. 12. ^s ROD. Tolet. Hist. Arabum. Annal. Toletan. ^t Chron. ADEFONS Imperat.

(T) We are assured by some eminent historians, amongst whom we may reckon *Mariana*, that the emperor had received a former specimen of the temper and fidelity of *Aben-Gama*, who, at the time that he surrendered *Cordova* into the hands of that prince, suffered him, at the instance of Don *Raymond* archbishop of *Toledo*, to re-consecrate the cathedral, esteemed the largest and finest in the whole kingdom; and this only with a view that he might not leave a garrison behind him, which might have put him under great difficulties. But when the emperor had once lost this opportunity, *Aben-Gama* took care he should not recover it, by repairing the fortifications, and placing there the best part of his forces (1). He had, therefore, good reason to doubt

his sincerity at *Jaen*; but as that also was of much importance, the emperor was exceedingly desirous of making the most of these confusions while they lasted: he was very near being made the victim of his own ambition. It is very uncertain how Don *Manuel de Lara*, and those who were with him, escaped, which, the nature of this adventure considered, we cannot think strange. Amongst the singular events, however, attending this enterprize, we may discern, in the death of *Aben-Gama*, that sooner or later fraud becomes fatal to itself; and that he, who is intent upon over-reaching his neighbour, finds himself, when he least expects it, the miserable contriver of his own destruction (2).

(1) *Mariana, Historia general de Espana, lib. x.*

(2) *Chron. Adefons. Imperat. Ferreras, &c.*

against *Toledo*, and, upon news of his invasion, were in full march to attack him. Don *Alonso* immediately made the proper dispositions to receive them; and it was not long before the *Moorish* army appeared, and charged the Christians with great fury. Their impetuosity at first occasioned some disorder; but as the troops of Don *Alonso* and Don *Garcia* were men accustomed to service, they quickly repaired this disaster; and perceiving that the enemy began to relent, attacked them in their turn on all sides with such firmness and intrepidity, that the *Moors* were quickly broke, and those in the rear began a precipitate retreat towards *Cordova*^a. The emperor and the king of *Navarre* pursued them so vigorously, that the whole army was obliged to have recourse to the same measure, and, not without very great loss, retired into that city, which the Christians quickly invested. But the emperor, perceiving that the siege would be long and bloody, and that when it was over his forces would not be in a condition to undertake any thing of importance, and perhaps find it no easy matter to preserve the place, he very prudently raised the siege^w. He then marched to *Jaen*, which was in no condition to resist so great a force, plundered it^x, and would have proceeded to *Seville*, if the *French*, who had promised to send him a fleet to assist him in the reduction of that city, had not obliged him to put an end to a campaign already sufficiently glorious. At his return to *Toledo*, he found the archbishop Don *Raymond* dead, who was succeeded by Don *John*; and on the 21st of *November*, the same year, Don *Garcia* king of *Navarre* ended his life at *Pampluna*, soon after his return thither, to the great regret of his father-in-law^y.

A. D. 1150.

The infant Don Sancho of Arragon married to Donna Blanca.

A. D. 1151.

In the beginning of the ensuing year the emperor caused great preparations to be made for solemnizing the marriage, long before concluded, of his son the infant Don *Sancho* with the infanta Donna *Blanca*, daughter to the deceased, and sister to the reigning, king of *Navarre*; which was accordingly performed at *Najara*, on the 24th of *February*^z, with very great magnificence. At the same time this marriage was celebrated, Donna *Urraca*, queen dowager of *Navarre*, returned to her father's court, and received from him the principality of the *Asturias*, the government of which she was to hold by way of appennage from the crown, for her subsistence, in a manner suitable to her birth; from whence we find her commonly stiled by the antient *Spanish* writers, Donna *Urraca* the *Asturian*^a. There was the same year an interview between the emperor and the prince of *Arragon*; but those who infer from thence that a league was then made between these princes, for the destruction, or at least the conquest, of the kingdom of *Navarre*, seem to be mistaken; since, on the one hand, it is highly improbable that the emperor should meditate the ruin of a prince so nearly allied to him; and, on the other, it is not consistent with facts, since we find nothing of the execution of this league, either within the compass of this or the next year. It is indeed true, that the emperor left the *Mohammedans* undisturbed for about eighteen months, and then made an irruption into *Andalusia*, where the infant Don *Alonso* gained great reputation, by defeating a body of *Moors*^b, who attempted to disturb the emperor in his siege of *Jaen*; which, however, he found so strongly fortified, and so well defended, that he was obliged to raise it; and, leaving the army, returned to *Toledo*, while his troops continued to harass the *Moors*, though without any remarkable success, even in the depth of winter, which disabled them from making incursions in the spring, according to custom.

1152.

Other marriages of the emperor, and in the imperial family.

A. D. 1153.

1154.

THE emperor having judged it expedient to marry a second wife, and the king Don *Sancho* of *Navarre*, having signified his desire of espousing the infanta Donna *Sancha*, the emperor's daughter, the town of *Soria* was made choice of as the most convenient for the celebration of both their nuptials. The princess, of whom the emperor had made choice, was named *Rica*, the daughter of *Ladislaus* the second, king of *Poland*, and the princess *Inez* of *Austria*, who, being conducted thither, the emperor espoused her on the fourth of *June*, in the presence of the kings of *Arragon* and *Navarre*: the king Don *Sancho*, when he married the infanta, was, according to the custom of those times, made a knight by his father-in-law, and reconciled to Don *Raymond* of *Arragon*, at least for the present^c. Some time after *Louis* the seventh, king of *France*, concluded a marriage with Donna *Constance*, the emperor's daughter, having been a little before divorced from his first queen *Eleonora* duchess of *Aquitaine*^d. These marriages seem to have occupied the attention of the court, and to have prevented the war from being carried on against the *Moors* with the same vigour as in the former years. However it was still kept on foot, and served to hinder those infidels from undertaking any thing of consequence against the Christians, in conjunction with their intestine disputes, which at this time were as high and fierce as ever; and perhaps the not attacking them might increase them.

^a Rod. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. Luc. Tudens. Chron. ^w Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.
^x Chron. var. antiq. ^y Annal. Tolet. ^z MAYERNE TURQUET Histoire general d'Espagne, lib. ix.
^z Luc. Tudens. Chron. ADEFONS Imperat. ^a FERRERAS Historia de España, p. v. §. 12. ^b Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum. ^c Luc. Tudens. Chron. Chron. ADEFONS Imperat. ^d Rod. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispaniæ.

- a BUT, as soon as the situation of his affairs would give him leave, the emperor, with a numerous army, passing through that part of *La Mancha* which belonged to the *Moors*, and traversing the *Sierra Morena*, after taking several places of small force, set down before *Alcázar*, which was so well fortified, that it had escaped hitherto, though besieged by numerous armies. Yet this monarch took his measures so well, and his reputation was so great, that, after a gallant defence, the besieged judged it expedient to provide for their own safety, by a timely capitulation, which was granted them ^c. We have good reason to believe, that the emperor had set his heart very much upon this conquest, since, while he lay before the place, he had the news, that his son-in-law king *Louis*, and his daughter *Constanza*, were arrived in *Spain*, with a design of visiting the tomb of the apostle *St. James* at *Compostella*. He sent
- b to compliment them, and to desire, that, after they had performed their devotions, they would repair to *Toledo*, where he promised to meet them; which he did after the conclusion of the campaign, and entertained them with great magnificence, and caused them to be accompanied, at their return, by the two kings his sons, and by Don *Sancho* king of *Navarre* ^e. On the 11th of *November*, the same year, the king Don *Sancho* of *Castile* had a son born to him, who was named *Alonso*, and, in process of time, became one of the greatest princes that ever reigned in *Spain*; but the queen *Donna Blanca*, his mother, died a few months after ^g. This, as it created great grief in the imperial family, so it seems to have been fatal to her own; for the emperor having consented to a match between Don *Alonso*, son to Don *Raymond* of *Aragon*, and his daughter *Donna Sancha*, who was hardly out of her
- c cradle, was prevailed upon, in consequence of this alliance, to invade the kingdom of *Navarre* ^h.

The arrival of
Louis VII.
king of Fran-
ce at Toledo, and
his reception by
the emperor.

A. D. 1056.

- WE know little of the progress of that war, at least with regard to the emperor, who seems to have been diverted from it by the news of a powerful invasion meditated by the *Moors*. He resolved to prevent this, by marching with all his forces into *Andalusia*, accom-
- d panied by his son Don *Sancho* king of *Castile*, and by the principal lords and prelates of his court, amongst whom was the archbishop of *Toledo*. He advanced directly towards the enemy, whom he attacked with the utmost vigour, and, after an obstinate and bloody resistance, totally defeated them with great slaughter ⁱ. But before he had time to prosecute this glorious victory, he found himself attacked by a disease, which made him sensible that his
- e end was quickly approaching. He quitted, therefore, the command of the army to his son Don *Sancho*, and set out on his return towards *Toledo*. His distemper, however, continually increasing, he stopped at a little place called *Fresneda*, where, on the 21st day of *August* in the year 1157, he resigned his soul to his creator, being assisted in his last moments by the archbishop of *Toledo* ^k. He was indisputably one of the greatest monarchs *Spain* ever had to boast of. He extended his dominions from the mountains of *Biscay* to those of the *Sierra Morena*, had the singular honour of receiving the homage of the kings of *Navarre* and *Aragon*, and of acquiring, in consequence of that, the glorious title of emperor ^l, which has indeed been ascribed to some of his predecessors, but without due proof. He loved, and was beloved by, his nobility; but at the same time he justly acquired, by his paternal
- f care and strict maintenance of the laws, the title of the father of the commons, whom he protected from all oppression, and rendered far more happy and easy in their circumstances, than they had formerly been. He was a consummate and successful general, and withal the ablest politician of his time; and did more towards the recovery of *Spain* out of the hands of the infidels than any of the princes who had reigned before him, his grandfather of the same name only excepted. He was highly respected by his neighbours, and even by the *Moorish* princes, amongst whom *Mohammed Abenzel* king of *Murcia* became his vassal but a few years before his death ^m. His son, Don *Sancho*, no sooner understood that he had breathed his last, than he quitted the army to attend his corpse to *Toledo*, where it was interred in the royal chapel of the cathedral, with a pomp suitable to the melancholy occasion ⁿ.
- g In one respect this great prince may be esteemed more happy than his ancestors, that all his great actions were both fairly and fully recorded, in a *Latin* chronicle that bears his name, and was written in or near his time, which is that we have cited after *Ferreras*, and has supplied us with many particulars, and rectified many dates, that must otherwise have remained perplexed or doubtful.

The death of
Alonso VII.
who alone
bore the glo-
rious title of
emperor.

^c Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum. p. v. sect. 12.

^f Chron. var. antiq.

^g FERRERAS Historia de Espana,

^h Chron. ADEFONS Imperat.

ⁱ Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

^k Chron. ADEFONS Imperat. MAYERNE TURQUET Histoire general d'Espanne, liv. ix.

^l FERRERAS

Hist. Hispan. p. v. §. 12.

^m Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

ⁿ RODERIC SANTII

Hist. Hispan. ALPHONSI a Carthagena de reg. Hisp. Anacephalæosis FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispaniæ.

Several advantages gained by the Moors upon his demise.

As soon as the funeral of the emperor was over, Don *Sancho* repaired to *Burgos*, where he was unanimously acknowledged and received as king of *Castile*, his brother Don *Ferdinand* being, with equal unanimity, admitted to the sovereignty of the kingdoms of *Leon*, *Asturias*, and *Galicia*°. But, like young princes, they were more attentive to the ceremony and pomp of their inaugurations, than to the high and arduous functions of kings. In consequence of this, though the death of Don *Alonso* did not affect the civil government, yet it had a very great influence on their military affairs. The *Moors* were no sooner acquainted with it, than they flattered themselves the fortune of *Spain* was departed; the terror impressed by his name wore away, and, assembling in crouds, they offered themselves to their commanders; who, making a proper use of this alacrity, fell upon *Pedrabes*, *Andujar*, *Baeza*, and all the places they had lately lost, which they recovered with great facility, and drove the Christians, in one autumn campaign, out of all that the emperor had acquired in *Andalusia*; upon which happy success, they addressed themselves to *Abdulmenon* king of *Morocco*, beseeching him not to let slip this favourable opportunity of retrieving the honour and the dominions of the *Moors*. He received this application so favourably, and promised such speedy and prodigious succours, that the *Knights Templars*, who held the town of *Calatrava* as a fief from the crown, resigned it, as a place they should not be able to defend; upon which Don *Sancho* published an edict, in which he offered to give that place to any of his nobility who would undertake to maintain and support it; the consequences of which will be hereafter seen at large^p.

Generous and prudent behaviour of Don Sancho king Castile to his brother.

Don *Ferdinand* was hardly seated on the throne of *Leon*, before he found, like most young kings, his person besieged by flatterers, to whom he was but too accessible; so that the first acts of his government were such as had an evident tendency to overturn it; for, in consequence of the bad advices given him, he discarded Don *Ponce de Minerva*, and most of the old officers and statesmen that had been the friends and favourites of his father; who, finding themselves removed from all their employments, retired to the court of *Burgos*, and were received with extraordinary respect and kindness by the king of *Castile*^q. Don *Sancho* was no sooner acquainted with the motives which had induced them to take shelter under his protection, than he marched, with a considerable army, into his brother's dominions; of which Don *Ferdinand* no sooner received intelligence, than he set out to meet his brother with a small retinue; for they had hitherto lived together with so much friendship and affection, that he could not apprehend any danger in the presence of one to whom he had been always dear. He met him at the abby of *Sabagon*, just as he was going to dinner; and the brothers, as soon as they had embraced, sat down to table^r. After they had done, Don *Sancho* told him, "that he was glad to see him in that condition; for that, finding his principal nobility retired out of his dominions, he apprehended he stood in need of his assistance. He added, that their father was a wise man, as well as a great prince; that the former enabled him to make choice of such officers and counsellors as raised him into the latter condition; and that he had given him little in giving a kingdom, if he had not likewise left him these; that he must therefore take them home with him, listen to their advice, discard his flatterers, and rely upon it, that, if his own forces were not sufficient, himself and his *Castilians* were ready to assist him upon any proper occasion." Don *Ferdinand* taking all this in good part, Don *Sancho* left him his old servants, and returned into *Castile* with his army^s. The king of *Navarre* conceived this a fit time to recover the province of *Rioja*, which he looked upon as with-held from him by force, and which therefore he had a right to reduce, whenever it was in his power; but Don *Sancho* had intelligence of his design before he marched against his brother, and therefore appointed the count Don *Ponce* to command the troops intended for the defence of that province; in which command he behaved in such a manner, that the king of *Navarre* thought proper to retire into his own dominions, without coming to action.

He composes all differences with the king of Arragon, and concludes with him a treaty.

UPON his return into his own territories, the first thing the king of *Castile* did, was to put the monarchs of *Arragon* and *Navarre* in mind, that the former was his uncle, the latter his brother-in-law; that, besides this, he had never offended either; and that it would not commend them in the sight of God or of man, to take advantage of that invasion with which the *Moors* threatened his dominions; but that, if they conceived any injustice on his side, he was ready to meet them either together or apart, and to give them any reasonable satisfaction. Both monarchs accepted this proposal; in consequence of which he had an interview with the king of *Navarre* at *Almazan*, where a peace and defensive alliance was con-

° MARIANA Historia general de Espana, lib. xi. FERRERAS Historia de Espana, p. v. §. 12. MAYERNE
TURQUET Histoire generale d'Espagne, liv. ix. P Chron. var. antiq. 9 Rod. Tolet. de reb.
Hispan. lib. vii. Luc. Tudens. Chron. 1 Chron. var. antiq. 10 FERRERAS Historia de
Espana, p. v. §. 12.

- a cluded between them[†]. He went thence to *Osma*, where he met his uncle Don *Raymond*, who expostulated freely with him on the acquisitions made by his father at the expence of the crown of *Arragon*; alleging, that the emperor ought to have been content with his homage, which he rendered him freely, and not have curtailed his dominions. Don *Sancho* told him, that what he liked he would keep, and what he disliked he would restore; and accordingly consented by a treaty, that all the country on the right of the river *Ebro* should belong to the king of *Arragon* as in times past, upon condition that he did homage to the king of *Castile*, and assisted him with his sword drawn at his coronation; which conditions were readily accepted, and Don *Raymond* promised him a choice body of his troops[‡]. About this time St. *Raymond* abbot of *Vitero* undertook the defence of *Calatrava*, without any other
- b force than that of another monk, whose name was *Diego Velasquez*, who, as well as himself, had borne arms many years before they wore frocks; and without any other fund than that of their zeal and piety. The king granted the fortrefs without scruple; and, in the space of a few weeks, they, by their sermons, raised 20,000 men, and the means of subsisting them; upon which St. *Raymond* gave the rule of the *Cistercian* order a military turn, from whence arose that order of religious chivalry, which has been since distinguished by the name of *Calatrava*[¶] (U).

- ABEN-JACOB, the son of *Abdulmenon* king of *Morocco*, having brought over a great number of *Moors* from *Africa*, began to make vast preparations for attacking the kingdom of *Toledo*; upon which the inhabitants of *Avila* and the *Estramadurians*, with the consent of
- c Don *Sancho*, assembled a great body of troops, with which they fell into the district about *Seville*. *Aben-Jacob*, as soon as he received intelligence of this, joined his forces with those of *Dalegen* and *Aben-Gamar*, and marched immediately to attack the Christians. The action was obstinate and bloody; but at length victory declared on the side of the Christians, and the *Moors* were not only beaten with great slaughter, but lost also their two generals *Dalegen* and *Aben-Gamar*; so that the victory was equally glorious and complete^{*}. But the joy they received from thence was of short continuance, since, on the last day of *August* 1158, Don *Sancho* king of *Castile* breathed his last at *Toledo*, when he had worn the crown but one year and ten days[†]. His body was interred near that of the emperor his father; his loss was sincerely deplored by all his subjects, and by his allies; his actions, even in so short a
- d space, having raised such hopes as could not have been easily satisfied; so that, how immature soever his death might appear to his people, it came at a juncture favourable to his glory (X).

THE

[†] Chron. var. antiq.[‡] MARIANA Historia general de Espana, lib. xi. Chron. var. antiq.[¶] FERRERAS Historia de Espana, p. v. §. 12.^{*} Ron. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.[†] RODERIC

SANTII Hist. Hispan. ALPHONSI a Carthagina reg Hisp. Anacephalæosis FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispan.

(U) In respect to points that depend upon records, there is a degree of certainty superior to most others; and therefore we find almost all the historians agree in placing the institution of this order anno 1158. This whole transaction is very fully and very elegantly related by *Mariana*, who observes, that the Knights Templars dishonoured themselves extremely by so base a proceeding; which, however, so far discouraged the nobility, that notwithstanding the offers made, and the temptation of so rich and noble a seignory, there was not one of them who had the courage to accept the king's offer, and undertake the defence of the place; which reduced that monarch to the necessity of promising it to any who would engage to keep it. Don *Diego Velasquez*, an old experienced officer, who had taken the *Cistercian* order, framed in his own mind a scheme for compounding the two professions he had himself sustained; and being strongly persuaded the thing might be accomplished, importuned Don *Raymond* abbot of *Vitero* to challenge the king's promise, which at length he did. *Diego Velasquez* procured from *John* archbishop of *Toledo*, in whose diocese *Calatrava* lay, a large sum of money; which enabled him to repair the fortifications. He then preached to the young nobility, that instead of retiring into convents, to pass an idle and inactive life, it would be far more glorious in the sight of God and man to dedicate themselves to the service and defence of their faith and country, in a manner suitable to their birth and breeding; and having, by this means, drawn eight or nine thousand men together, he insinuated to the common people the great strength

and happy situation of *Calatrava*, now so well fortified, and provided with such a garrison, as afforded them a prospect of greater security than in most other places; adding, that the delightful villages along the *Guadiana*, under its jurisdiction, might be easily repaired, and be held from the knights upon very moderate terms; by which he brought together ten or twelve thousand citizens and peasants; and in the course of a few years so fully executed his plan, that the order had an ample revenue, and the people from whom it arose thought themselves happy. In this conjuncture, therefore, a better expedient could not have been desired; and pope *Alexander* the third, by his bull in 1164, declared as much: but, as *Mariana* well observes, by degrees this noble institution has degenerated; the commanderies, which were formerly the reward of military merit, being frequently bestowed upon minions and favourites. Modern writers assure us, that the order has at present thirty-four commanderies and eight priories, which produce an annual revenue of 120,000 ducats. The knights wear on their upper garment a red cross, to distinguish them from other orders: and as that of St. *James* is distinguished by the epithet of the *rich*, and that of *Alcantara* is stiled the *noble*, so this of *Calatrava* is intitled the *gallant*, which, how it accords with its original institution, is not easy to discern.

(X) This young monarch was surnamed *el Desfado*, or *the Desired*, and is justly allowed to have the most unspotted character in the whole *Spanish* history. It is given us in few words by the archbishop of *Toledo* and the bishop of *Tuy*; the latter tells us, that in religion

Alonso III.
succeeds him,
under the tui-
tion of Don
Gutierrez de
Cailro.

THE crown of *Castile* devolved on his son Don *Alonso*, then but three years of age, whom ^a his father left to the care of Don *Gutierrez de Castro*, whom he declared sole regent ², and forbid the removing any of his father's governors or officers before his son was at full age, unless from some indispensable cause. This appointment excited the envy of many of the most puissant nobility, but more especially of the house of *Lara*, of which Don *Manrique* was the chief, and who perhaps had not forgot the misfortunes of Don *Pedro*, at the beginning of the emperor's reign ³. Don *Gutierrez*, however, deserved all the confidence his master had reposed in him: he was a nobleman far advanced in years, but not infirm; of great prudence, and of untainted probity. He committed the education of the king to Don *Garcia de Aza*, the son of Don *Garcia de Cabra*, who was killed at the battle of *Ucles* with the infant Don *Sancho*, and this notwithstanding he was brother by the mother's side to Don *Manrique de Lara*, who from the beginning had declared himself his enemy, and who quickly corrupted Don *Garcia*, and engaged him to put the person of the young king into his hands, contrary to his honour, and in breach of that trust which had been reposed in him ^b. Don *Gutierrez* laboured all that was in his power to have this matter compromised, and the person of the young king restored; but finding this impracticable, he was about to have recourse to arms, when Providence withdrew him from all these troubles to eternal rest ^c, though his competitor would not allow his corpse peace in the grave.

His uncle the
king of Leon
claims the re-
gency, but at
length compro-
mises the dis-
pute.

Don *Manrique de Lara*, and the lords of his family and faction, thought themselves now in a good measure secure, from having the sole government of the kingdom, during a long minority, disputed with them; and in order to make this absolutely sure, they took the only ^e step that could render it precarious, which was breaking through the king's will, and depriving Don *Ferdinand*, and all his brothers, of their respective employments ^d, merely because they were of the family of *Castro*, and the nephew of the deceased regent, who thereupon applied himself to Don *Ferdinand* king of *Leon*, who, at their request, declared himself tutor and regent of his nephew, and with a numerous army entered the kingdom of *Toledo*, where the people very readily submitted, and even the inhabitants of the capital, upon the first summons, opened their gates ^e. The king, encouraged by this success, entered *Castile*; and Don *Manrique*, and the lords of *Lara*, perceiving an unwillingness in the people to fight against the uncle of their sovereign, retired to the fortress of *Soria*, carrying the young prince with them. At length finding themselves menaced with a siege, they entered into a negotiation with the king, and offered to deliver up the person of their young king to his uncle upon certain terms; but this was pure amusement; since, as soon as king *Ferdinand* listened to their request, they sent the king out privately, and carried him from place to place with so much secrecy, that Don *Ferdinand* was at last obliged to come to their terms, which was to keep the best part of the kingdom, as well as the king, in their possession, and to leave the rest to be administered by him. A compromise that was by no means acceptable, either to the populace or to the nobility ^f.

A. D. 1159.

This treaty
broken, and
Castile in-
vaded by the
kings of Leon
and Navarre.

THOUGH this agreement was more in favour of the faction than they could either desire or expect, yet they were so far from being contented with it, that Don *Ferdinand* was no sooner retired into his own dominions than they attempted to dispossess him by force of those ^e places which they had put into his hands. But though the king of *Leon* was in all respects a good-natured prince, yet he resented this behaviour so much, that in the month of *March* following he advanced with an army against them, gave them battle, and defeated them, which threw their affairs into great confusion ^g; and towards the close of the year the *Moors* entered *Castile*, and gained some advantages. On the other hand, Don *Sancho* king of *Navarre*, judging no time so proper to revive his pretensions to the country of *Rioja*, entered it with a powerful army, and reduced the best part of it, before Don *Manrique* and his associates were in any condition to provide for its defence ^h. But as soon as they were able to draw a competent number of troops together, and found that he was engaged in a war with the *Mohammedans*, they entered that country in their turn, and recovered it again in as ^f little time as it was lost. Other expeditions of the like kind happened in succeeding years

^a FERRERAS Historia de Espana, p. v. §. xii.
Hispan. lib. vii. LUCÆ Tudensis Chronicon.
liv. ix. ^d Chron. var. antiq. ^e Annal. Tolet.
sect. xii. ^g Luc. Tudens. Chron. Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

^a Chron. var. antiq.

^b Rod. Tolet. de reb.

^c MAYERNE TURQUET, Historia general de Espana,

^f FERRERAS Historia de Espana, p. v.

^h Chron. var. antiq.

he was sincere, and gallant in the field, distinguished by the sweetness of his temper, and adorned with every royal virtue. He adds, that he was alike dear to the populace and to the nobility, because he made it the whole study of his life to please God and good men. *Mariana* assures us that he died of grief for the loss of

his wife, queen *Blanch*, and at the very time when he should have marched against the infidels, having assembled, for that purpose, a numerous army, better provided, in all respects, than any body of troops had been by most of his predecessors.

with

a with various fortune ; but upon the whole Don *Sancho* of *Navarre* kept almost all the places that he claimed ¹.

It might be naturally apprehended, that the *Moors* would not fail to lay hold of so favourable an opportunity to repair the losses they had sustained, and to recover at least some of the important places that had been taken from them by the Christians ; more especially, as they were sure of constant and considerable supplies from their countrymen in *Africa*, and saw the power of the Christians as much divided, depressed, and distracted, as they could wish ; and yet it does not appear, that they made any great advantage of so favourable a juncture. The *Spanish* historians have not given us a very clear account of this matter ^k ; but as far as we can judge from a comparison of facts, it may be ascribed, at least in a great measure, to three different causes. The first was, that though the Christian princes were not well agreed amongst themselves, yet they did not employ their arms against each other ; so that the forces destined for the protection of the frontiers of the kingdoms of *Castile* and *Toledo* were not withdrawn : and though they seldom acted offensively, yet being commanded by able officers, it is likely they would have defended themselves with spirit, if attacked. A second cause, was the new militia established on purpose to act continually, either offensively or defensively, against the infidels, by which we mean the new orders of chivalry ; for, besides those already mentioned, there started up at this time another, which proved of double advantage to the Christians. There was, in the kingdoms of *Leon* and *Castile*, a considerable number of wild debauched young gentlemen, who, by indulging their passions, had rendered themselves so obnoxious to the law, that they had no security but what they derived from their swords. These people had lived long in the mountains, and had been gradually brought under the command of Don *Pedro Fernandes*, who being both older and wiser than when he took up this dangerous trade, bethought himself of an expedient to set things right again, and to reconcile himself and his dependents to the civil government. The method he took was this ; he bound all who submitted to his authority by oath never to injure any Christian, but to devote themselves to the protection of their country against the *Moors* ; and having converted the rule of St. *Augustine* into a military institution, he made it that of his new order, which, with the licence and under the protection of the king Don *Ferdinand*, assumed the apostle St. *James* for their patron, and had lands given them by the crown ¹ for their support (Y). Another cause was the civil wars amongst themselves, in which some of the Christian princes wisely took part ; and by constantly assisting the weaker side, without enquiring into the merits of the dispute, kept their quarrels on foot, and contributed not a little to weaken

Reasons why the Moors did not make greater advantages of these disorders.

¹ Rod. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.
¹ FERRERAS Historia de Espana, p. v. sect. xii.

^k Chron. var. antiq

(Y) It is true, that some writers carry the institution of this order much higher, viz. to A. D. 827 ; and it is also true that many who have rejected this date as fabulous, are nevertheless persuaded that there is evidence sufficient to prove this order of chivalry actually subsisted A. D. 1030, and must have been instituted some time, though they cannot say how long, before it. But, notwithstanding these authorities, we agree with Ferreras, and in good measure also with Mariana, that the true and genuine origin of this order of knighthood ought to be placed where it is in the text ; and that Don *Pedro Fernandes*, called also, from the place of his birth, Don *Pedro de Fuente-Enclalada*, which is a town in the diocese of *Astorga*, was its founder and first grand-master. In order to give the reader some satisfaction upon this head, it will be requisite to represent to him, though very succinctly, the true state of the case. When the tomb of St. *James* at *Compostella* first became famous, and from the spirit of devotion that reigned in those those times drew gradually a vast resort of pilgrims thither, it was found requisite to erect a kind of hospitals or public places of reception for these pilgrims at every proper stage, from the borders of *France* to the city of *Compostella*. This was *Forno*, taken by the canons of St. *Eloy*, who likewise took care of these hospitals, and of such as lodged in them, by which they acquired the good will of the neighbouring nobility, who furnished them liberally with money for so pious and prudent a work. But amongst all these hospitals, that in the suburb of the city of *Leon*, dedicated to St. *Mark*, was by far the largest and best endowed. In these troublesome times, however, the pilgrims, in spite of all the charitable pains taken for their relief and support, were liable to great inconve-

nienices from the excursions of the *Moors*, and from the robberies that were frequently committed on the road ; and this it was that induced Don *Pedro Fernandes de Fuente-Enclalada*, when he had formed his companions into some degree of order, to make a tender of his services to the canons of St. *Eloy*, to cover and protect these pilgrims in their passage : as this again induced the pope upon granting his bull of confirmation to assign the hospital of St. *Mark*, in the suburbs of *Leon*, for the capital residence of the grand master and his knights ; and it is from confounding those knights with the old canons that those difficulties have arisen as to the original of this institution. The ensign of this order is a cross, terminating like the blade of a sword, the hilt croseted and fashioned after the ancient manner ; whereupon it was called *La Orden de SanTiago de la Espada*, as also *Ordo militaris Sancti Jacobi ensiferi à qualitate insignium*. And the reason why this ensign is always painted red rather than any other colour, is thus given by Don *Rodrigo Ximenes* archbishop of *Toledo*. *Rubet ensis sanguine Arabum*. But these knights assumed not only the sword in form of a cross, but also the symbol of St. *James*, which, though it cannot be directly determined what it is, yet it seems to be the escallop shell : for that the escallop is generally among the *Spaniards* taken for the badge of St. *James*, and worn by pilgrims in their voyages to his sepulchre at *Compostella*. At present there are eighty-seven commanderies of the order of St. *James* in the kingdoms of *Castile* and *Leon*, which yield an annual revenue of two hundred and seventy thousand ducats, and about threescore commanderies in the kingdom of *Portugal*, which are also of great value.

both. To all which we may add, that Don *Alonso* king of *Portugal* employed his arms against them all this time, and not without success, the king of *Arragon* also making occasionally some prædatory incursions.

Don Ferdi-
nand of Leon
marries the
infanta Donna
Urraca of
Portugal.
A. D. 1163.

Don *Ferdinand* king of *Leon*, finding himself exceedingly disturbed by the intrigues of the family of *Lara*, and that he was in continual danger of losing the places he held in the name of his nephew, caused a negotiation to be set on foot with Don *Manrique*, in which he shewed so strong an inclination to compromise their differences, that this nobleman at length invited him to *Soria*, where he had a conference with his nephew, and adjusted every thing with Don *Manrique*^m. He took advantage of this calm, in order to repair and settle several great towns in the heart of his dominions, as well as on the frontiers, which were either fallen through time to decay, or else were but indifferently built and peopled at first; and to this he attended with so much care and vigilance, that they were very soon in as good a condition as he could wish. He granted also new privileges to the people, and neglected no means that could be devised to make his dominions flourish, and his people happy. Amongst other methods that were thought necessary for this purpose, one that was held of the greatest consequence by his father's old ministers, was his speedy marriage; that by allying himself with some powerful prince, he might the better secure assistance in case of foreign invasion, and defend his people from the miseries that might be apprehended from an unsettled succession. Don *Ferdinand*, moved by these suggestions, cast his eyes upon the princess Donna *Urraca*, daughter to Don *Alonso* king of *Portugal*, and accordingly demanded her in marriage. Don *Alonso* very readily consented to the match, and soon after sent the princess to *Leon* with a splendid retinue, where she was espoused by the king Don *Ferdinand* with great solemnity, and to the universal joy of the people of both nations, who concluded that this must of necessity keep the two kingdoms in friendship and peaceⁿ.

Rebuilds the
city of Mero-
briga and Ble-
tisa, which oc-
casions an in-
surrection.

As soon the ceremonies of the marriage were over, the king Don *Ferdinand* resumed the cares of government with his usual application; and casting his eyes upon *Merobriga* and *Bletisa*, places large and considerable in antient times, though they were then little better than heaps of ruins, he gave orders that they should be rebuilt and fortified. It is evident enough, that he meant this to strengthen his territories on that side against *Portugal*, and took a very convenient time to do it. But the people of *Salamanca*, who considered these places as lying within their jurisdiction, and not at all desirous of seeing them in a better state than they were, assembled several thousand men, with an intention to prevent, by force, the execution of the king's project. The king Don *Ferdinand* had acquired more experience, and was upon better terms with his nobility, than in the first part of his reign, and would not therefore submit to the dictates of the populace; but drawing out the forces of *Leon*, *Tamora*, and *Astorga*, marched against the rebels, defeated them in a bloody engagement, and then proceeding to *Salamanca*, chastised those who had been the authors of these troubles; after which things remained very quiet^o. As soon as these places were restored and in some measure peopled, the king laid the plan of taking several others from the *Moors*; but first of all thought proper to conclude an alliance with the king of *Navarre*, that in case his nephew, whom he discerned to be of a very brisk and active temper, should give him any disturbance, he might not be without an ally capable of making a diversion in his favour; and this precaution being taken, he added *Alcantara*, *Albuquerque*, and *Elvas*, to his dominions, without meeting with any great resistance from the enemy, or disturbance from his neighbours^p. But let us now return to the affairs of *Castile* (Z).

The young king
of Castile, by
the advice of
Don Manri-
que, seizes
Toledo.

Don *Manrique de Lara* paid so little regard to the soft councils given him by the king of *Leon*, that instead of endeavouring to compose amicably those disputes that had been so fatal to the interest of the young king his pupil, he bent all his endeavours to inflame the mind of the young prince against the family of *Castro*, and at length raised an army, with which he

^m Rod. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. LUCÆ Tudensis Chronicon.
Sousa epitome las Historias Portuguesas. MAYERNE TURQUET Histoire general d'Espagne, liv. x.

^o Chron. var. antiq.

^p Rod Tolet. Hist. Arabum. Rod. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. viii.

(Z) The town of *Bletisa*, which, after it was rebuilt, as the reader has seen in the text, received the name of *Ledesma*, stood upon the river of *Tormes*, and was so happy in point of situation, that, ever since the time of which we are now writing, it has been looked upon as a place of great consequence, and its fortifications kept in good repair. *Merobriga* lies south from thence, and within four leagues of the frontiers of *Portugal*, upon the little river *Agujar*, in the midst of a spacious

plain, equally fertile and pleasant. It received the name of *Ciudad Rodrigo*, from the nobleman under whose direction it was repaired, and very quickly became so populous as to be made the seat of a prelate as well as a garrison. It has continued to flourish ever since, and has been always a principal rendezvous, or a place of arms, for the *Spanish* forces, when that crown has been engaged in a war with *Portugal*.

- a marched to dispossess Don *Ferdinand de Castro* of the government of *Toledo*, and his friends of the places they possessed; and to give the better colour to this he carried the prince with him⁹. On the other hand, Don *Ferdinand de Castro* opposed force to force; and marching with a numerous and well appointed army, met that of his competitor between *Garcinarro* and *Huete*, where, after an obstinate and bloody action, Don *Manrique* being killed, his forces fled and left Don *Ferdinand* master of the field of battle¹. Yet notwithstanding this great blow, Don *Nugnez de Lara*, brother to the late count *Manrique*, chiefly by the influence of the royal person, soon raised another army, and laid siege to the castle of *Zurita*, which was very gallantly defended by *Lope de Arenas*, placed therein by the *Castro's*, and had not been taken at last, if one of the governor's domestics had not, for a sum of money, basely undertaken, and as barbarously executed, the murder of his master². The pecuniary reward in all probability came from the minister; but the young king Don *Alonso* thought so eminent a service should be accompanied also with a royal reward, for which reason he ordered his eyes to be put out³ (A). This method having succeeded in a place of less consequence, it was judged expedient to practise the same arts with regard to *Toledo*; and a person of distinction in that city having been prevailed upon to let in the king's troops secretly, Don *Ferdinand Ruyz de Castro* had the first notice of this treachery from the acclamations of the people, at the sight of their young king: upon which, having no other resource left, he mounted his horse immediately, and, attended by a few friends, made his escape into the territory of the *Moors*⁴. The capital thus taken by surprize, the rest of the cities, castles, and towns, in the kingdom of *Toledo*, opened their gates, and submitted to the king, or rather to Don *Nugnez de Lara*, who governed all things with almost royal authority⁵. About this time deceased *John*, archbishop of *Toledo*, and was succeeded in that high dignity by *Cenebruno*, who had been tutor to the young king *Alonso*, a person eminent for his learning and great abilities⁶. *Mohammed*, king of *Valencia*, became at this time vassal to the king of *Castile*⁷. A. D. 1166.
- b
- c

- It quickly appeared that Don *Ferdinand*, king of *Leon*, had formed a right judgment when he fortified his frontiers on the side of *Portugal*, for notwithstanding he had married the daughter of Don *Alonso*, that monarch made a sudden irruption into *Galicia*, and possessed himself of *Limmia* and *Turon*, into which he put strong garrisons⁸. The next year, elated with this success, he marched with a numerous army and invested *Badajoz*, upon the news of which Don *Ferdinand*, who had assembled a good army at *Ciudad Rodrigo*, marched to its relief. It is necessary to observe, that this city was in the hands of the *Moors*, but in all probability was a seignory held by homage from the king of *Leon*, who therefore found himself, from principles of justice as well as policy, interested in its defence. Yet before he could arrive within sight of the place it was surrendered; upon which Don *Ferdinand* took a resolution of besieging the king of *Portugal* in his new conquest, which Don *Alonso* no sooner perceived, than he endeavoured to draw out his forces into the field. Though he was then between seventy and four-score, he was himself on horseback, and pushing forward at the head of his guards to get out at the gate, struck his leg with such vehemence against one of the bolts as shattered it to pieces. This accident occasioned such confusion, that the troops of *Portugal* were easily beaten, and Don *Alonso* taken prisoner⁹. He was exceedingly mortified by this disgrace, and had no reason to expect very kind treatment from his son-in-law, after the usage he had given him, and therefore made him large offers to procure his liberty. The king of *Leon* behaved towards him with the most profound respect, and the greatest affection possible; he desired him to lay aside thoughts of business and attend to his cure; but finding him restless and impatient, he assured him that he expected nothing more than to have A. D. 1167.
- d
- e

⁹ Luc. Tudenf. Chron. Annal. Tolet. Hispan. lib. vii.

¹ FERRERAS, Historia de Espana, p. v. sect. xii.

⁶ RODERIC Tolet. de reb.

² RODERIC Tolet. Hist.

Arabum. Lucæ Tudenfis Chronicon.

⁵ Annal. Tolet. Rod. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. vii.

³ Annal. Tolet.

⁷ Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

⁴ Luc. Tudenf. Chronicon. RODERIC

Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. vii.

⁸ EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA, epitome de las Hist. Portuguesas.

(A) We have a large account of this siege, and of the most remarkable passages therein, by *Mariana*, who gives us amongst other particulars this, that the governor Don *Lopez*, being driven to extremity, offered to treat; and that Don *Nugnez de Lara*, and another great general of the king's, went into the place upon his parole, and were immediately arrested; upon which recourse was had to that expedient, by which, as we have shewn in the text, the place was taken. The traitor stabbed his master while he was shaving him, and made his escape out of the town, before the death of the governor was known. By laying all these circumstances together, there seems to be good reason to suspect that

this conspiracy was both formed and executed, during a cessation of arms; and perhaps some incidents forged, in order to save the reputation of Don *Nugnez de Lara*, and his associates; for if it had been as *Mariana* represents it, one cannot easily account for the besieged suffering these persons, who were in their hands at the time this treacherous murder was committed, to escape unhurt; to which we may add, that there was evidently in this transaction, something that so much wounded the king's honour, as induced him to hazard the imputation of cruelty, rather than not testify to his subjects that it was a measure which, though he might adopt, he could by no means approve.

things put into the same condition as before the war, and that they might live in peace and a friendship for the future, to which the king of *Portugal* most willingly assented, and before his cure was perfected returned to his own dominions, which was the reason that he remained lame during the rest of his life ^b. As soon as the *Portuguese* had evacuated the place, Don *Ferdinand* ordered his troops to quit it likewise, and receiving the homage of the *Mohammedan* governor, he left it in the same situation as before the war begun. He then returned to his capital of *Leon*, and applied himself assiduously to the affairs of his civil government, which he brought into better order than they had ever been in the times of his predecessors, who, by having more extensive territories, were less at leisure to look into things of this nature for the ease and benefit of their subjects ^c.

Don Alonso
of Castile
marries the
king of Eng-
land's daugh-
ter Eleonora.

A. D. 1169.

THE disputes between the *Almohades* and the independent *Moors* of *Spain*, if these could ^b be properly so stiled, who were the subjects of *Mohammed*, king of *Valencia*, who was the vassal of Don *Alonso* of *Castile*, still continued ^d. The king of *Morocco* judged it impossible for him to prosecute the war against the Christians with any great effect, while any of the *Moors* disputed his authority; and on the other hand, the Christians judged it infinitely more expedient for them to act against the *Moors* as auxiliaries of *Moors*, than as direct enemies, till it should be in their power to crush them effectually by a general confederacy. The people of *Castile*, and more especially the partizans of the house of *Lara*, were very desirous that the young king should marry, though he was not at this time above fourteen; and as this was a point of great concern to the nation, an assembly of the states was called at *Burgos* to settle this and other weighty affairs ^e. In consequence of their deliberations, ambassadors were sent ^c to *Henry* the second, king of *England*, at that time in *Guienne*, to demand in the name of Don *Alonso* the princess *Eleonora* his daughter, by the duchess of *Aquitaine* of the same name ^f. While this treaty was on the carpet, the young king had an interview with the king of *Arragon* upon the frontiers, in which all old disputes were settled, and a new treaty offensive and defensive made between the two crowns, with an exchange of fortresses on both sides, for the better security of its being punctually performed ^g. At the same time, the king of *Castile*, as he was not at this juncture upon very good terms with the king of *Navarre*, stipulated with the monarch of *Arragon* for the safe passage of his queen, which was cheerfully granted and performed ^h. The king, as soon as he heard of her arrival in *Arragon*, sent the archbishop of *Toledo*, the count of *Lara*, and several persons of the first distinction to receive her, met her ^d in person at *Terrazona*, where their marriage was solemnized in the presence of the king of *Arragon* and the prime nobility of both nations; after which the king and queen of *Castile* proceeded to *Burgos*, being every where welcomed by the loud acclamations of their subjects ⁱ; and in the month of *August* in the succeeding year the queen was brought to bed of an infant, who was named *Donna Berengara*, after her great grandmother ^k.

1170.

The Moors in-
vade Portu-
gal, and the
king of Leon
assists in driv-
ing them out.

1171.

In order to give a new turn to his affairs in *Spain*, *Joseph* king of *Morocco* sent over a very numerous body of troops, which, joined to those he had before, were put under the command of *Omar*, esteemed one of the ablest officers that had in this age commanded the *Moorish* armies. He marched with them against the king of *Valencia* in person, and at the same time sent a strong detachment to besiege *Santaren*, which had been many years in the possession of ^e the king of *Portugal*; but against the former he was able to do little through the assistance that he received from the king of *Castile*; and the forces before *Santaren* were attacked and defeated by the *Portuguese* monarch, who obliged them to raise the siege and retire in great disorder ^f. This advantage was no sooner obtained, than Don *Ferdinand* king of *Leon*, appeared in sight of the city with a numerous army, which alarmed the king of *Portugal* much more than the former invaders. He was, however, soon out of his pain, upon receiving a message from his son-in-law, to compliment him on his victory, and to assure him, that he came with no other view than to lend him his assistance; upon which under the like circumstances he might always depend. This was so acceptable to the *Portuguese*, that they could not help testifying their satisfaction in the warmest terms possible, and it likewise made a very favourable impression ^f upon the Christians throughout *Spain* in general ^m.

Joseph king of
Morocco,
makes himself
master of
Murcia.

THESE misfortunes, however, irritated *Joseph*, king of *Morocco*, to such a degree, that he took a resolution of carrying on the war in person; and in the summer of the ensuing year invaded the territories of Don *Alonso* of *Castile*, and besieged *Huete*, which he reduced to the last extremity; but upon the approach of the king Don *Alonso* with the whole force of his dominions, he thought proper to retire into his own territories; where, having intelligence of

^b Chron. var. antiq. EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA epitome de las Historias Portuguesas. ^c RODERIC Tolet. Hist. Arab. MARIANA, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET. ^d ROD. Tolet. Hist. Arabum. ^e LUCÆ Tudensis Chron. ROD. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. ^f R. HOVEDEN, GERVASE TILBUR, &c. ^g Chron. var antiq. ^h FER. Hist. de España, p. v. sect. xii. ⁱ ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. ^j ALPHONSI a Carthagenæ reg. Hisp. Anacephalæosis FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ, de reg. Hispan. ^k ROD. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. v. ^l FARIA Y SOUSA epitome de las Historias Portuguesas. ^m Chron. var. antiq.

a the death of his old enemy *Mohammed*, king of *Valentia*, he made himself some amends for his former disappointment, by an irruption into his countries; where, without much difficulty, he conquered the kingdom of *Murcia*, and added it to his empire^a. He might have done more, if the situation of his affairs in *Africa* had not obliged him to return thither; and he might have been prevented from doing so much, if the kings of *Arragon* and *Castile* had not turned their arms against the king of *Navarre*, though with little success; except harrassing his dominions, out of which they were at length obliged to retire, without making themselves masters of one considerable place, or coming to any action^b. A. D. 1172.

Upon the return of *Josepb*, king of *Morocco*, into *Africa*, *Aben-Jacob* was appointed his lieutenant, and commander in chief in *Spain*; who, to signalize the first year of his government, made an irruption into *Portugal*, where he besieged *Torres-Novas*, and took it by assault^c. He then suddenly entered the territories of *Leon*, of which the king, *Don Ferdinand*, no sooner received intelligence, than he marched with a body of troops he intended to have sent to the assistance of his father-in-law, and threw himself into *Ciudad Rodrigo*, just time enough to prevent that place from being invested. He was quickly convinced that the army of *Aben-Jacob* was much more formidable than he imagined; and what chagrined him most, was, that *Don Ferdinand Ruyz de Castro* had a share in this expedition, with a very considerable corps of brave men, who had followed his fortune. The king apprehended his condition to be very dangerous, if he should be shut up in a place scarce able to contain his troops; and therefore took a wife, as well as generous resolution, of first trying his fortune in the field^d. The enemy were much embarrassed with the spoil they had taken in *Portugal*, and had separated their army into several bodies, with a view to prevent any relief from being given to the place; so that being suddenly attacked by *Don Ferdinand*, they were quickly thrown into confusion, which, in a short time produced a total defeat^e. The king improved this victory, by making such offers to *Don Ferdinand Ruyz de Castro*, as induced him to quit the party of the *Moors*, and to depend upon the protection of the king of *Leon*, who received him with great affability and kindness, and assigned him lands sufficient for the subsistence of himself and all his dependants^f. 1173.

THE kings of *Castile* and *Arragon* were still busied in their war against the king of *Navarre*, a prince far inferior to them in force, but superior in his knowledge of the art of war; by which he kept them from making any conquests that were worth maintaining, and still preserved those places which had given birth to these disputes, in spite of repeated invasions; in which, though the confederates promised themselves much, they were able to effect little. At length, as he wisely foresaw, they grew dissatisfied with each other, and from secret murmurs and complaints broke at length into open hostilities, begun by the king of *Castile*, who retook one of the castles which he had yielded as a pledge for the due performance of treaties; but continued by the king of *Arragon*, who at length declared he would have nothing farther to do with the *Castilian*. As the highest proof of his resentment, he refused to celebrate his marriage with the Infanta *Donna Sancha*, daughter to the emperor *Alonso*, aunt to the king of *Castile*, and sister to the king of *Leon*; and, to shew how much he was in earnest, sent ambassadors to *Constantinople*, to obtain the princess *Eudoxia*, daughter to the emperor *Emanuel*^a. This not only alarmed the court of *Castile*, but that of *Leon* also; *Don Ferdinand* making no secret that he could not be a tame spectator of such an insult offered to his sister; so that the king of *Arragon* had now the war with *Navarre* still open, and himself upon bad terms with the kings of *Castile* and *Leon*; the consideration of which soon brought him to alter his measures, though even then with some degree of reluctance and discredit. An high difference arises between the kings of Arragon and Castile.

IN the mean time, the old quarrels between the families of *Castro* and *Lara* revived, and that to such a degree, as to disturb the peace of the kingdoms of *Castile* and *Leon*, almost all the noble families in both taking part either on one side or the other; but, which was thought very extraordinary, the count *Don Osorio*, though *Don Ferdinand Ruyz de Castro* had married his daughter, took part with the house of *Lara*, and actually joined himself with his vassals to the friends of that family, when a resolution was taken to determine, once for all, these implacable resentments by a general action, at a place assigned in the province of *Tiero de Campos*^b. It is true that *Mariana*^c represents this war, as if it had been between the uncle and the nephew; but all the antient historians consider it in quite another light^d. It may be, that a great part of those who attended *Don Ferdinand de Castro*, might be subjects of the king of *Leon*; and it is very probable they were; but this might be out of respect to his person, or from a liking to his cause, which, from the beginning, the king *Don Ferdinand* had espoused. The houses of de Castro and Lara, bring their disputes to the decision of a battle.

^a Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.^b Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.^c Lucæ Tudensis Chronicon. Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.^d Chron. var. antiq.^e Lucæ Tudensis Chron. Rod. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. vii.^f Ferr. Historia de Espana, p. v. sect. xii. Mayerne Turq.^a Rod. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. vi.^b Ferr. Historia de Espana, p. v. sect. xii.^c Espana, lib. xi.^d Chronic. var. antiq.^e Historia General de

espoused. However this may be, the battle was fought on the spot assigned, and at the day appointed, not only with great vivacity and spirit, but with all the rage and fury that inveterate hatred could inspire. In the end, Don *Ferdinand de Castro* gained a complete victory^a, the count Don *Alvaro* and the count Don *Oso* being killed upon the spot, and the count Don *Nugnez de Lara* and the count Don *Roderigo Guiterrez* were made prisoners, whom Don *Ferdinand* generously dismissed, that they might take care of the funerals of their friends (B). He shewed not long after that his resentment was not at all abated, by repudiating his wife for her father's offence^z, notwithstanding he had paid for it with his blood; and the king of *Leon*, that he might attach him the more strongly to his service, gave him in marriage Donna *Tiennetta*, the natural daughter of the emperor, and his own sister². A circumstance which, compared with that monarch's own match, will shew he was no despicable politician. b

Kings of Castile, Arragon, and Navarre refer their differences to Henry the Second king of England.

THE king of *Arragon*, perceiving that his own subjects were extremely offended at his breaking off the match with the Infanta Donna *Sancta*, and being informed that the courts of *Leon* and *Castile* meditated an invasion of his dominions, suddenly altered his purpose, and demanded that princess as his wife, to which Don *Alonso* readily assented, and the marriage was solemnized on the eighteenth of *January*, at *Saragossa*^b, in the presence of the pope's legate, and of all the prelates and nobility of that kingdom. This naturally engaged them to return to their former measures, in respect to the king of *Navarre*, upon whom they continued to make war for several years, but with as little success as before; till at last, upon the repeated interpositions of the clergy and nobility, all the three kings were prevailed upon to suspend hostilities, and to refer the matters in dispute, once for all, to the decision of the king of *England*, to whom each of the kings sent ambassadors, properly instructed to support their respective pretensions; and the king accordingly, after a solemn hearing of all parties, pronounced a very equitable award, with which, however, none of them were satisfied^c; tho' after some new disturbances, they were at length contented to determine things amongst themselves, upon pretty near the same conditions which the king had prescribed, after wasting much of the blood and treasure of their subjects to no purpose, unless it was to serve the interests of the *Moors* (C). c

Don Ferdinand of Leon compelled by the pope's censure to part with his queen.

THE king Don *Ferdinand* of *Leon* had lived for many years in the greatest harmony with his queen, and, for all that appears to the contrary, was inclined to live with her according to the laws of God and of his kingdom during his life; but the pope's cardinal legate at his court, having found out that the king and queen stood in an equal degree of relation, or, in other words, were both great grand children to the king Don *Alphonso* the Sixth, he gave notice of it to his master, who thereupon enjoined the king to put away his wife, tho' he had by her a son, the Infant Don *Alonso*, d

^a Rod. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. ^z Luc. Tudens. Chron. ² Rod. SANTII Hist. Hispan. ALPHONSI a Carthagenæ reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispaniæ. ^b MARIANA, Historia general de Espana, lib. xi. FERR. Historia de Espana, p. v. sect. xii. ^c R. HOWDEN. RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. FERR. Historia de Espana, p. v. sect. xii.

(B) This passage in the *Spanish* history, shews us the true temper of the *Gothic* nation; and it would be no difficult matter to prove, that this method of determining great quarrels by combat was in general use, under the notion of an appeal to God. It is true, that the relation given us by *Mariana* is certainly inconsistent with this notion, since he makes it a war between the two kings, and speaks of Don *Ferdinand de Castro* as acting only in quality of governor and commander in chief of the king of *Leon*'s forces; who, he asserts, gave him his sister in marriage, as the only suitable reward for so great a service. We have observed in the text, that this is against the authority of all the old historians, some of whom must have been perfectly acquainted with every circumstance that attended this fact, and could be under no temptation to misrepresent it, though this alone sufficiently justifies the preference we have given them: yet it may not be amiss to observe, for the reader's satisfaction, that *Mariana* does not contradict them more than he contradicts himself; for had this been a war between the two kings, how come we to have no account of its causes, commencement, and of its conclusion? How came Don *Ferdinand* to resent so much his father-in-law's being in the field, when that was his duty? and lastly, which is indeed the strongest of all, both in point of fact and because it is related by *Mariana* himself, how came Don *Ferdinand de Castro* to set Don

Nugnez de Lara at liberty, after exacting from him an oath that all former quarrels should be buried in oblivion? These are circumstances that evidently prove it was not a public, but a private quarrel; and therefore Don *Ferdinand de Castro*, after so glorious a victory, thought himself at full liberty to put an end to it, for which he is very justly commended by this historian.

(C) This remarkable embassy and reference is taken notice of by our ancient historians, particularly *Roger Howden*, who assures us, that there were several lords sent by each of the kings to support their pretensions. The king of *England* having called together his prelates and peers, appointed the first *Sunday* in Lent, *A. D.* 1177, to have this matter fully discussed before them; and after having heard all that could be alleged on either side, and collected the opinion of the bishops and nobility, met together for that purpose, he decreed that the king of *Navarre* should restore to the monarch of *Castile* certain places which he had taken from him; and that the king of *Castile* should make the like restitution, and should also pay, for ten years together, the sum of three thousand marvadies in gold, in compensation for the expences of the war. This judgment of award appeared very equitable to the ambassadors on both sides, who signed it; and having finished the business of their embassy, returned again into *Spain*, to render an account of their proceedings to their respective masters.

who

- a who was to be the heir of his dominions^d. It is said that the king demurred a little to this, and that he even went so far as to keep his wife a year, notwithstanding all the exhortations and even menaces of the pope; nay, it is even asserted that he was not brought to a compliance till his subjects felt the thunder and lightning of *Rome*, by the kingdom's being put under an interdict: then, for his subjects ease and his own, he parted with his wife Donna *Urraca*^e; and about a year after, espoused Donna *Theresa* the daughter, though some historians call her the widow, of Don *Nugno de Lara*^f. This is more particularly mentioned, because there is not the slightest hint in any ancient historian, that this monarch was the least dissatisfied with his wife, or entertained any distaste of his son, but quite the contrary; so that if there was any thing in this transaction repugnant to morality or the laws of God, it must not be ascribed to the humour, appetite, or policy of Don *Ferdinand*, but to the pope's absolute will and pleasure, which, though a powerful and independent monarch, Don *Ferdinand* durst not resist.

A. D. 1175.

1176.

- Don *Alonso*, king of *Castile*, no sooner found himself freed from the war of *Navarre*, by the reference to the king of *England*, which had been accepted by all parties, than he resumed his former intention of imitating his illustrious predecessors, by turning his arms against the infidels. With this view he caused great magazines to be erected at *Toledo*, where, having assembled a numerous army, and amongst the flower of the several orders of knighthood, he marched into the enemies country, and laid siege to *Cuenca*, a place seated on the top of a hill, at the confluence of two little streams, which, after they have joined their waters, form the river *Xeucax*. Strong as this place was by situation, the *Moors* had rendered it much more so by labour and art; so that it held out till provisions were scarce in the Christian camp, and till the monarch of *Morocco* was apprised of the fidelity as well as of the distress of his subjects, upon which he directed levies to be made, throughout all his dominions in *Spain*, for their relief^g: the king of *Castile*, in this situation of things, thought it requisite for him to ask the assistance of Christian princes, upon which, his old ally, the king of *Arragon*, marched with a body of good troops, and joined him before *Cuenca*. The *Moors* advanced with their forces in order to raise the siege; but believing that too hazardous an undertaking, they made an irruption into the district of *Toledo*, and marched directly towards that capital, as if they meant to besiege it. But the alcaides Don *Gudiel* and Don *Alonso* prevented this, by marching out with such forces as the city could raise, and giving them battle on the twenty-eighth of *July*, in which they obtained a glorious victory, or rather their fellow citizens, for both those brave men fell in the field^h. The garrison of *Cuenca*, notwithstanding they had been so long and so hard pressed, and that by this blow they were deprived of all hopes of relief, held out to the twenty-first of *September*, and did not even then surrender, but in consequence of a good capitulationⁱ. The king of *Castile*, to manifest his just sense of the friendship and service rendered him by the king of *Arragon*, released him from the homage due to the crown of *Castile*, for the city of *Saragossa*, and all the territory on that side the *Ebro* lying next to his dominions^k.

King of Castile takes Cuenca and beats the Moors who attempt its relief.

1177

- We are told by some historians^l, that while the king, Don *Alonso*, was employed in the siege of *Cuenca*, his uncle Don *Ferdinand*, king of *Leon*, invaded and made himself master of some part of his dominions; which may be true, but is certainly very improbable. Upon this, the king of *Castile*, in conjunction with the king of *Portugal*, entered the dominions of *Leon*, and committed great outrages (D). The king, Don *Ferdinand*, engaged the Infant Don

Forced by the king of Arragon to make peace with his uncle the king of Leon.

^d Rod. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. Lucæ Tudensis Chronicon.

^e FERRERAS Historia de España, p. v. sect. 12.

^f ALPHONSI a Carthagenæ reg. Hisp. Anacephalæosis, RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispaniæ.

^g Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

^h Rod. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. Luc. Tudens. Chron. Hist. Arabum.

ⁱ Rod. Tolet. ubi supra. RODERIC Tolet.

^k Chron. var. antiq.

^l Rod. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. & al.

(D) There is a passage related by *Mariana*, which happened during the siege of *Cuenca*, that well deserves the reader's notice. Don *Alonso*, king of *Castile*, finding the place hold out so much longer than he expected, left the king of *Arragon* before it with the army, and returned to *Burgos*, in order to hold an assembly of the states, his finances at that time being in much disorder. In this assembly, by the advice of Don *Diego de Haro*, who seems now to have gained an ascendancy in the king's favour, and whose sister was married to his uncle the king of *Leon*, he proposed, that since the people were already exhausted, and that if any tax was laid upon them it could not be levied so soon as the public exigence required, the nobility should for once, and without creating a precedent, consent to a small imposition upon themselves, which being immediately paid, Mod. Hist. Vol. VII.

might supply the demands of the army. The states were on the point of consenting to this proposition, when Don *Pedro de Lara* stood up, and declared he would defend the immunities of the nobles of *Castile* to the last drop of his blood, and that those would follow him who were of his opinion. Upon this he went out, attended by the majority of the assembly; by which the king's proposition was totally defeated; and it seems the nobility conceived this bold opposition so great and so well timed a service, that they resolved to perpetuate the memory of the obligation they were under, by giving Don *Pedro* and his successors a splendid dinner annually upon the day on which this transaction happened. *Mariana* relates this story with great spirit, though he censures it as an indecency to the crown; other historians have perhaps expressed their sentiments more

A. D. 1178. Don *Sancho*, of *Portugal*, who intended to have besieged *Ciudad Rodrigo*, and totally defeated ^a his army, but discovered a great unwillingness to engage with his nephew, of whose proceedings he immediately complained to the king of *Arragon*, who had been guaranty of their last treaty, which surely he would not have done if himself had broke it. On the other hand, the king of *Arragon* sent two prelates, and a gentleman of his court, ambassadors to *Castile*, in order to demand of the king the castle of *Ariza*, and to forbear all hostilities against the king of *Leon*, threatening that, if he did not, he would join with his own troops those of his uncle ^m, which seems to render it certain that Don *Ferdinand* was not so much in the wrong as historians suppose him to be, and an additional proof seems to be furnished from the conduct of the king of *Castile*, who complied with his friends request, by which the peace of *Spain* was once more restored, at least amongst the Christian powers, at a very critical juncture ⁿ. ^b

Don Ferdinand present at the glorious victory of Santaren.

In order to strengthen that harmony which reigned at present between the two nations, Don *Ferdinand*, king of *Leon*, and Don *Alonso* of *Castile* had an interview at *Tordesillas*, in order to remove all subjects of jealousy and dispute ^o. About this time died Donna *Theresa Lara*, queen of *Leon*, and soon after Donna *Tienmetta*, the wife of Don *Ferdinand de Castro*, by whom she had a son of the same name, commonly stiled Don *Ferdinand the Castilian* ^p; and the year following, Don *Ferdinand* espoused Donna *Urraca Lopez* ^q, the daughter of the count Don *Lope de Haro*, one of the principal lords in the province of *Biscay*; and on the twentieth of *April* was born at *Burgos*, Don *Sancho*, son to Don *Alonso*, king of *Castile* ^r. That monarch made, for several years together, incursions into the territories of the *Moors*, with great success, and in one of them he made himself master of *Alarcon*, by which *Cuenca* was so well covered, that he thought fit to erect it into a bishop's see ^s. About the same time Don *Ferdinand*, king of *Leon*, besieged and took *Caceres* from the infidels, so that it is evident, whenever the Christian princes were at peace among themselves, they never failed to carry the terror of their arms into the countries still subject to the *Moors* ^t. On the twenty-fourth of *July*, Don *Ferdinand* was likewise present, as an auxiliary to the king of *Portugal*, at the glorious victory of *Santaren*, when the whole force of the *Moors*, commanded by their monarch *Joseph*, was totally routed without fighting ^u. The death of that monarch by a fall from his horse just as the battle began, intimidated his subjects to such a degree, that they immediately quitted the field of battle to place all their safety in flight, which afforded the Christians an opportunity they did not neglect of quitting scores with the *Moors*, for their recent severities ^v. ^d

Repeated expeditions of Don Alonso of Castile, against the Moors in Andalusia.

Don *Alonso* of *Castile* had the misfortune the next year to be beaten by the *Moors*, in the neighbourhood of *Sotillo* in *Estremadura* ^x, which however did not hinder his taking the field again in the succeeding spring; and, after having enriched his troops with a great booty, he returned triumphant, and went afterwards to an interview with the king of *Arragon*, with whom he concerted the means of continuing the peace which had already lasted for some years amongst the Christian powers, and of prosecuting the war against the infidels, points which these two princes had equally at heart, and, by concurring therein, contributed greatly to their own reputation and the good of their subjects ^y. The next year Don *Alonso* was in the field again, and made himself master of some small places; but his chief design seems to have been the security of his own dominions, by keeping the *Moors* in such a state of apprehension and distraction, as might hinder them from undertaking any thing to the prejudice of his territories, without which it would have been impossible for the people to have enjoyed that degree of peace and safety, that was necessary to cultivate and improve their lands. ^e

The death of Don Ferdinand of Castile, and his posterity.

In the autumn of this year, Don *Ferdinand*, king of *Leon*, went to pay his devotions at the tomb of the apostle St. *James* ^z, in the church of *Compostella*; and at his return to *Benavente*, which is ten leagues from *Leon*, found himself extremely indisposed: he lingered however through the remaining months of that year, and to the twenty-first day of *January* in the next, when he breathed his last, to the great regret of his subjects. *Mariana* says, that he ^f

^m Chron. var. antiq. ⁿ FERR. Historia de Espana, p. v. §. 12. ^o Rod. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. ^p LUCÆ Tudensis Chronicon. ^q ALPHONSI a Carthagena reg. Hispan. Rod. SANTI ^r Hist. Hispan. Anacepalæosis. FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispaniæ. ^s MARIANA Historia general de Espana, lib. xi. ^t LUC. Tudens. Chronicon. FERRERAS Historia de Espana, p. v. sect. xi. ^u Chron. var. antiq. ^v Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum. ^w FARIA Y SOUSA, Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, MAYERNE TURQ. FERR. ^x Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum. ^y LUCÆ Tudens. Chron. Rod. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. ^z Chron. var. antiq. ^z Hist. Com. postel. Annal. Compostel.

more strongly by burying it in silence. We thought it inconsistent with our duty, either to follow his example in deciding, or theirs in concealing, and have therefore stated the fact, and leave our readers to judge for themselves.

- a was fitter for the general of an army, than for the government of a kingdom^a: but if we consider his actions, we may, with equal reason, believe that there have been very few kings fitter for both; for he was a prince of great virtue and generosity, and as remarkable for piety as for valour. He left at his death three sons, Don *Alonso* by his first queen the Infanta of *Portugal*, with whom, as the reader has seen, the pope forced him to part, and Don *Sancho* and Don *Garcia* by Donna *Urraca*, who survived him^b. *Mariana*, and after him other historians^c, have suggested, that, at the time of his decease, Don *Alonso* was upon the point of flying into *Portugal*, being weary of the continual ill-usage of his mother-in-law, who reflected on him for his mother's misfortune, and pretended to treat him as a bastard; but this is very improbable, since even these historians allow that his mother-in-law's hatred arose from his father's affection to him; neither does it appear that the pope pretended to bastardize the issue of those marriages, which they declared null on the score of consanguinity. The body of Don *Ferdinand* was buried in the cathedral of *St. James*, near that of his mother Donna *Berengara*, and of his grandfather Don *Raymond*^d. His successor was present at the solemnity, and some days after went to pay a visit to his mother-in-law, with whom it appears that he was inclined to live at least upon fair terms, notwithstanding her intentions, to have deprived him of the succession, to have placed her son Don *Sancho* on the throne of *Leon*, and to have bestowed the crown of *Galicia* on Don *Garcia*, are said to have been generally known; so that the moderation of the young monarch deserved to be highly admired^e. But as he was universally acceptable to the people, and sure of support from the crown of *Portugal*, there seems to be good reason to doubt whether the queen Donna *Urraca Lopez* could ever entertain such notions, more especially considering the age of her children, and her having no protector capable of affording her the least degree of assistance toward the execution of such a design. It is therefore more than likely that these conjectures took rise from succeeding events, with which, when the reader is acquainted, he will be enabled to form a better judgment.
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A. D. 1183.

Don Alonso the ninth, his son and successor, knighted by the king of Castile.

- The king of *Castile* held this year the general assembly of the states of his kingdom at *Carrion*, to which, through a desire of expressing his great affection for his cousin, and that, according to the custom of those times, he might be made a knight by a monarch in so high reputation for wisdom, courage, and all other royal virtues, the king of *Leon* resorted; and having in that assembly, purely from a spirit of politeness and complaisance, kissed the hand of the king of *Castile* as he took his seat, this was afterwards wrested into an act of solemn homage, and was the true cause of that distaste which quickly succeeded to this superabundant kindness between these princes^f. The next year however they acted as confederates against the *Moors*, and with great success, recovered out of their hands abundance of places in *Estremadura*; not content with which they passed the *Sierra Morena*, and wasted all the territory of *Seville* with fire and sword to the sea side. One would have imagined that nothing could have contributed, more than the issue of this campaign, to convince the monarch of *Castile* of the expediency of living upon good terms with his cousin of *Leon*; yet this was so far from being the case, that it proved the cause of a rupture between them; for though the latter had shared in the danger and fatigue, yet the former kept all the conquests, though some of them, from their situation, were very convenient for his cousin, and of little consequence to him. This was resented by Don *Alonso* of *Leon*, like a young man; for he immediately sought the friendship of the king of *Portugal*, with the same zeal that he shewed in embracing that of the king of *Castile*, and, as the strongest proof of his sincerity, married the Infanta Donna *Theresa*^g, who was his cousin *German*, by the mother's side, without reflecting on what had happened to his father.

- AMONGST other circumstances that contributed to inspire the king of *Castile* with unreasonable haughtiness, one was, that the emperor *Frederic Barbarossa* had concluded a treaty of marriage between his son prince *Conrad*, and the infanta Donna *Berengara*, daughter of the king of *Castile*, and had sent the young prince into *Spain*, that their nuptials might be celebrated at *Toledo*^h. Don *Alonso* received him in that city with the utmost magnificence, and with all the marks of respect he could desire, signed the contract of marriage which had been before subscribed by the emperor, and made his intended son-in-law a knight. Yet, after all this was done, the nuptials did not take placeⁱ. Most of the *Spanish* historians^k, for the honour of their country, ascribe this to the Infanta's terror of so long a journey, a distaste to the climate

The intended marriage between the emperor's son Conrad, and the Infanta Berengara, fails.

^a RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. ALPHONSI a Carthagena reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispan. ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. Historia general de España, lib. xi.
^b ROD. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. LUC. Tudens. Chron. ^c FERR. MAYERNE TURQ. ^d ROD. SANTI Hist. Hispan. LUC. Tudens. Chron. ^e Chron. var. antiq. ^f ROD. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. LUC. Tudens. Chron. FERR. Historia de España, p. v. §. 12. ^g ROD. Tolet. Hist. Arabum. Annal. Tolet. FARIA Y SOUSA, Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas. ^h ALPHONSI a Carthagena reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis. FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ de reg. Hispaniæ. Annal. Toletan.
ⁱ ROD. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. ^k MARIANA Hist. general de España, lib. xi.

of *Germany*, and a prejudice against the manners of the people: but *Ferreras*¹ has assigned, if a not a more certain, at least a more probable cause: he observes, that Donna *Eleonora*, queen of *Castile*, was, during the stay of prince *Conrad*, brought to bed of the Infant Don *Ferdinand*, which entirely spoiled the scheme of the *German* prince, who, as the king of *Castile* had no male issue living, expected to have succeeded him in the throne, in consequence of his marriage; of which, perceiving that there was now little hopes, he took leave of the king, the queen, and the Infanta, and returned into *Germany*^m. Soon after this, the monarch of *Castile* presuming on his cousin's youth and his own great power, committed acts of hostility in the kingdom of *Leon*; of this the king of *Arragon* was no sooner informed, than he made an irruption into *Castile*; upon which Don *Alonso* turned his arms against him, but with very indifferent success. By the interposition of the nobility and prelates of both kingdoms, the peace was quickly renewed, upon aⁿ promise that the king of *Castile* should do nothing to the prejudice of his cousin of *Leon*, whom, because he had injured, he hated.

Don *Alonso*, his queen *Theresa*, and four prelates excommunicated, and his marriage null'd. THE pope's legate in *Spain*, cardinal *Gregory*, who was sent to promote peace amongst the Christian princes, gave a singular specimen of his abilities that way, by insinuating to the kings of *Leon* and *Portugal*, that the marriage of Don *Alonso* with the Infanta Donna *Theresa* was void, and that therefore they ought to part; but none of the parties inclining to obey, he summoned a council at *Salamanca*^o, in which the point was determined as he would have it; but the bishops of *Leon*, *Astorga*, *Salamanca*, and *Zamora*, who did not assist at this council, protested against the decree, alleging, that marriages of this sort were not prohibited by the divine, or even by the ecclesiastical law, but by the civil, and for certain political reasons; and that therefore c princes, who had a power of establishing this law, must likewise have the power of dispensing with it. The cardinal legate effectually refuted this pernicious doctrine, by excommunicating the four prelates, and threatening both the kings of *Leon* and *Portugal* with an interdict; and very soon after he carried his threats into execution^p, which were attended with most dreadful consequences, the people in both kingdoms being extremely provoked at the obstinacy of the king of *Leon*, who, in spite of the express will and pleasure of the pope, would needs live with his wife. That monarch in vain sent the bishop of *Zamora* to *Rome*, to prevail upon the pope to remove the impediment as to the legality of his marriage; the pontif would hear nothing upon that head, but, at the earnest suit of the bishop took off his excommunication and the interdict, allowing divine service and the sacraments to be administered every where, d except in the presence of the king and queen of *Leon*^q, who were left to the most desperate courses, if their own piety had not guarded them.

Archbishop of Toledo's expedition against the Moors excites a dreadful war. DON *Alonso*, king of *Castile*, was all this while engaged in continual expeditions against the infidels; and this very year had sent a potent army, under the command of Don *Martin*, archbishop of *Toledo*, into *Andalusia*, where he had acted with unexampled severity, destroying the corn and the vines, tearing the olive-trees up by the roots, putting multitudes of men, women, and children in chains, sweeping away all the cattle; and to complete this scene of destruction, laying every village and open town he passed through in ashes. The reader must not imagine that we are guilty of any exaggeration, for we transcribe not only the fact, but the very words, from a *Spanish* historian^r. The report of this cruel proceeding was no sooner brought to *Jacob Aben Joseph*, king of *Morocco*, than he wrote a letter to the king Don *Alonso*, in which he expostulated on this new way of making war, in a manner barbarous beyond all example; to which Don *Alonso* gave so haughty an answer, that the *Moor* immediately published the *Gacia*^s, which answers to our *croisade*, and insures to every *Mussulman*, who either kills a Christian or is killed himself, a plenary absolution from all his sins, and an immediate entrance into Paradise. This called every man that was able to bear arms into the field, and the king of *Morocco* himself, coming over with a prodigious army from *Africa*, ordered a general rendezvous of the whole forces of his empire at *Seville*^t. Don *Alonso* of *Castile*, upon this, condescended to ask the assistance of the kings of *Leon* and *Navarre*, representing it as a war of religion, and in which the common cause of all the Christians in *Spain* was at stake; as they were convinced of the truth of the fact, they did not enquire f nicely into the cause, but readily promised him, not only all he asked, but that they would march with all the forces of their respective kingdoms, to join him at *Toledo*, and began immediately to make the necessary levies for that purpose, not doubting that this confederacy would secure both his and their own dominions.

The king of Castile obliged to ask succours, JACOB ABEN-JOSEPH found his army so numerous, that he was obliged to order part of them to rendezvous at *Cordova*, where having joined them with the rest of his forces from

¹ Hist. de España, p. v. §. xii.
d'Espagne, liv. x.
sect. xii.
lib. vii.

ⁿ Rod. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. vi.

^p Chron. var. antiq.

^r Historia de España, p. v. sect. xii.

Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. vii.

^m Lucæ Tudensis Chronicon.

^q Lucæ Tudensis Chron.

^s Rod. Tolet. de rebus Hispan.

^t Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum,

- a *Seville*, he entered the kingdom of *Toledo*, and encamped within sight of *Calatrava* and *Alarcos*, ^{and fights im-} both places of great strength, and which might have found employment for some time, even ^{prudently be-} for his prodigious army ^{fore he re-} ". But the king of *Castile*, who had assembled all his forces, advanced, ^{ceived: h. m.} without waiting for his allies, within a small distance of the enemy. The principal officers of his army suggested to him that he ought either to retreat in time or fortify his camp, since both the kings of *Leon* and *Navarre* were within a few days march, and not adventure on a battle with such a vast disproportion of forces. But the king could not be brought to relish these wholesome counsels; he had treated the *Moor* with contempt, and to retire before him would be a perpetual disgrace: besides, he was unwilling to share the honour of a victory, and he looked upon his troops and himself as invincible. On the eighteenth of *July*, the
- b two armies came in sight, at a small distance from the town of *Alarcos*, and the engagement quickly began. The Christians behaved with great intrepidity; but after a warm and obstinate dispute, they were overborn by numbers ^w. Don *Alonso* perceiving that they began to give way, and apprehending the loss of that high reputation which he had acquired, grew perfectly furious, and would have thrown himself into the midst of the enemy, but the nobility about his person restrained him, and carried him off by force ^x. The *Moors* upon this occasion gained one of the completest victories that history records ^y. There fell upwards of twenty thousand *Castilians* upon the spot, amongst whom was the flower of the nobility: the military orders, their camp and their baggage fell likewise into the hands of the enemy, and the shattered remains of the army retreated with difficulty to *Toledo*, and shut themselves up
- c under cover of the extended fortifications.

- Don *Alonso* had scarce entered this city, before the king of *Leon* arrived with a numerous army: he went immediately to visit his cousin, and mildly expostulated with him the imprudence of his conduct ^z. The *Spanish* historians, for the honour of their country, have unanimously suppressed the answer of the monarch of *Castile*; but it is nevertheless certain, that he endeavoured to throw that blame, which belonged wholly to himself, upon the two kings ^a, and this in such coarse terms, that Don *Alonso* of *Leon* immediately quitted *Toledo*, and returned into his own dominions, ravaging those of *Castile* as he passed; and the monarch of *Navarre* did the like ^b. Upon this, the king of *Castile*, having provided for the security of *Toledo*, repaired
- d to *Burgos*, leaving *Jacob Aben-Joseph* to make the best use of his victory, who reduced *Calatrava* and *Alarcos*, though with some difficulty, and afterwards made a furious irruption into *Portugal*, where he murdered all the *Monks* and ecclesiastics that fell in his way, and wasted all the country with inexpressible barbarity, as far as appears from the histories of these times, in which Don *Roderic* ^c *de Ximenes*, then bishop of *Sigüenza*, and afterwards primate of *Toledo*, flourished: he met with little or no resistance; for the Christian princes were more intent on punishing the insolence of the king of *Castile*, than cautious in protecting their own dominions, which, how gross soever the provocation they had received might be, was beyond all doubt to the full as inexcusable. At length they were awakened from their lethargy, and began, though a little too late, to assemble their forces, and to provide for the chastisement of an enemy, who, in respect to them, had met with nothing that could justify the brutality
- e of his behaviour.

- The kings Don *Alonso* of *Leon*, and Don *Sancho* of *Portugal*, no longer able to resist the importunities of their subjects, submitted to the papal decree, and the Infanta Donna *Theresa* of *Portugal*, queen of *Leon*, returned home to her father, leaving behind her the two princesses, her daughters; and there is reason to believe, that this event threw the affairs of that kingdom into great disorder ^d. This induced the king of *Castile*, who had now collected a great body of forces, to fall with them into the kingdom of *Leon*; though the *Moors*, with the miramamolin at their head, had actually invaded his own dominions, penetrated as far as *Toledo*, and remained ten days before that city, which, however, they found so well fortified, and the people so much disposed to make a vigorous resistance, that at length, loaded
- f with pillage, and sated with revenge, they thought fit to retreat ^e. In the mean time, Don *Alonso* of *Castile* took many places of small strength in the kingdom of *Leon*, ruined one of the suburbs belonging to the capital which was inhabited by *Jews*, and at last besieged the city of *Astorga*, but without effect; which provoked him to such a degree, that he wasted all the open country with as little mercy as if he intended to copy, in his cousin's dominions, the dreadful lesson which had been set him by the infidels in his own ^f; and having done this,

^a Annal. Tolet. Luc. Tudens. Chron.^w Rod. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. vii.^x Rod.

Tolet Hist. Arabum. Annal. Tolet.

^y MARIANA Historia general de Espana, lib. xi. FERR. Hist.

de Espana, p. v. sect. xii. MAYERNE TURQ.

^z Rod. Tolet. de rebus Hispan. lib. vii.^a Chron.^b FERR. Historia de Espana, p. v. sect. xii.^c Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.^d Rod. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. Luc. Tudens. Chron.^e Annal. Tolet. MORALES.^f Rod.

Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. Luc. Tudens. Chron.

he returned to *Toledo*, with an army laden with spoils taken from their fellow Christians, a through a country miserably ruined by the infidels, merely for want of that defence, which it was his and their duty to afford ^g.

They overrun the kingdom of Toledo again, but at length retire into their own territories.

It might be naturally apprehended that his own reflections, the advices of great and good men about him, joined to the clamours of the common people, which were loud, in proportion to the evils they had endured, must have wrought upon the mind of the king of *Castile*, and brought him back to a just sense of things. It happened however far otherwise; he spent the winter in negotiating with Don *Pedro*, king of *Arragon*, and prevailed upon him to send a strong corps of auxiliaries to assist in his next campaign, while the king of *Leon* on the other side was indefatigable in raising forces in *Galicia* to resist him; so that it looked as if the Christian princes had acted in concert with the *Moors*, and were bent upon each other's destruction ^h. In all probability this had been brought about, if the *Moorish* emperor, *Joseph*, had not taken the field with an army so numerous, as to threaten the conquest or destruction of the king of *Castile's* dominions; which constrained that monarch to suspend his resentment against his cousin, that he might prevent the loss or total ruin of his own countries. He did not find himself in a condition, even with the succours of *Arragon*, to act offensively against the *Moors*; and experience had taught him not to hazard battles with a handful of troops against thousands. He did therefore what it became him to do; he put stout garrisons into all the strong places in his territories, and kept himself in the mountains, with a flying camp, which prevented the *Moor* from taking any place of importance, though he attempted several; and at length, his army being much reduced by fatigues and sickness, was compelled to retire into *Andalusia*, with many slaves and booty, but with diminished forces, and their reputation rather declining than increased ⁱ. So little did he profit by his important victory.

A. D. 1197.

A peace concluded between the two kings of Castile and Leon.

As soon as his territories were delivered from the *Moors*, Don *Alonso* of *Castile*, having drawn out part of his garrisons, fell, with a potent army, into the dominions of *Leon*, where he took some places of no great strength, and ruined all the open country ^k. The king of *Leon* having an army not at all inferior to his, marched towards him, with a design to give a check to his proceedings by a battle. The person upon whose advice and abilities he chiefly relied, was his cousin, Don *Pedro Fernandez de Castro*, the son of that great hero of the same name, who had commanded the forces of the king his father, who had served the *Moorish* emperor *Joseph*, and who, it is even more than probable, was at the head of a corps of *Mohamedan* auxiliaries at this very time, and by him he was dissuaded from fighting ^l. He observed that the event of a battle was in all respects uncertain, except one, which was the ruin of both parties, let the victory fall where it would, since the *Moors* were ready and waited to take the advantage. He proposed therefore a treaty, to which, though the king was backward, he found the nobility and prelates of *Castile* were unanimously inclined. He went therefore to *Valladolid*, in person, to negotiate with queen *Eleanor*, and having proposed a marriage between the Infanta Donna *Berengara*, and Don *Alonso*, king of *Leon* ^m, the treaty was quickly concluded, and the marriage soon after solemnized in the same place, though the king of *Castile* was not present; and shewed thereby, that, what he did, he did with reluctance, against his own sense of things; for in his temper united qualities that rarely meet, hastiness and obstinacy.

The former concludes a peace also with the miramolin of Africa.

A. D. 1197.

At the entrance of the ensuing year, the king of *Castile* found himself freed from all apprehensions of the *Moors*, by an application from their monarch, either for a peace or a long truce; the reason of which was, that his affairs had taken a wrong turn in *Africa*, where several of his governors had revolted, and set up for themselves. The king of *Castile* was not ignorant of this; and yet he acted as if he had been so; and concluded a peace with the *Moorish* prince, upon the very same terms, that might have been prudently accepted when he was in the full career of his victories ⁿ: the reason of this was, that the king of *Castile* meditated, in conjunction with the king of *Arragon*, to over-run the territories of the king of *Navarre*, who, from the sense he had of the implacable enmity of these two monarchs, had suffered himself to be strangely deceived by the *Moorish* emperor, who pretended to give him his daughter in marriage, and with her all his dominions in *Spain* ^o. This war the two kings accordingly prosecuted, but with little success, though they had great superiority, as will be shewn in another place.

Pope Innocent III. insists upon the annulling the marriage of the king of Leon.

In the mean time Pope *Innocent* the third, succeeding *Celestin* in the see of *Rome*, took umbrage at the marriage of the king of *Leon* with his cousin the Infanta of *Castile*, and sent peremptory instructions to his nuncio to part them, and, if they refused to part, to put the kingdoms of *Castile* and *Leon* under the censures of the church; which the nuncio, less vio-

^g Annal Tolet. Hispan. lib. vii. Tudenf. Chronicon.

^h ZURIT. Annal. Arragon. Luc. Tudenf. Chron.

ⁱ MORALES, FERRERAS.

^l Annal. Tolet.

^k Rod. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. vii.

^m Luc.

- a lent or more afraid than his master, was not inclined to do; but gave time for the two kings to send their ambassadors to *Rome*, in order to pacify, if possible, this haughty successor of St. *Peter*^p; but notwithstanding this was attempted, with all imaginable humility, the pope remained fixed to his point, and sent fresh orders for separating the king and queen, or for putting all the churches in *Castile* and *Leon* under an interdict; the very thoughts of which, it was well known, would terrify the common people almost to madness, and consequently expose the state to such dangers, as were most likely to fright, even crowned heads, into obedience^q. The arms of *Castile* were this year more successful in *Navarre*, the king of that realm being absent in *Africa*, and had reduced the city of *Victoria*, and some other places of importance, to a state of such distress, that a kind of provisional capitulation was made, dependent upon the orders of the king of *Navarre* for their surrender, which orders soon after arrived, that monarch being at this time in no condition to vindicate his own rights, or to defend those of his subjects, which left it in the power of Don *Alonso* to gratify his ambition in a very extensive degree^r: so that this ancient and once powerful kingdom was reduced within an hair's breadth of destruction.

A. D. 1198.

- THE satisfaction he derived from thence must have been very much heightened by an honourable event, in respect to his family, which fell out soon after, and which, for some particular reasons, we are obliged to represent at large. *John*, king of *England*, finding himself under a necessity of making a disadvantageous peace with *Philip*, king of *France*, his mother, queen *Eleanor*, contrived to lessen the discredit of this transaction, by a very singular expedient, which she no sooner proposed, than it was by all parties very readily embraced^s. According to her scheme, the places conquered by *France* were to be restored to her son, who was then to make a voluntary cession of them, as the dowry of his niece, the Infanta Donna *Blanca*, or, as the *French* call her, *Blanche*, who was to marry prince *Lewis* heir apparent of the crown of *France*; and to carry all this into execution, she offered to go herself into *Spain*, to fetch the young princess^t. Upon her arrival at the court of *Castile*, she was received by Don *Alonso*, her son-in-law, and by her daughter queen *Eleanor*, with all possible marks of respect and affection, and her proposal readily accepted, the young princess put into her hands, whom she carried to her son, the king of *England*, in *Normandy*, where the peace being signed on the twenty-second of *May*, the marriage was celebrated on the twenty-third, at a place called *Purmor*, in that duchy, the ceremony being performed by the archbishop of *Bordeaux*; the reason of which was, that the king having incurred the displeasure of the pope by a divorce, the kingdom of *France* was then under an interdict^u. The marriage thus concluded, the young princess was conducted to the court of her father-in-law, there to be brought up, till such time as herself and her spouse were of a fit age to consummate^v; which circumstance seems to be a sufficient refutation of that notion, which passed for ages as a point of true history, that this Infanta was the eldest daughter of *Castile*, and with which some very eminent *French* writers seem at this day very unwilling to part^w; notwithstanding the clear proofs that may be brought of the contrary. But the following history will shew nothing like it was surmised in some ages after the event.

A. D. 1200.

- e THE same year Don *Alonso*, king of *Leon*, had, by the Infanta Donna *Berengara*, his son *Ferdinand*; the day of his birth is no where recorded; but it is certain he was born before the month of *August*, and baptized with great solemnity in the cathedral church of *Leon*, to the great joy of both courts^y. About this time the disputes between the king of *Leon* and his mother-in-law produced a kind of rupture; for the late king *Ferdinand*, having bestowed upon her some fortresses of great importance to the safety of his dominions, Don *Alonso* did not think it consistent, either with his dignity or interest, to leave them any longer in her hands, and therefore demanded them^z. On the other hand, the queen dowager Donna *Urraca*, by the advice and with the assistance of her brother Don *Diego Lopez*, fortified them; and that nobleman also applied himself to the king of *Castile*, in hopes that he would have interposed with his son-in-law, to prevent things from coming to extremities. But that monarch, either judging the thing in itself unreasonable, or being unwilling to take part in any thing against his son-in-law, rejected this demand; and the places not long after were taken by the king of *Leon*, which so highly provoked Don *Diego Lopez*, that he retired to his own estates, exceedingly exasperated against both kings, and consequently disposed, whenever any occasion should offer, to sacrifice his duty to his resentment^a. Such was the situation of things in *Spain*, at the opening of the thirteenth century, when the Christians were indeed become more potent than in former times, but were as little united as ever.

Birth of St. Ferdinand, afterwards king of Castile and Leon.

^p Epist. Pap. INNOCENT III. lib. i.^q FERR. Historia de Espana, p. v. sect. xii.^r P.

MORET Investigaciones historicas de las antiquidades del Reyno de Navarra.

^s ROG. HOVEDEN

Annal.

^t NIC. TRIVER. Annal. vol. i. p. 140.^u ROG. HOVEDEN Annal.^v P.

DANIEL Histoire de France, vol. iii. p. 481.

^w See the notes on the French translation of Mariana.^y ROD. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. vii.^z Annal. Tolet. LUCÆ Tudensis Chron.^a ROD.

Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. Chron. var. antiq.

Kings of Castile and Leon joined their forces against Don Diego Lopez de Haro.

DON *Alonso* of *Castile* was extremely provoked at this haughty behaviour in one for whom ^a he had done so much, and for whose sake he had disobligeed so many ; but his resentment, in some measure, received a justification from *Don Diego*'s wasting his country, as soon as he found himself safe in *Navarre*, with a considerable body of desperate people, who had followed his fortunes. His insurrection became in a short time so formidable, that the king of *Castile* requested the assistance of his son-in-law to reduce him ; accordingly both princes took the field, at the head of a numerous army. *Don Diego* had not forces sufficient to give them battle ; but having fortified *Estella* in *Biscay*, and provided it with all things necessary to sustain a siege, after harrassing the royal armies in the field, he gradually withdrew his forces thither. The two kings invested the place, and battered it with great fury, and as soon as the breaches were practicable, made repeated assaults, but to no purpose ; so that in the end ^b they were constrained to raise the siege ^b. About this time, the kings of *Castile* and *Arragon* concluded a truce for three years with the king of *Navarre*, in order more at leisure to negotiate a peace.

A. D. 1201.

The king of Leon obliged to part with his second queen, by the pope.

1204.

THE steadiness shewn by *Don Alonso*, king of *Leon*, in keeping his queen, contrary to the decrees of pope *Innocent* the third, so provoked that zealous head of the church, as to induce him to execute what he had threatened, by putting the kingdom of *Leon* under an interdict, upon which a schism arose, some of the bishops adhering to the king, and some to the pope ^c. But the king of *Castile* prevented this thunder from falling on the heads of his subjects, by declaring that he was ready to receive the Infanta, his daughter, whenever the king of *Leon* should think fit to send her home. While things continued in this state, queen ^c *Eleanor* of *Castile* was brought to bed of a son, on the 14th of *April* ^d ; and not long after this, in pity to their subjects, and, so far as appears, without any distaste or dispute between themselves, the king and queen of *Leon* resolved to separate. The pope, in consideration that the marriage was entered into and consummated on both sides with sincere and laudable intentions, declared the children legitimate : these were the infants *Ferdinand* and *Alonso*, and the infantas *Eleonora*, *Constantia*, and *Berengara*. As for the dowry which had been settled by the king of *Leon*, the infanta *Berengara* generously gave it up. All these great points being adjusted, *Alonso*, king of *Castile*, threw in a proposition, too weighty and too reasonable to be rejected ; this was, that the infant *Don Ferdinand*, and his daughter's eldest son, should (in case of his brother's demise) be declared heir apparent of the kingdom of *Leon* ^e. An ^d assembly of the estates was accordingly called, who unanimously swore to the succession ; and this ceremony over, queen *Berengara* returned to her father's court, leaving all her children at that of the king her husband ^e. Thus, through the pious application of the papal power, *Don Alonso* was once more declared a single man, though with two wives living, and six or seven children (E).

Which, in spite of all precautions taken to prevent it, occasions a war.

AT the time of the concluding the truce between the kings of *Castile*, *Arragon*, and *Navarre*, *Don Diego Lopez de Haro* was restored to his old master's favour, who also interceded for him with the king of *Leon*. The great military skill which he had shewn in defending *Estella*, had its merit even with those monarchs, against whom he defended it ; and they could not help esteeming and admiring the courage and conduct of this nobleman, tho' exerted against them. ^e The case is singular enough to deserve notice ; but, besides this, it is necessary that we should have an idea of the character of *Don Diego*. It is uncertain whether he commanded in that war, which, at the solicitation of *Philip Augustus* of *France*, *Don Alonso*, king of *Castile*, carried

^b MORET, Investigaciones historicas de las antiquidades del Reyno de Navarra.

RODERIC Tolet. de rebus Hispan. lib. vii. Chron. var. antiq.

Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. Luc. Tudens. Chron. Epist. INNOCENT III. et HONOR. III.

Tudens. Chron.

^c MORALES,

^e RODERIC

^f LUC.

(E) It may not be amiss to observe here, that, so long as the common people had amongst them a real spirit of religion, the interdict was such a weapon as no prince, however potent, could resist. It was so called, because it implied a prohibition of all public worship, and the administration of all sacraments, so that, while it lasted, a whole Christian nation was deprived of every kind of spiritual comfort. But by having recourse to this violent remedy too often, the popes very much weakened its force, and by degrees brought the people, not only to despise that, but to be very cold and indifferent even as to the essentials of religion, which is the necessary and inevitable consequence of pious frauds and ecclesiastical tyranny. While the old Gothic church subsisted, *Spain* was exempted from every thing of this kind ; for, though the church made use of censures, and sometimes excommunicated persons of

high rank, and sometimes considerable bodies of people, yet this was always for their own offences ; whereas the interdict punished multitudes, for the crimes, or the supposed crimes of individuals, contrary, not only to the practice of the primitive church, and to the whole current of the scriptures, but also to the common sense of mankind. However, since they had submitted to the papal authority, and were resolved at all events, to adhere to the spiritual monarchy, as it was styled, of *Rome*, the *Spanish* kings found themselves as much and as effectually subjects, or rather more so, than their people were to them ; for these monarchs were by no means absolute, they governed according to the laws and customs of their country ; whereas the pope governed without law, or, which came to the same thing, was believed to have a power of declaring those laws, by which he would be pleased to govern.

- a on in *Aquitaine* against king *John* of *England*, of the reality of which we cannot doubt, though passed over in silence by the *English* and *French* historians; since we find it recorded by two grave *Spanish* prelates, who lived in those times^z. The birth of the Infant Don *Henry* might possibly lessen the respect which had been hitherto paid by Don *Alonso* of *Castile* to the king of *Leon*; and this was still more diminished upon his sending back his daughter, though with her own consent, and with great reluctance on the part of that king. That this was really the case, appears from the refusal of the *Castilian* governors to surrender the places assigned for the queen's dower, which she had relinquished by an act of her own, and this act confirmed by the Pope^h. The king of *Leon* resenting this, attempted to reduce them by force, which gave beginning to a war that lasted for three years, but with the interposition of some
- b truces; and at this period, his affairs making it necessary, the king of *Castile* shewed a desire of peace, and that it might be well kept left the terms of it to the king of *Leon*ⁱ. This afforded that monarch an opportunity of shewing, that, when he parted with his queen, he did not part with his affections for her. He had stipulated the delivery of the places in question, and he had made a war to acquire them; now he was left to dictate the peace, he consented that the best part of them should remain in the condition they were, and that the Infanta Donna *Berengara* should enjoy the revenue^k. About this time, the king of *Castile* gave his second daughter Donna *Urraca* in marriage to the Infant Don *Alonso*, prince of *Portugal*; and at the request of Don *Roderic Ximenes*, the historian, founded a university at *Palencia*, which in the succeeding reign was, as some say, transferred to *Salamanca*^l. A. D. 1205.
- c THE truce was now on the point of expiring, which the king of *Castile* had concluded with the miramamolin, and it was this that made Don *Alonso* so extremely solicitous to put an end, not only to the wars, but to the quarrels and disputes amongst the Christian princes in *Spain*. It was with this view, that he prevailed once more with the kings of *Arragon* and *Navarre* to meet him; and the great generosity he shewed in abandoning several places of great importance to the last of these princes had an extraordinary good effect; so that at length they parted perfectly good friends, with mutual promises of assistance and support against the *Moors*^m. Things being thus settled, Don *Roderic Diaz*, grand master of the order of *Calatrava*, for so it was still called, though the place was in the hands of the *Moors*, made an irruption into their territories, and by taking several places began the war. The next year, the Infant Don *Ferdinand* received the order of knighthood with great ceremony, in the cathedral church of *Burgos*, that he might be qualified, according to the notions of those times, to take the fieldⁿ with his father, against the infidels; who, while they were preparing to resist the *Castilians*, found themselves suddenly attacked by the king *Arragon*, who made this summer some conquests at their expence. Don *Alonso* of *Castile* did not take the field till the following spring; and then, with a numerous and gallant army, advanced as far as *Alcala*, which place, when he had reduced, he proceeded next to over-run the best part of the kingdom of *Murcia*, in which he met with no considerable resistance, till the extreme heat of the season obliged him to retire^o. *Mohammed*, then king of *Morocco*, had assembled a numerous body of troops in *Andalusia*; and having passed the *Sierra Morena*, invested *Salvatierra*, the residence for the present of the knights of *Calatrava*. Though the town was not very strong, the knights defended it so well, that they had time to give Don *Alonso* notice of their distress, and that without a speedy relief it was impossible to preserve the place. Upon this the Infant Don *Ferdinand* was sent with a very strong detachment to make an irruption into the *Moorish* territories on the side of *Estremadura*, which he performed very gallantly, but it did not produce what was expected, the miramamolin persisting in the siege; so that the prince returned to his father's camp in the month of *August*, and the place having no other relief to expect, was surrendered in the ensuing month^p. This certainly chagrined the king of *Castile* not a little; but an event which followed soon after affected him much more. The royal infant, either over fatigued by the operations of the campaign, or from some other cause, fell ill of a fever soon after his return with his father to *Madrid*, of which he died there *October* 14, A. D. 1211, to the universal sorrow, not only of his royal parents and the court, but of the whole nation in general^q. This with some difficulty ended, and a new one breaks out with the Moors.
- d *dinand* received the order of knighthood with great ceremony, in the cathedral church of *Burgos*, that he might be qualified, according to the notions of those times, to take the fieldⁿ with his father, against the infidels; who, while they were preparing to resist the *Castilians*, found themselves suddenly attacked by the king *Arragon*, who made this summer some conquests at their expence. Don *Alonso* of *Castile* did not take the field till the following spring; and then, with a numerous and gallant army, advanced as far as *Alcala*, which place, when he had reduced, he proceeded next to over-run the best part of the kingdom of *Murcia*, in which he met with no considerable resistance, till the extreme heat of the season obliged him to retire^o. *Mohammed*, then king of *Morocco*, had assembled a numerous body of troops in *Andalusia*; and having passed the *Sierra Morena*, invested *Salvatierra*, the residence for the present of the knights of *Calatrava*. Though the town was not very strong, the knights defended it so well, that they had time to give Don *Alonso* notice of their distress, and that without a speedy relief it was impossible to preserve the place. Upon this the Infant Don *Ferdinand* was sent with a very strong detachment to make an irruption into the *Moorish* territories on the side of *Estremadura*, which he performed very gallantly, but it did not produce what was expected, the miramamolin persisting in the siege; so that the prince returned to his father's camp in the month of *August*, and the place having no other relief to expect, was surrendered in the ensuing month^p. This certainly chagrined the king of *Castile* not a little; but an event which followed soon after affected him much more. The royal infant, either over fatigued by the operations of the campaign, or from some other cause, fell ill of a fever soon after his return with his father to *Madrid*, of which he died there *October* 14, A. D. 1211, to the universal sorrow, not only of his royal parents and the court, but of the whole nation in general^q. 1210.
- e so well, that they had time to give Don *Alonso* notice of their distress, and that without a speedy relief it was impossible to preserve the place. Upon this the Infant Don *Ferdinand* was sent with a very strong detachment to make an irruption into the *Moorish* territories on the side of *Estremadura*, which he performed very gallantly, but it did not produce what was expected, the miramamolin persisting in the siege; so that the prince returned to his father's camp in the month of *August*, and the place having no other relief to expect, was surrendered in the ensuing month^p. This certainly chagrined the king of *Castile* not a little; but an event which followed soon after affected him much more. The royal infant, either over fatigued by the operations of the campaign, or from some other cause, fell ill of a fever soon after his return with his father to *Madrid*, of which he died there *October* 14, A. D. 1211, to the universal sorrow, not only of his royal parents and the court, but of the whole nation in general^q.
- f return with his father to *Madrid*, of which he died there *October* 14, A. D. 1211, to the universal sorrow, not only of his royal parents and the court, but of the whole nation in general^q.

THE king could not allow himself much time to grieve, as he had certain and indisputable intelligence, that the miramamolin, having pacified the troubles in *Barbary*, had brought the whole force of his empire together, with an intention to conquer the kingdom of *Toledo*, at least. Being sensible from experience, that the power of *Castile* was by no means capable

A prodigious army assembled by the miramamolin against the Christians.

^z RODERIC Tolet. de rebus Hispan. lib. vii. LUCÆ Tudensis Chronicon.

^h RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. vii. LUC. Tudens. Chron.

rebus Hispan. lib. vii. LUCÆ Tudensis Chronicon.

antiquitates del Reyno de Navarra.

Tolet. de reb. Hisp. lib. vii.

reb. Hispan. lib. vii.

^m P. MORET, Investigaciones historicas de las

ⁿ Chron. var. antiq. MORALES.

^p LUCÆ Tudensis Chron. Annal. Tolet.

^h Chron. var. antiq.

^k Chron. var. antiq.

^l De

^o Annal. Tolet. Rod.

^q Rod. Tolet. de

of supporting him against such an enemy, he sent the bishop elect of *Segovia* to *Rome*^a, the archbishop Don *Roderic* and other bishops into *France*, while himself managed a conference with the kings of *Arragon* and *Navarre*, in which he obtained from them all that he could desire or expect^a. Don *Sancho*, king of *Portugal*, dying about this time, was succeeded by his son Don *Alonso*^a, who involving himself in some disputes with the king of *Leon*, the monarch of *Castile* could not promise himself much help from either of those princes, with the want of which, however, he might dispense, since multitudes inrolled themselves for this holy war in *France*, *Italy*, and *Germany*, the pontif at *Rome* using the same methods to excite Christians in all places to enter into the *Spanish* war, as in other croisades, and with better reason.

The monarchs
of Spain have
recourse to a
croisade for
their defence.
A. D. 1212.

THE rendezvous of the Christian troops was appointed at *Toledo*, about *Easter*; but it was a considerable time before so numerous an army, and that too composed of so many different nations and languages, could be brought into any tolerable order. Don *Pedro*, king of *Arragon*, with the forces under his command, arrived on *Trinity Sunday*; the foreigners in a short time after; and to prevent the inconveniences that must have happened, if they had been admitted into the city, all these forces were encamped in the field, as soon as they arrived, which did not however, hinder the foreigners from falling upon the *Jews* in the suburbs, and committing many other irregularities, which cost the king of *Castile* a great deal of trouble to correct^a. At last, on the twentieth of *June*, the army began to move, the Ultramontans or foreigners, from beyond the *Pyrenees*, had the van, composed of ten thousand horse, and forty thousand foot, under the command of Don *Diego Lopez de Haro*; the king of *Castile* and the king of *Arragon* moved next, but in separate bodies, that they might not incommode each other; the rest of the army formed a rear-guard, and took post upon the frontiers^a. The first place that felt the weight of their arms was *Malagon*, which the foreigners took by storm, and put all the *Mohammedans* therein to the sword. The next place they attempted was *Calatrava*, in which there was a very good garrison, commanded by the alcaides *Abenaliz* and *Almoad*, officers of great reputation, and who lost none of it by their behaviour upon this occasion. The town notwithstanding being attacked on all sides, was quickly taken by assault; but the *Moorish* generals retired into the citadel, which being strong and well supplied, they made a gallant defence; at length they offered a capitulation, in case they had leave to retire where they pleased, which the foreigners violently opposed, professing, that they meant to give no quarter to any infidels: but the kings of *Castile* and *Arragon* were of another mind; they knew the importance of the place, and of the magazines which were in it, and therefore they readily signed the capitulation; and Don *Diego Lopez de Haro*, with his own troops, escorted the *Moors* till such time as they arrived in a place of safety^a. The strangers were so much offended at this instance of moderation, and the not giving up the place to be pillaged, that, pretending they were not able to endure the heats which began to come on, they decamped with their forces, in spite of all the solicitations and prayers of the Christian monarchs, and marched back towards *Toledo*, the troops under *Arnold*, archbishop of *Narbonne*, and *Thibaud Blacon*, only excepted^a.

Gain some
small places in
their march
towards the
Moorish army.

THIS loss, tho' it diminished, did not discourage, the Christian army, or the kings who commanded it, and who soon after attacked and reduced *Alarcos*, and other small places. While they were thus employed, the king of *Arragon* received a considerable reinforcement, which gave the army fresh spirits; and before their rejoicings on this subject were over, Don *Sanchez*, king of *Navarre*, with most of the nobility of his kingdom, and a very gallant corps of troops, joined them likewise; upon which, being again in motion, they advanced to *Salvatierra*, where they made a general review of the army, and resolved to march on towards the enemy, notwithstanding the desertion of the foreigners^a. This resolution was indeed very gallant and heroic, but at the same time extremely hazardous, as they had that rugged ridge of mountains, stiled the *Sierra Morena*, to pass, before they could reach the infidels, who they knew waited for them, and would be sure to give them all the trouble that was possible in their passage. The *Moorish* monarch *Mohammed*, who, from his wearing a turbant of that colour, had acquired the surname of the *Green*, acted through this campaign like an able general, and an officer of great experience^a. He had drawn together his forces early in the neighbourhood of *Jaen*, amounting to fourscore thousand excellent horse, and a body of troops so numerous, that no historian has ventured upon a calculation. He advanced slowly, as he heard of the progress of the Christians, resolved not to waste his forces in skirmishes, or to venture a general and decisive engagement, before the fatigue of the several sieges and the usual heats should have abated the ardour of the enemy. At length he took post at *Baeza*^b, marked out the

^a Annal Tolet. Epist. INNOCENT III. ^b ZURITA, Annal. Arragon. ^c BRANDAON.
^d Chron. var. antiq. ^e LUCÆ Tudenf. Chronicon. Annal. Toletan. ^f Luc. Tudenf. Chron.
Annal. Toletan. ^g RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. viii. Chron var. antiq. ^h ZURITA,
P. MORET, Annal. Toletan. ⁱ RODEERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. viii. Luc. Tudenf. Chron.
^j Annal. Toletan. Luc. Tudenf. Chron.

a field of battle as his leisure, and caused all the narrow passes in the mountains to be occupied by strong detachments, with express orders to his officers to maintain their respective posts as long as it was possible; so that, all things considered, it seemed almost an impracticable project for the Christian army to reach that of the *Moors*, and still more impracticable to defeat troops more numerous than their own, that had served long, and with great reputation, fresh, well supplied with every thing, and in posts of their own choosing, and of consequence very advantageous.

THE Christian army arrived at the foot of the *Sierra*, on *Thursday* the 12th of *July*, when a *Pass the Sierra* small corps of troops, under the command of Don *Diego Lopez*, after a brisk dispute, possessed themselves of the pass of *Muradel*, and the next day, after an obstinate resistance, drove the *Moors* from some of the eminences about it; but perceiving that the pass was very narrow, of a considerable length, and the enemy in a condition to cut them off as fast as they appeared at the opening on the other side, they judged it impossible to pursue their design, and at the same time could not bear the thoughts of returning to *Toledo*, without seeing an enemy^c. In this distressed situation, a person altogether unknown, but who from his appearance seemed to be a shepherd, desired to speak with the kings, and after some importunity was conducted into their presence. He proposed to shew them a passage hitherto very little known, and which never had been passed by any army, through which they might march without difficulty, and at the same time without being observed by the *Moors*. The monarchs were very desirous of accepting so seasonable an offer; but at the same time afraid to trust to a guide whom nobody knew. At length, Don *Diego Lopez* and Don *Garcia Ramiro*, offered to follow him with a corps of troops, and he led them according to his promise, by a winding passage, which has ever since borne the name of the *Royal Passage*^d, to the summit of the mountains, where they found a fair and spacious plain, where the whole army might be ranged conveniently in order of battle.

ON *Saturday* the 14th of *July*, the Christian army, in consequence of this happy discovery, took possession of the plain beforementioned, and disposed their troops in proper order; the *Moors* were infinitely surprised when they beheld them in so advantageous a situation; but as soon as they had recovered themselves a little, neglected nothing that might have provoked them to fight immediately; but in this they were disappointed, for the Christians having secured the advanced posts, and provided in the most effectual manner possible, in case of an attack, rested that day and the next, which they spent in devotion, and preparing themselves, in a Christian manner, for whatever event Providence might design them^e. On the 16th, in the morning, the whole army was disposed in order of battle, the right wing was commanded by the king of *Navarre*, who, besides his own forces, had some battalions of *Castilian* troops, the foreigners under the archbishop of *Narbonne*, and the volunteers; the king of *Arragon* and his forces were on the left; Don *Alonso* of *Castile* in the centre, his troops being divided into four brigades, the first commanded by Don *Diego Lopez de Haro*, the second by Don *Gonsales de Lara*, in which were the troops of the military orders, the third by Don *Roderic Diaz*, composed of the flower of the *Castilian* nobility, the last was under the king in person, who had about him all the prelates, and the whole force of the kingdom of *Toledo*^f. The *Moors* were likewise disposed in very exact order, and in the center the choicest troops were covered by a strong barricade of iron chains; the miramamolín was there in person, dressed in a rich robe, with the khoran in one hand and a sabre in the other^g. The battle was begun by Don *Diego Lopez de Haro*, and soon after both the wings engaged. This attack was made with all imaginable vigour, and the *Moors* received them with the utmost intrepidity. The dispute continued long, without any sensible variation of fortune; but the losses of the *Moors* being continually supplied with fresh troops, the Christians began to lose ground in every part of the line^h. The *Moors* perceiving this, made a great effort, which had a very sensible impression, insomuch that Don *Alonso* of *Castile* cried out, that there was nothing now left, but to secure the honour of the nation, by dying gloriously; and was on the very point of throwing himself into the thickest of the enemy, if the archbishop *Roderic* of *Toledo*, and Don *Ferdinand Garcia*, had not restrained himⁱ. The latter told him things were not yet desperate, if he did not make them so, by precipitation, and advised him to support his retiring troops by seasonable and well disposed supplies. This had its effect, and the Christians having recovered their spirits, pushed the infidels in their turn, broke them, and advanced to the barricade of iron chains, where things were in danger of taking a new turn, the infantry being unable to do any thing. But the king of *Navarre*, at the head of his own cavalry, attacking them in full career, with a desperate resolution, leaped the barricade, and having driven the *Moors*

^c *RODERIC Tolet. de rebus Hispan. lib. vii.*

^e *Chron. var. antiq.*

Tolet.

Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. viii.

^f *RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. viii. Luc. Tudens. Chronicon.*

^g *Chron. var. antiq.*

^h *Epist. Reg. ADEOPHONS ad Innocent III.*

ⁱ *RODERIC*

from their first posts, opened a passage for the *Castilians*^k. It was then no longer a battle, ^a but a carnage. The miramamolin, by the persuasion of his brother, quitted the field; and the Christians pursuing their flying enemies, continued the slaughter till it was night: the army then took possession of the enemies camp; and the archbishop of *Toledo*, assisted by all the bishops and ecclesiastics, sung *Te Deum*^l. The next day, Don *Diego Lopez de Haro* made a distribution of the spoils, and gave almost the whole to the auxiliaries and strangers, telling the *Castilians*, that they were sufficiently rewarded by the victory itself, since all the advantages derived from it would be theirs; and, which is not a little singular, his conduct met with universal applause^m. The *Moors* lost upon the field, and in the pursuit, 200,000 men; the Christians, if you will believe archbishop *Roderic*, but 25, and but 150 in the course of the whole campaignⁿ (F).

Consequences attending this memorable battle, and return of the kings of Arragon and Navarre.

AFTER the army had rested three days, they resumed their progress, and reduced all the country as far as *Baeza*, which they found slighted and without inhabitants, except a number of infirm and aged people, who had taken shelter in the great mosque, to which they cruelly set fire^o. They marched from thence to *Ubeda*, a place of strength, to which the remains of the *Moorish* army and most of the inhabitants of *Baeza* had retired, and to which the Christians laid siege. They met there with a stubborn and obstinate resistance, yet on the side of the *Arragonian* attack, things were pushed so far, that the besieged offered a million of crowns, by way of ransom^p; but the prelates persisting in opposing all capitulations, the besieged found their safety in despair, behaving afterwards with such desperate resolution, that famine and diseases breaking into the camp, all the three monarchs concurred in opinion, that the only proper step to be taken was, to raise the siege, which they accordingly did; and, having put strong garrisons into their new conquests, repassed the mountains, and continued their march to *Calatrava*^q. There they met the duke of *Austria*, with a great number of troops coming to their assistance, who finding their campaign over, joined his forces to those of the king of *Arragon*, who here took leave of Don *Alonso* of *Castile*, in order to return into his own dominions^r. Don *Alonso*, accompanied by Don *Sanchez*, king of *Navarre*, proceeded to *Toledo*, into which city they entered in triumph; and at the departure of the last mentioned monarch, Don *Alonso*, as a mark of his gratitude and esteem, restored to him fifteen of the most considerable places that he had taken during the long war; he also instituted an annual festival on the 16th of *July*, which was stiled the triumph of the holy cross, and it was long ^c kept with great solemnity, through both the kingdoms of *Castile* and *Leon*, in memory of an event which, in a great measure, determined the fate of the *Moors* in *Spain*^s.

Don Alonso's sacrifices, in order to settle a lasting peace with the crown of Leon.

WHILE Don *Alonso* of *Castile* was employed in this important war, the troops of the king of *Leon*, under the command of Don *Pedro Fernandez*, recovered all the places that had been conquered by the *Castilians*^t. After this, the king of *Leon* turned his arms against *Portugal*, where the king, Don *Alonso*, was labouring to dispossess his sisters, one of which was Donna *Theresa*, once queen of *Leon*, of the places which his father had left them by his testament for

^k Epist. Reg. ADEOPHONS ad Innocent III. Annal. Tolet. ^l RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hisp. lib. viii. LUCÆ Tudensis Chronicon. Epist. Reg. ADEOPHONS ad Innocent III. ^m Chron. var. antiq. ⁿ RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. l. viii. LUC. Tudens. Chron. ^o Chron. var. antiq. ^p ZURITA, Annal. Arragon. ^q Chron. var. antiq. ^r ZURITA Annal. Arragon. ^s Annal. Tolet. ^t LUC. Tudensis Chron.

(F) The date of this battle is fixed with great certainty, by the unanimous consent of historians, to Monday, *July* the 16th, A. D. 1212; as to the place, there is not, as we observed, the same concurrence; and yet such as are well acquainted with the country, may possibly find that the differences about it are but of very little consequence. Some stile it the battle of *Muradal*, from the pass of that name, through the *Sierra Morena*; others the battle of *Losa*, from a great rock of that name; but it is most commonly known by the title of, the battle of *Toledo*, from a little town of that name, in the open country, beyond the mountains. Some writers have reported, that, at the very beginning of the action, a most resplendent cross appeared in the heavens, a sure presage of victory to the Christians: but this is not to be found in the letter written by the king of *Castile* to the pope, in that of *Arnold*, archbishop of *Narbonne*, or in the history of Don *Roderic*, archbishop of *Toledo*; and is, therefore, justly suspected by *Mariana*, as well as *Ferreras*. But it is unanimously asserted, that *Dominic Paschal*, the archbishop of *Toledo's* cross-bearer, and who, in process of time, became himself both dean and archbishop of the same diocese, passed several times through the enemy's line, without receiving any hurt. Some have attempted to assign a

physical reason, why no blood appeared upon the field of battle; viz. from the heat of the weather and the dryness of the soil. Some have also corrected the numbers said to be slain in this battle, and instead of 25 Christians, would have us read 25000. This, however, is utterly irreconcilable to the archbishop of *Toledo's* relation, who maintains the fact to be true, however incredible it may seem: he adds farther, that the quantity of spears, javelins, and arrows, found upon the field, was so great, that they served the Christian forces for two days, as fuel for dressing their provisions, though during that space they burnt nothing else. The value of the spoil was immense, as we may guess from the number of horses, which are said to have amounted to 35,000. But the most signal advantage of all was, the breaking the power of the miramamolin, which revived that spirit of independency natural to the *Spanish Moors*, put them upon revolting, setting up separate principalities, and destroying each other, which made their total expulsion a work much easier to the Christians than otherwise it would have been, and opened a way also to the declension of this dynasty in *Africa*, which weakened the *Mohammedan* power in general.

their

- a their subsistence. It was at the request of these distressed princesses, that the king of *Leon* made a diversion in their favour, offering, however, to retire, if *Don Alonso* of *Portugal* would desist from his enterprize. But that king, who from his infancy hated his brothers and sisters, marched against him with a superior army, and forced him to battle, in which, however, the king of *Leon* was victorious, and would, perhaps, have availed himself in another manner of his success, if the apprehensions of being attacked by the king of *Castile* had not withheld him^u. *Don Alonso* of *Castile* behaved upon this occasion with great magnanimity; for, instead of committing any hostilities, he invited him to *Valladolid*, and there, in a personal conference, convinced him of the necessity of their living upon good terms, in order to which, he not only relinquished all the places he had taken, but gave him several others that he knew
- b he much desired, together with the castles of *Carpio* and *Monreal*, in the territory of *Salamanca*, upon condition that they should be demolished, and a considerable town and district in *Asturias*, merely because it lay conveniently for him^w; so that the king of *Leon* left him in sentiments of the most perfect friendship; and *Don Alonso* of *Castile* thought a secure peace very cheaply purchased by these sacrifices, being desirous only of extending his dominions at the expence of the *Moors*, and by making a proper use of the great advantage he had gained. It was in order to this, that he stipulated with the king of *Leon*, as an equivalent for the concessions he had made, that he should restore to the king of *Portugal* the places he had taken from him, and conclude a peace with that monarch, upon fair and equal terms^x. Upon this peace, the Infant *Don Pedro* of *Portugal*, perceiving that he had no Christian court to
- c which he could fly, and dreading the implacable disposition of the king his brother, retired to the miramolin. On the other hand, that monarch, perceiving how much he was lessened in the opinion of his subjects by his late defeat, went over to *Africa*, where he passed the remainder of his days under that cloud which usually attends sovereigns that are unfortunate^y.

Don Alonso of *Castile* took the field again early the next year, with a competent army, and having reduced *Duegnos*, at the foot of the *Sierra Morena*, and some other places, though not without resistance, soon after invested *Alarcos*, where the *Moors* had a good garrison, and flattered themselves that it was impregnable; but the king continued before it so long, and took such precautions for supplying his troops with provisions, that at length, on the 22d of *May*, the place was surrendered^z. After putting a strong garrison into it, the king returned in triumph to *St. Torcaz*, where he met his queen, with the Infant *Don Henry*, his daughter queen *Berengara*, and her two sons *Don Ferdinand* and *Don Alonso*, and there kept his *Whitsuntide*^a. Some other actions of less importance happened in this year, with different success; but the most remarkable event was, a great scarcity of provisions, arising from the excessive consumption made by the great armies the year before, and the people being also hindered, by the continuance of the war, from attending in a proper manner to the cultivation of their lands.

- As *Don Alonso* of *Leon* had made no diversion in favour of the king of *Castile* this campaign, and as, upon application to him the next year, he imputed his slowness to his defect of cavalry, *Don Diego Lopez de Haro* was sent to him with 600 excellent horse, and by the assistance of these
- e and his own infantry, he made himself master of *Alcantara*^b, and had taken some other places, if the extreme heat of the weather had not obliged him to put his troops into quarters of refreshment. This was a great disappointment to the king of *Castile*, who thereby lost the opportunity of taking *Baeza*, which the *Moors* had repopled and fortified, and which he besieged for three months, till sickness and famine obliged him to retire^c. Soon after the return of the king of *Leon* from his campaign, his heir apparent the Infant *Don Ferdinand*, whom he had by *Donna Theresa* of *Portugal*, died, and was buried in the cathedral church of *St. James* at *Compostella*, near the remains of *Don Ferdinand* of *Castile*, his grandfather^d. This accident exceedingly afflicted his parents, and might well excuse the king, his father, for not making an autumn campaign. About this time, the archbishop *Roderic* of *Toledo* finished his fortress
- f of *Milagro*, now known by the name of *Almagro*, the capital of one of the districts in the province of *La Mancha*, into which he put a competent garrison, to restrain the incursions of the *Moors*, which he had hardly done, before it was besieged by an army of 5000 horse and and foot, under the command of a *Moorish* officer of great reputation; but the prelate, its founder, took such care to supply those within with all kinds of necessaries, that at length, not without great loss, the enemy found themselves obliged to raise the siege and to retire^e.

THE king, *Don Alonso* of *Castile*, being still very solicitous about the affairs of his cousin the king of *Leon*, and apprehensive that he did not clearly comprehend what considerable acquisitions might be made to his own territories, by entering heartily into a war with the *Moors*,

A famine in Castile, by which the people are reduced to very great distress.

The infant Don Ferdinand, and, heir of Leon, dies unexpectedly.

A. D. 1214.

^u Epist. INNOCENT III.

^w RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. viii. LUCÆ Tudensis Chronicon.

^x Annal. Tolet.

^y BRANDAON.

^z Annal. Tolet.

^a RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan.

lib. viii.

^b Chron. var antiq.

^c Annal. Tolet. LUCÆ Tudensis Chronicon.

^d Annal.

Tolet.

^e RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. viii. LUC. Tudens Chron.

a very critical
conjuncture.

invited him to an interview at *Placentia*^f. This was as readily accepted as proposed; but in his journey thither, Don *Alonso* of *Castile* was attacked by a malignant fever, of which he died at a little village on the way, on the fifth or sixth of *August*, in the year 1214^g. He had the comfort of having his queen, and most of his children about him, as well as the archbishop Don *Roderic* and several other prelates, in his last moments; and by his will appointed the queen dowager *Eleonora*, regent^h, during the minority of her son; but this provision, though very prudent, did not avail much, since she also died in the month of *October* the same year; in which also expired the two greatest men in *Castile* and *Leon*, Don *Diego Lopez de Haro*, and Don *Pedro Fernandez*ⁱ. Such a series of unexpected events had, as the reader will easily conceive, a very great effect on the minds of the people, and made way for those troubles and disturbances that very speedily ensued, and of which, if they had been under any settled form of government, and had acted with any proper degree of prudence, the *Moors* would certainly have availed themselves more than they did (G).

Henry suc-
ceeds his father
in that king-
dom in the
11th year of
his age.

Don *Henry*, the young king of *Castile*, was in the 11th year of his age; and having lost his mother in two months after his father, the regency, according to the direction of the king's testament, devolved on the queen Donna *Berengara*, with the general satisfaction of the whole kingdom; the counts of *Lara*, Don *Ferdinand*, Don *Alvaro*, and Don *Gonsales*, only excepted. They were desirous of getting the person of the king into their hands; and in a short time, by insinuations of various kinds, drew many of the nobility, from motives of interest, into their notions. The great difficulty was, how to bring their scheme to bear; and it was in the management of this that they shewed themselves consummate politicians. They corrupted a servant who was much in the confidence of that princess, who persuaded her, that the nobles in general were highly displeased, that, since they had a child for their king, the care of that child should be confided solely to a woman; and that, therefore, out of respect to the king's safety and her own, the wisest thing she could possibly do was to call an assembly of the states, and leave the choice of a regent to them^k. She did so, and, by the intrigues of the faction, Don *Alvaro de Lara* was chosen, under various restrictions, which, when he had taken an oath punctually to observe, the young king was delivered to his care, in order to his receiving a proper education. But no sooner was the assembly dissolved, than Don *Alvaro* broke through all the restrictions, governed with a rod of iron, and not only trampled on the liberties of the laity, but infringed likewise the immunities of the clergy^l. His politicks were of a very extraordinary kind; for, in this first year of his regency, he contrived to secure an influence over the king, for life, by marrying him to the Infanta Donna *Mafalda* of *Portugal*, and with this view, leaving the king to the care of some of his friends in whom he could confide, he went, in person, to the court of *Portugal*, to negotiate this marriage. In this some writers say he succeeded; and it is on all hands agreed, that the court of *Portugal* came into it, and that the young princess was sent into *Spain*; but the Pope interposed, at the request of the nobility, and by his influence over the prelates caused the Infanta to be sent back into *Portugal*, where she became a nun^m.

A. D. 1215.

^f Annal. Tolet.

^g Roderic Tolet de reb. Hispan. lib. viii. Luc. Tudens. Chron.

^h Annal.

Toletan.

ⁱ Annal. Compostel. et Tolet.

^k Roderic Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. viii. Luc.

Tudens. Chron. Chron. S. FERNAND.

^l Annal. Tolet.

^m Chron. S. FERNAND. Roderic

Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. viii. Luc. Tudens. Chron.

(G) This great monarch was, to speak correctly, *Alonso* the third, of *Castile*; for though, after the union of the two kingdoms under his grandson, Don *Ferdinand*, the succeeding kings were reckoned in the order of those of *Leon*, so that his successor was stiled Don *Alonso* the tenth, and not Don *Alonso* the fourth, yet this manner of computing did not or could not take place before. He was, at the time of his demise, in the 59th year of his age, and in the 56th of his reign. It is true, that the old historians differ about these dates, and that, even in the printed copies of Don *Roderic's* history, it is said to have been but the 53d year of his reign; yet we ought to consider that transcribers mistake in nothing so much as dates; and therefore we must not suffer ourselves to be misled by such slips of theirs, when visibly repugnant to the current of history. There is another difficulty that ought to be cleared, which relates to the occasion of that journey which cost the king his life; for in the printed copies of the archbishop of *Toledo's* history, it is said, that the king was going to an interview with the king of *Portugal*, his son-in-law, at *Placentia*; whereas *Ferreras*, whom we follow, asserts, that his design was to confer with the king of *Leon*, which seems to be much more probable, considering the place assigned for their

interview, and the route the king took to go thither, notwithstanding that a modern historian tells us his disease was rendered mortal by his chagrin, on a message sent him by the king of *Portugal*, that he would not come out of his own dominions; which is exceedingly improbable, since we never hear that these monarchs had any difference; and the king of *Castile* had, but a very little before, given the king of *Leon* an equivalent out of his dominions, in order to induce him to restore to *Portugal* the places he had conquered. He is very highly commended by Don *Roderic Ximenes*, who knew him perfectly, and who, where there is occasion to mention them, has not dissembled his vices. We may, however, affirm, that he was much more indebted to experience than education; and that it may be very truly said of him, it was by reigning that he knew how to reign: perhaps, we may add to all this, that his misfortunes were the great instruments of his glory; that his being beaten put him into the road of victory; and that the close of his reign did honour to his memory, because it was very unlike the beginning. We are not, indeed, warranted to give him this character, from what is said of him in other histories, but we are led to it from facts; and truth is, of all other, the best authority in history.

Mariana

a *Mariana* says, that when the count Don *Alvaro* found it impossible to make her a queen, he would have made a merit of his endeavours in order to have espoused her himself, but that the young princess rejected his offer with contempt^a.

As ecclesiasticks generally bear ill treatment with less temper than any other people, so, upon Don *Alvaro's* making free with the revenues of the church of *Toledo*, the dean of that cathedral, without ceremony, excommunicated him, which quickly obliged him to make satisfaction^o. In order to appease the nation in general, he called an assembly of the states at *Valladolid*, at which the king and his sister Donna *Berengara* assisted; but the disputes rose quickly to such a height, and the behaviour of Don *Alvaro* was so imperious, that the queen Donna *Berengara* thought proper to retire to the fortress of *Autillo*, and was followed thither by some of the nobility of the first families in *Castile*^p. The regent was very little concerned at this; but when he afterwards understood that the king himself was inclined to take the same route, he carried the young prince, under pretence of visiting his dominions, first to *Segovia*, then to *Avila*, and at length to *Maqueda*, in the kingdom of *Toledo*, where he kept him several months, and oppressed all the country in the neighbourhood to such a degree, that it was very near causing an insurrection, and, as it was, increased those clamours that had been loud enough before^q. The regent Don Alvaro de Lara incurs universal hatred.

To stifle these, or at least to turn them from himself upon those who opposed him, Don *Alvaro* took a very bold step. He discovered that the queen Donna *Berengara* had sent a person very secretly to her brother, to enquire after his health, and to learn how he was used. This gentleman he seized, hanged him without any judicial process, and then produced a counterfeit letter from the queen, which he confidently insinuated contained instructions to poison the young king^r. The scheme was well laid, though it did not take effect; for the archbishop of *Toledo*, and the people in general, instead of charging the queen with poisoning, charged him with forgery; and that so loudly, and with so little ceremony, that he found it necessary to shift his quarters, and to carry the king to *Hueta*^s. He afterwards went from thence to *Valladolid*, where he assembled forces, and summoned Donna *Berengara* and the lords of her party to surrender all the places they held, upon pain of being treated as rebels. This put them under great difficulties; for though they were ready to defend themselves against the regent, and put him to the trouble of one siege, yet, when they found the king's person exposed in the army, they grew uneasy, and inclined rather to expose their own persons than his. The queen, in the mean time, applied to her husband, the king of *Leon*, and demanded either his assistance, or at least his interposition; but Don *Alvaro* was before-hand with her there, and proposed a match between the king and the Infanta Donna *Sancta*; so that, in all probability, he would either have carried his point, or a civil war must have broke out in *Castile*, if an unlooked for accident had not changed the face of affairs entirely^t. The regent having carried the king to *Palencia*, lodged him in the episcopal palace; and as he endeavoured to gain his affection by indulging him in every thing, the young king was at play with some boys of his own age, in the court of the palace, when one of them throwing a stone upon the roof, dislodged a tile, which fell directly upon the king's head, and of this wound he died, June the 6th, in the year 1217, in the third year of his reign^u. The young king Don Henry, killed by the fall of a tile upon his head.

THE regent would willingly have concealed the king's death, but that was impossible; and the queen Donna *Berengara* was no sooner informed of it, then she sent Don *Lopez Haro* and Don *Gonsales Giron* to the king of *Leon*, to desire him to send her son, the Infant Don *Ferdinand*, under pretence that she longed very much to see him^v. The king made no difficulty; and the queen no sooner had him in her power, than she quitted the fortress, and went directly to *Palencia*, where all the nobility and prelates, who composed the late king's court, received her with all the duty and affection imaginable. She resolved from thence to go to *Valladolid*; but first some overtures were made to Don *Alvaro de Lara*, that he should return to his duty. He very modestly proposed, that the queen should immediately put her son into his hands, in which case he would be content to own him for his king; but that proposition being rejected, the court proceeded to *Valladolid*, where the people testified their loyalty and submission with all the joy imaginable^x. The queen intended to have carried her son next into *Estremadura*, and had actually begun her journey; but the family of *Lara* had so effectually corrupted the inhabitants of most of the great towns, that they refused to open their gates; upon which, the queen and her son returned to *Valladolid*, where having called a general assembly of the states, and at the same time summoned every one of the places that were in the hands of the faction to submit, on pain of being declared rebels by the approaching assembly; this

^a Historia general de Espana, lib. xii.

^o Annal. Tolet.

^p RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan.

lib. ix. LUCÆ Tudensis Chron. Chron. S. FERNAND.

^q Chron. var. antiq.

^r Chron. S.

FERNAND. ^s Annal. Tolet. et Compottell.

^t ROD Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. ix. LUCÆ

Tudensis Chronicon.

^u Annal. Tolet. Chron. S. FERNAND.

^v RODERIC Tolet. de rebus

Hispan. lib. ix.

^x Annal. Tolet. Chron. S. FERNAND.

had its effect; the cities, upon mature deliberation, opened their gates, returned to their duty, and sent deputies to the diet ^a.

Donna Berengara proclaimed queen, who resigns the crown to her son.

THIS assembly was remarkably numerous, almost all the prelates and nobility in *Castile* being present therein, when they solemnly acknowledged the Infanta *Berengara*, in her own right, queen of the two *Castiles*, after which they proclaimed and swore fealty to her ². Her reign, however, was of very short continuance; for, by the advice of the principal nobility, she caused a kind of theatre to be erected before one of the principal gates of the city, upon which the Infant Don *Ferdinand* appeared in his robes of state, and the queen, his mother, at the head of a deputation of the prelates and nobility, having paid her respects and saluted him king, he was carried, with the acclamations of all the spectators, to the cathedral church, and there solemnly inaugurated, *August* the 31st, 1217 ³. This scene of joy was strangely discomposed, by the news that Don *Alonso*, king of *Leon*, at the head of a great army, had entered *Castile*, by the advice and in company with Don *Alvaro de Lara*, to revenge the signal affront he had received, in having his son made a king without asking his consent. The queen sent the bishops of *Burgos* and *Palencia* to intreat him not to injure the subjects of his son, nor to disturb the dawn of his reign; but he would listen to no accommodation, and believing that he should surprize the court without resistance, continued his march directly to *Burgos*; but Don *Lopez de Haro*, having assembled a small body of good troops, threw himself into the city, and prepared every thing for a vigorous defence, upon which Don *Alonso* thought fit to retire into his dominions, expressing great indignation against such as had prevailed upon him to act in so unkingly and in so unnatural a manner ^b. This storm over, the queen sent to Don *Alvaro*, to demand the body of her brother, which he had clandestinely withdrawn and concealed; but which, with some shew of civility, he caused to be delivered to the bishops who brought the queen's message, and by whose order it was interred with great solemnity at *Burgos* ^c. About this time, pope *Honorius* the third wrote to the prelates in *Spain*, in regard to the *Jews*, in a manner becoming a Christian bishop. He permitted that some mark of distinction they should be obliged to wear; but desired that no force might be used to compel them to baptism; that they should be permitted the free exercise of their religion; and that the people should not be allowed to insult them when celebrating their feasts ^d. The knights of *Calatrava* finding the place in which they had fixed their residence very unwholesome, the grand master caused it to be removed to *Salvatierra*; but notwithstanding this, their original title remained, as it still remains, exactly the same. ^d

Don Alvaro de Lara taken prisoner by the king, thro' his own imprudence.

THE lords who were addicted to the faction of Don *Alvaro de Lara*, or rather who were desirous of exempting themselves from the power of their sovereign, continued still to yield but a kind of precarious obedience, which obliged the king and his mother to raise an army, in order, once for all, to put the king into full possession of his dominions. The great difficulty they met with arose from want of money, which in some measure the queen removed, by selling her jewels. In order to strike at the root, the king marched to *Herrera*, where Don *Alvaro* himself was, with a strong garrison. The king's troops were but raw, and, it may be, indifferently clothed and armed. Don *Alvaro*, coming with a small body of horse to view them at a little distance, conceived so contemptible an opinion of them, that he advanced nearer and nearer, on purpose to insult them; but it cost him dear: for some of the nobility about the person of the king suddenly charged and took him prisoner ^e. He was much better treated than he deserved; for the queen offered him his liberty, upon his causing the places to be surrendered that were in the hands of himself and his dependents, which he accepted, and the agreement was punctually performed on both sides. After he recovered his liberty, he tried, for some time, to live in quiet, but speedily relapsed into his old intrigues; of which the king having intelligence, he marched against him instantly, with a body of troops, and he thereupon quitted *Castile*, and went to seek protection at the court of *Leon* ^f.

A. D. 1218.

His flight to Leon, author of a new war, and miserable death.

THE king Don *Alonso* received him kindly; and, though he had been deceived by him once before, suffered himself to be again seduced, and merely, from a persuasion that the enterprise would be easily accomplished, raised a powerful army, in order to invade *Castile*. His son king *Ferdinand* assembled another, still more powerful, with which he encamped in the neighbourhood of *Medina del Campo*, as being unwilling to act against his father, if it might be avoided. Don *Alonso*, less cautious, advanced into the territory of *Salamancha*, and invested a place of no great consequence, where some troops had taken post. While he lay before the place, Don *Alvaro* fell sick, and, being unable to come into the king's presence, the prelates laid hold of that opportunity to convince him of the injustice of the war, which in-

^a Chronicon var. antiq. Chron. S. FERNAND.
^b LUCÆ Tudensis Chron. Chron. S. FERNAND.
 Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. ix. ^d Epist. Honor. III.
 Chron. S. FERNAND. ^e Chron. var. antiq.

² RODERIC Tolet. de rebus Hispan. lib. viii.

³ Annal. Tolet. Chron. S. FERNAND.

^c ROD.

^d ROD. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. ix.

- a duced him to raise the siege, and to retire into his own dominions^g: a circumstance that broke the heart of Don *Alvaro de Lara*, who, upon the march of the army, died at *Toro*; expressing, with his last breath, a strong desire that his body should be cloathed in the habit of St. *James*, and interred at *Ucles*^h. As he left nothing behind him to bury him with, this had very probably been omitted; but coming to the ear of the queen, Donna *Berengara*, she sent a rich robe for his body, and a sum of money for defraying the expences of his funeral; an example of Christian charity that deserves to be rememberedⁱ. As for his brother, Don *Ferdinand de Lara*, whose conduct had been very equivocal during these troubles, he purchased the king's leave to quit his country by surrendering the places he held, and then he retired to *Morocco*, where he died in obscurity^k.
- b THE archbishop, Don *Roderic of Toledo*, having procured from the pope a bull of croisade against the Infidels, caused it to be published throughout all *Spain*, and, by that means, assembled a great army in the neighbourhood of his city, with which he invaded the territory of the *Moors*, reduced some places of no great importance, and at length besieged *Requena*, which was strong both by art and nature, and had in it a numerous garrison: he persisted, however, in his design of taking it for more than two months, but, in the end, was compelled to rise from before it, with the loss of ten thousand men, to his great mortification^l. The queen, Donna *Berengara*, had better success in the negotiation of a marriage for her son with the princess *Beatrix*, daughter to the deceased *Philip* duke of *Suabia*, and emperor of *Germany*, who, in her passage through *France* into *Spain*, was kindly received and magnificently entertained, by *Louis* the eighth and his queen *Blanche*^m, which is an additional proof that they never formed any claim upon the *Spanish* monarchy. The princess *Beatrix* was met at *Victoria* by the queen, Donna *Berengara*, and, being conducted to *Burgos*, she was married on the feast of St. *Andrew*, in the cathedral of that city, to the young king *Ferdinand*, in the presence of most of the prelates and nobles of *Castile*, with the universal acclamations of the peopleⁿ. About this time the knights of the order of St. *Julian*, by the consent and approbation of Don *Alonso* of *Leon*, took possession of *Alcantara*, and at the same time received a grant of all such places as they could conquer from the Infidels, to be held as fiefs from the crown of *Leon*^o (H).
- c THE province of *Rioja* had been committed to the government of Don *Roderic Diaz de los Cameros*, who oppressed the people to such a degree, that many complaints were brought to the king, who thereupon sent for him to *Valladolid*; and having signified to him that he was not at all satisfied with his defence, that nobleman retired privately from court, fortified some of the strongest places in his government, and put garrisons into them^p. The king, Don *Ferdinand*, assembled an army with full intention to chastise him; but the queen his mother interposed, and put the king in mind, that, during all their troubles, this nobleman had been faithful; upon which, in consideration of a large sum of money, he resigned his government^q. About this time the affairs of the *Moors* fell into great confusion, several alcaides, or governors, revolting against *Zeit Arax*, the son and successor of *Mohammed* in *Africa*, those in *Spain* thought themselves at liberty to follow their example; and accordingly *Aben Hut*, who was descended from the kings of *Saragossa*, possessed himself of the kingdom of *Murcia*; and the best part of *Andalusia*^r; *Mohammed Aben Abdallah* seized *Baeza* and the country round it; and the kingdom of *Valentia* was all that remained to *Abuzeit*, the brother of *Mo-*

Marriage of the king of Castile to the princess Beatrix of Suabia, daughter to the emperor.

A. D. 1219.

The power of the Moors broke into several small principalities.

^g Annal. Tolet. ^h RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. ix. Chron. S. FERNAND. ⁱ ROD: Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. viii. ^k SALAZAR. ^l RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. ix. Annal. Tolet. ^m LUCÆ Tudensis Chron. Chron. S. FERNAND. ⁿ LUCÆ Tudensis Chron. RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. ix. ^o Chron. var. antiq. ^p RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. ix. ^q Chron. S. FERNAND. ^r RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. ix.

(H) In the time of the emperor *Trajan*, the several nations that inhabited the country then called *Lusitania*, contributed their proportions towards building a most superb bridge over the river *Tagus*, which still remains a monument of the skill and magnificence of those times: this bridge is elevated 200 foot above the level of the water, and though it consists but of six arches, it is 617 feet in length, and 28 in breadth. There were formerly four tables of stone, upon which were inscribed the names of those at whose expence this bridge was built; three of these time and accident have overwhelmed, the fourth has escaped; and we learn from thence, the names of 13 of these nations. The two inscriptions that fix the date of this building to the emperor's sixth consulship are yet entire. The *Moors*, struck with the beauty of this elegant performance, as well as with the fertility of the country and the convenience of its situation, built there a town, to which

they gave the name of *Al-Cantara*, i. e. the bridge. There are several other places of this name in different parts of *Spain*, which, upon a strict examination, will be all found to have derived that denomination from some eminent bridge belonging to them; as for this in *Estremadura*, which is by far the most considerable, we are told by *Mariana*, and all the writers who follow him, that it was given by Don *Alonso* of *Leon*, when taken from the *Moors*, to the knights of *Calatrava*; but more exact writers affirm, that it was bestowed upon Don *Diego Sanchez*, grand master of the military order of St. *Julian de Peraro*; but it is true that the knights of *Alcantara* bear a cross, resembling that of the knights of *Calatrava*; viz. each point ending in a *Fleur de Luce*, except that the cross of *Alcantara* is green. At present the order possesses thirty-three commanderies, three priories, and as many alcaydias, which produce altogether a revenue of about 80,000 ducats per ann.

A.D. 1220. *hammed Enazor* *. Thus the very errors and mistakes of the Christians operated in their favour; and while they seemed to neglect their true interest, by allowing the Infidels time to rest and recruit themselves, they employed that time more to their own prejudice than if the war had continued; which seems, so far as the weak light of human understanding will permit us to judge, that Providence interposed in support of the faith professed, tho' very indifferently practised, by the *Spanish* Christians (I).

James, king of Arragon, espouses the Infanta Eleonora.

THE next year *James* king of *Aragon* married Donna *Eleonora*, sister to the queen Donna *Berengara*, and aunt to Don *Ferdinand*, king of *Castile* †. Among the numerous lords of the house of *Lara* was the count Don *Gonsales de Molinas*, who hitherto had lived peaceably, ut now, at the instigation of another Don *Gonsales*, of the same family, brother to the late Don *Alvaro*, he took up arms, and was joined by that old rebel, who had taken shelter among the *Moors* ‡. This obliged the king to march against him with a numerous body of forces; and the war, perhaps, had not been very quickly finished, if the queen had not caused an intimation to be given to Don *Gonsales de Molina*, that she intended to have married the Infant Don *Alonso* to his daughter. This effectually disarmed him; he constrained his cousin to quit the kingdom, surrendered all his places into the king's hands, was restored to them and to his favour, and soon after the royal Infant married his daughter †. On the twenty-third of *November* the queen Donna *Beatrix* was delivered of the Infant Don *Alonso*, who succeeded his father in his dominions, and, about three months after his birth, was acknowledged for his successor in a general assembly of the states *, the king being at that time determined to enter into a war against the *Moors*. This design was, however suspended, by the breaking out of a formidable rebellion in *Galicia*, for the suppressing of which his father demanded of him a considerable body of troops, which he very readily sent him, and by whose assistance the insurrection was suppressed †. The king of *Leon*, in the succeeding year, thought fit to establish an university at *Salamanca*.

1222.

John de Brienne, king of Jerusalem, espouses the Infanta Berengara.

DON *Ferdinand* of *Castile*, being informed that Don *Alvaro Perez*, who, on account of his having a share in the late troubles, had retired amongst the *Moors*, was an excellent officer, he caused it to be insinuated, that if he would return home he would not only pardon but employ him, which had its effect; and it was from him chiefly that he took his measures for the ensuing war ‡. His forces rendezvoused at *Toledo*, to which city he went; and, after a general review, he marched with them, attended by the archbishop Don *Roderic*, into the territory of the *Moors*; but, before he had advanced far, he was met by *Abuzet*, king of *Valentia*, who offered to become his vassal, whom he received kindly, and sent back with a promise that no hostilities should be committed against his subjects †. He then passed the *Sierra Morena*, ravaged the territory of *Baeza*, defeated a body of *Moors* who attempted to oppose his passage, and concluded the campaign by taking *Quezada*, which, with some other fortresses, he demolished †. While the king was in the field, *John de Brienne*, king of *Jerusalem*, arrived in *Spain*, in order to perform a vow he had made to visit the shrine of the apostle St. *James*. After he had accomplished this, he visited the court at *Burgos*, and there concluded a marriage with Donna *Berengara*, the sister of king *Ferdinand*, and soon after set out with her for the court of *France* †.

1224.

* Chron. var. antiq. † ZURITA Annal. Arragon. ‡ Annal. Tolet. † RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. ix. * Chron. var. antiq. † Luc. Tudenf. Chron. † Chron. S. FERNAND. RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. ix. † Annal. Tolet. † Rod. Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. ix. Chron. S. FERNAND. † RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. ix. Lucæ Tudenfis Chronicon.

(I) We have given the reader several instances of men of very high quality, who, either out of ambition or resentment, or from terror or necessity, fled to the *Moors*. At this time there happened something still more extraordinary, which we have inserted in the notes, as it may serve to give the reader some kind of notion of the humour of the people in those times. The Infant Don *Sanchez* of *Leon*, younger brother of Don *Alonso* the ninth, and by his mother's side descended from the family of *Haro*, had given frequent marks of that sort of courage which is stiled ferocity, particularly in the battle of *Toloso*, where he served under the king of *Castile* as a volunteer. He had some difference, though we know not upon what ground, with the king's brother, which filled his mind with so much rancour, that quitting his court he went to *Toledo*, giving out wherever he passed, that he had received very advantageous proposals from the miramolin, that he had undertaken to carry him a numerous corps of brave fellows, and that such as would follow him might be sure of large pay. He picked up by

this means 40,000 men, with whom he marched to *Seville*, where he pretended they were to receive their levy money. But arriving in the neighbourhood of this place, he thought proper to withdraw, having in reality received no such invitation, and with a handful of desperate men, who were in his secret, seized upon *Cagnamero*, an old abandoned castle in the skirts of the *Sierra Morena*. The gross of his followers, when they found themselves cheated, got back again into *Portugal*, *Leon*, and *Castile*, as well as they could; and as for the Infant Don *Sanchez* and his associates, they plundered, without distinction, both Christians and *Moors*. On the 23d of *August*, in the year 1220, as he was hunting a bear, the creature suddenly turned upon the unfortunate Infant Don *Sanchez*, and tore him to pieces. His people, if they were so disposed, had not much time to regret his loss; for the very next day the alcaide of *Badajoz* invested their fortress, attacked it without delay, carried the place by storm, and put every person they found in it to the sword.

- a THE king took the field early the next spring ; but had scarce passed the *Sierra Morena*, before he was met by *Aben Mohammed*, the son of *Aben Abdallah*, descended from the miramamolins of *Africa*, who became his vassal, and agreed to pay him the fourth part of his revenues ; for which, by way of security, he gave his son *Abdul-Menin* as a hostage, and put likewise into his hands the castles of *Baeza*, *Andujar*, and *Martos*, which put an end to the campaign ^a. Don *Alonso*, king of *Leon*, was, at the same time, in the field ; and being met by a numerous army of *Moors*, under the command of *Aben-Hut*, king of *Seville*, a general engagement ensued ; in which, after a warm and bloody dispute, the Christians were victorious, and Don *Alonso* returned into his own dominions, covered with glory, as his troops were laden with plunder ^c. The pope, towards the end of the year, sent a bull of croisade into *Spain*, to enable the kings of *Leon* and *Portugal* to carry on the war against the Infidels, in which they were engaged with the greater effect, for, as we have observed, the archbishop of *Toledo* had procured a bull of the same kind, on behalf of the king his master ^f.

Campaign of the king Don Ferdinand against the Moors.

A. D. 1225.

- As soon as the season would permit, the young monarch was again in the field, with the troops of *Castile* and *Leon*, though it does not appear that his forces were very numerous ; for his design was no other than to reduce the several places which the *Moors* still possessed, at the descent of the *Sierra Morena*, through the pass of *Muradal* ; and having accomplished this, and thrown into them strong garrisons, he retired, and put his forces into quarters of refreshment, which delivered the *Moors* from their fears, and hindered them from acquiring any just idea of that important plan he had formed for extending his own dominions, and curtailing theirs ^g.
- c The next year he returned, with a more potent army, into *Andalusia*, and demanded of *Mohammed* king of *Baeza*, the fortresses of *Bergamilar*, *Salvatierra*, and *Capilla*. The reader will observe, that there were many places of the second name, and there were also several of the third. That monarch, afraid of a war with so enterprising a prince, whilst he was at the same time in dread of all the rest of his neighbours, acquiesced under this demand ; and sent his orders to the commandants of the respective places to put them into the hands of the king of *Castile* ; and, till this could be done, he put the castle of *Baeza* into the king's hands, by way of security, who sent Don *Gonsales*, grand master of the order of *Calatrava*, to take possession of it, with a competent garrison ; upon which the *Moorish* monarch, who could not, with any decency, live in a city commanded by a Christian garrison, withdrew to *Cordova*, which was also in his possession, till the fortresses he had demanded were rendered to the king of *Castile* ^h. As for the two first, they were evacuated by the *Moorish* garrisons without any dispute ; but the last, having been used as a place of arms, and being consequently spacious, strong, and well supplied with provisions and military stores, the governor, who was a brave man, and had a numerous garrison, refused to obey his master's orders ; and, after some altercations, Don *Ferdinand* found himself under the necessity of besieging the place in form ⁱ.

He demands several fortresses from Mohammed, king of Baeza.

1226.

1227.

- As the people are but bad politicians, so the *Moors* of *Cordova*, instead of attributing the complaisance of their monarch to those which were in reality its proper motives, began to suspect him of holding a secret correspondence with the Christians, which quickly increased into a confident opinion, that he was himself a Christian in his heart, which determined them to put him out of the way, and submit themselves to *Aben-Hut*, king of *Seville*. A popular conspiracy can never long be concealed ; *Mohammed* therefore, having gained intelligence of their design, endeavoured to provide for his personal security, by retiring privately to a place of safety, in which he miscarried ; for, being pursued and taken upon the road, the conspirators, in pursuance of their original scheme, cut off his head ^k. The news of this revolution no sooner reached *Baeza*, than the inhabitants took up arms and besieged the castle, which the grand master defended with all the spirit and resolution that became a man of his rank. At the end of four months, Don *Ferdinand* took *Capilla* by storm, and put the whole *Moorish* garrison to the sword ^l. The grand master, and those under his command, were very near meeting with the same fate ; but, upon signifying his distress to Don *Alvaro Perez*, he fixed a short day for the sending him such a reinforcement as should enable him to raise the siege ; and accordingly, in the night preceding that day, Don *Lopez de Haro* entered the castle with a numerous detachment, and, as soon as it was light, in conjunction with the grand master and his garrison, attacked the posts of the infidels with such vigour, that in a few hours they were all forced, and the Christians became masters of the place. This was a conquest of great importance ; the city antiently called *Vatia*, standing on an eminence not far from the *Guadaluquivir*, and it was thought very remarkable, the *Castilians* recovered it on the feast of St. *Andrew*, to whom its church, in antient times, was dedicated ^m.

That unfortunate monarch murdered for granting his request.

^a Chron. var. antiq. rebus Hispan. lib. ix.

^c Luc. Tudenf. Chron.

^g Chron. var. antiq.

^f Chron. S. FERNAND. RODERIC Tolet. de

^h RODERIC Tolet. de rebus Hispan. lib. ix.

ⁱ Chron. S. FERNAND.

^k RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. ix.

^l Annal. Tolet.

^m Rod.

Tolet. de reb. Hispan lib. ix.

The pope declares null the marriage between the king and queen of Arragon.

A. D. 1228.

In the beginning of the month of *March*, in the succeeding year, Don *Ferdinand* laid the first stone of the new cathedral in *Toledo*, which is the same magnificent structure that adorns this city in our times ^a. The archbishop Don *Roderic* had a large share in this important work; and the materials being in readiness before it was begun, the undertaking, though great, was sooner completed than could well be imagined ^o. The king made also a short campaign, in which he ravaged the country about *Jaen*, in order to facilitate an enterprize, which was to be the business of the ensuing year. We have before observed, that *James*, king of *Arragon*, had married Donna *Eleonora*, sister to Don *Ferdinand* of *Castile*, by whom he was the father of the infant Don *Alonso*; but having at this time a legate from the pope at his court, that prelate discovered, or, as some writers hint, had it discovered to him by the king, that this princess and he stood equally related to the emperor Don *Alonso*, upon which a council was called of the bishops of *Arragon* and *Castile*, by whom the marriage was declared null, which the king bore with great moderation; but the queen, it is said, discovered a little impatience: however, the legitimacy of her son was provided for, and she returned again to the court of *Burgos* ^p. Don *Alonso*, king of *Leon*, took the field in *Estremadura*, and made himself master of *Caceres*, a place of importance, which himself and his predecessors had more than once attempted in vain. Some say that it was antiently called *Casa Cereris*, which has been corrupted into its present name ^q. Don *Ferdinand* of *Castile* was not so fortunate in the design he had been so long meditating; for, though he made a siege in form, and of some continuance, he failed in taking *Jaen*; but, by the advice of Don *Alvaro Perez*, he destroyed several places in its neighbourhood, and took such other steps as might make what he aimed at more practicable when attempted another time ^r.

1229.

Don Alonso of Leon gains a glorious victory over the Moors at Merida.

Don *Alonso*, king of *Leon*, resolved to pursue the war against the infidels with greater vigour than ever, as having nothing to fear from any of his neighbours, and cast his eyes upon *Merida*, a place of great strength and of great consequence, to the safety of which the *Moors* were very attentive; but, however, he attacked it so vigorously, that it fell into his hands before they were in a condition to relieve it ^s. He was scarce entered into possession, before *Aben-Hut*, the most powerful of the *Moorish* monarchs in *Spain*, appeared at the head of an army of 20,000 horse and 60,000 foot ^t. The troops of Don *Alonso* were much inferior in number, but as he had no choice to make, except fighting or being besieged in his new conquest, he judged the former preferable to the latter; and therefore, recommending himself to the intercession of the *Spanish* apostle and St. *Isidore*, he marched out and gave battle to the *Moors*, and, after a long dispute, gained a complete victory, and in consequence of it several considerable conquests ^u. His son, Don *Ferdinand* of *Castile*, impatient at his former miscarriage, besieged *Jaen* again with a very formidable army; but the *Moors*, who knew the importance of the place, and who saw how fast their affairs were declining, had in every respect provided so effectually for its defence, that the king was, prevailed upon by his officers, rather to raise the siege a second time, than ruin his army, which however he did with great reluctance ^v.

1230.

Dies in his journey to the tomb of St. James, at Compostella.

Don *Alonso* of *Leon*, immediately after his glorious campaign was over, went to visit the shrine of St. *Isidore*, and to return thanks to God for the victory of *Merida*. He intended to have done the same at *Compostella*, according to the religious notions of those times; but, in his journey thither, he was seized with the distemper of which he died, at *Villa-nova de Serria*, on the 23d of *September*, in the year 1230 ^x. By his testament, he directed that his body should be interred in the cathedral church of St. *James*, as near as might be to that of his father; and, which was very singular, he declared the Infantas Donna *Sancha* and Donna *Dulcia*, whom he had by his first wife the infanta *Theresa* of *Portugal*, coheiresses of his dominions, requiring several of the prelates and most considerable of the nobility by name to see his last will punctually executed ^y. He was a prince endowed with great virtues; but, at the same time, had great foibles; with respect to the former he was chiefly distinguished by the strictness of his government, in point of justice, and his great mildness in levying his revenue, which made his subjects rich, and himself exceedingly beloved. The inconstancy of his temper was his greatest failing, and in the course of his reign exposed him to many inconveniencies. He was unfortunate in both his marriages, though a good husband to both his wives; but the first remained ever mistress of his affections (K): and it is very remarkable, that though

^a Annal. Tolet.

^o RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. ix.

^p ZURITA Annal. Arragon.

^q Les Delices d'Espagne. tom. i. p. 137. Chron. var. antiq.

^r RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan.

lib. ix. ^s Annal. Tolet. et Compostel. Luc. Tudens. Chronicon.

^t RODERIC Tolet. de reb.

Hispan. lib. ix. Luc. Tudensis Chron. ^u Chron. var. antiq.

^v RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan.

lib. ix. ^x Chron. S. FERNAND. RODERIC SANTII Hist. Hispan. FRANCISCI TARAPHÆ, de reg. Hispan.

^y Chron. S. FERNAND.

(K) This king, Don *Alonso* the ninth, of *Leon*, died in the 43d year of his reign, and is very highly commended by the two great historians of *Spain*, who were his contemporaries. The point which gained him the greatest

^a though both marriages were declared unlawful by the *Roman* pontiff, yet *Donna Sancha* by the first, and *Don Ferdinand* by the last, are both acknowledged saints by the church of *Rome* ^z.

THE manner in which he disposed of his dominions by his will, was very near producing a civil war. *Galicia*, and some part of *Leon*, declared for the infantas; but the far greater part of the kingdom for *Don Ferdinand* of *Castile*, to whose succession the states had solemnly sworn. Queen *Theresa* left *Portugal* to support the party of her daughters, and took shelter with them under the protection of the great master of the order of *St. James* ^a. The queen *Donna Berengara*, as soon as she heard of her husband's death, set out with all her family, and was overtaken by the king *Don Ferdinand*, on the road to *Leon*, into which capital they ^b were received with all imaginable marks of duty and loyalty, to confirm which dispositions in the people, the king published two edicts, one for remitting of taxes, and the other threatening with severe punishment such as should persist in rebellion ^b; notwithstanding which, many persons of great distinction remained firm to the infantas; and things at last had certainly come to extremities, if the two queens *Theresa* and *Berengara* had not settled them amicably, at an interview which they had for this purpose. There they agreed, that the king, *Don Ferdinand*, should give each of his sisters a large pension, in consideration of which they renounced their pretensions under *Don Alonso's* will ^c; and this reconciliation was so cordial on both sides, that the two queens fixed a time in the ensuing year for a second interview, that the whole royal family of *Leon* might have an opportunity of meeting and ^c embracing each other ^d. A circumstance so singular, as hardly any thing of the like kind is to be met with in history, and which brings us to the close of this section, since, from the union of the two kingdoms of *Castile* and *Leon*, which was perfected by this agreement, they have never been divided, but have gradually drawn to them all the other sovereignties in *Spain*; those of the Christians by inheritance or marriage, and those of the *Moors* by conquest, as in the succeeding sections it will be our business to explain.

^z MARIANA, FERRERAS, MAYERNE TURQUET.
Tudensis Chron. ^b Chron. S. FERNAND.
Tudensis Chron. ^d Chron. S. FERNAND.

^a RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. ix. LUC.
^c RODERIC Tolet. de reb. Hispan. lib. ix. LUC.

greatest credit, was his love of justice, of which he had a very right conception; for it was his sentiment, that the king ought to shew his regard by making the administration of it both honourable and profitable, that such as were chosen to decide suits might be under no sort of influence, and have no kind of temptation. He therefore expected that his judges should hear nothing, but when both parties were present, and that they should not, under any pretence whatever, take fee or reward. This made him beloved by the people, and feared by the nobility, who, though he had great faults, found it more difficult to raise disturbances against him than any of his predecessors; for the peasants, being

frequently ill used by their lords, upon complaint in the king's courts, were certainly redressed, and this made his cause theirs. He was likewise much in the good graces of the clergy, and, with all his faults, he was sincerely pious; and though he discovered great ambition, in twice attempting upon his son's dominions, yet in this he was misled by flatterers, who made him believe, for a time, things, of which he was afterwards ashamed. His last sickness was very painful, and yet he bore it very patiently. Besides his legitimate offspring, he left behind him a natural son, *Don Alonso*, for whom he made a provision suitable to his rank, but without any prejudice to his lawful issue.

End of the SEVENTH VOLUME.